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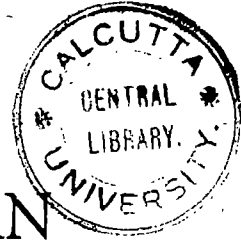
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PLANNING A MASS-OBSERVATION INVESTIGATION

J. G. FERRABY

ABSTRACT

Much of the work of Mass-Observation, which was founded in England in 1937 by Tom Harrisson and Charles Madge, is concerned with public opinion. A most important problem in opinion survey work is the comparative value of numerical, extensive surveys and more qualitative, intensive surveys. The methods used by Mass-Observation are designed to supplement limited numerical data by qualitative material which assists in the understanding of any figures obtained. This paper attempts to describe the methods used by considering a particular investigation recently completed.

Mass-Observation uses techniques which are related to the poll technique but differ from it in many respects.¹ The way in which these techniques are applied can be illustrated by a description of the steps in planning one of our recent investigations, just recently published in book form under the title *Britain and Her Birth-rate*.² The investigation aimed at finding out the real reasons why the birth rate was falling and at throwing light on possible ways of stemming the fall.

Methods available to Mass-Observation are as follows:

¹ Mass-Observation was founded by Tom Harrisson and Charles Madge in 1937 to study the society in which we live. A great deal of its work is concerned with public opinion, and its methods differ in several respects from those most used in America. The present article is a digest of only part of the findings of a recent survey, published under the title *Britain and Her Birth-rate* by John Murray, London, in 1945. The author of this article has worked with Mass-Observation for a number of years.

² The findings of this study are also being published in the forthcoming spring issue of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

1. *Direct interviewing*.—Normally, open-end questions are used; but alternative-answer questions are occasionally included.

2. *Informal interviewing*.—The contact is told that the interviewer is investigating public opinion. The subject is often introduced by a predetermined question; but, once the initial question has been asked, the interviewer is free to interpose further remarks in order to keep the contact talking and to probe further into the views expressed. The interviewer is given a general instruction not to ask leading questions, but no other limitation is placed on the questions and remarks which may be used for probing.

3. *Indirect interviewing*.—The same as informal interviewing, except that the contact is not told that an investigation of public opinion is taking place. This involves first getting into conversation with the contact, then leading the conversation around to the subject of the interview.

4. *Observation*.—Observing scenes, events, and behavior; recording overheard comments.

5. *The National Panel of Voluntary Observers*.—This panel is peculiar to Mass-Observation. It consists of interested individuals who

send in written reports in answer to a monthly directive. Other activities include the keeping of diaries, collection of material for our War Library,³ making occasional special reports, etc. The panel is drawn from all walks of life but is not a cross-section of the public, being better educated and more intelligent than the average. It provides comments which are more detailed and franker than those obtained by interviewing.

In planning our birth-rate investigation, the point from which we started was that the investigation should be concerned with the family; and it soon resolved itself into an investigation of factors bearing upon the size of the family. We prefer not to have our terms of reference too specifically determined before the start of the investigation, since it nearly always happens either that the original problem is found to be so closely related to others that it cannot very well be investigated apart from them or that the problem is so complex that it cannot be covered in its entirety. The previous investigation in the "Change" series ("The Journey Home") started by being exclusively about demobilization; but before it was completed, it was found necessary to include a considerable amount of material on general attitudes to postwar conditions and the postwar world. In the family investigation the reverse was the case. It very quickly became clear that the field was so vast that it would not be possible to deal with more than a few aspects of it, and it was soon decided to concentrate on the reasons why women do not have more children than they do. The name "family investigation" stuck, however, and it is in this way that we refer to the investigation in this article.

The first step in any investigation is to reconnoiter the field; this being done by means of informal and indirect interviews. Which to use depends largely on the social sanctions attached to the subject. If the subject is one concerning which people are likely to be chary about giving frank views to a stranger, the more tortuous indirect

method is necessary; if the subject is one which does not strike any very deep chord, informal interviews are likely to be sufficient; but it is often necessary to try both in order to determine the type of reaction.

In the family investigation we had expected that there would be a good deal of resistance to frank discussion, and we had even considered it possible that the greater part of the investigation might have to be done by indirect methods; but in actual fact it was quickly found that women were quite willing to discuss the matter openly.

Having obtained some preliminary interviews, in this way it is possible to see what aspects of the problem interest people most. It will probably then be necessary to obtain some more indirect or informal interviews on particular problems. When these have been collected, the time has come to take stock of the position.

The first question to be answered is: What methods do we expect to make use of? It having become clear that results could be expected from direct interviewing, it was decided to center the family investigation around a questionnaire. Problems of the questionnaire are dealt with later. Informal and indirect interviews, had, for the time being, played their part, although they were to be used again later. There remains observation and the panel.

The chief way in which observation was used in this survey was in following up individual families. Visits were paid to the mothers and then to the married daughters. One family consisted of a mother and thirteen children, several of the daughters having married. The observation showed both the way in which membership of a large family had affected the attitude of the daughters toward children and the different ways in which women from an identical background reacted. Indirect interviews were obtained with these women, as well as observations of them; and this material proved very valuable in interpreting the results of the questionnaire. The observational reports showed the life led by women having some of the more frequently found

³ Mass-Observation's War Library consists of a large variety of material likely to be of historic interest after the war.

attitudes to the problems investigated. A second family gave equally valuable data, particularly in showing how subjective are such matters as "too much work" and "not enough money." It is not possible in an article such as this to detail the observational methods used or the results obtained; but we ourselves feel that without these observations the survey would have been far less adequate and the interpretation of the results far more a matter of guesswork.

There are very few investigations in which it is not possible to use the panel, in one way or another. The family investigation seemed particularly suited to it. We decided to ask members of the panel to report on several things. What did they think determined the number of children people had? What did they think prevented people from having more children? What was the history of their own family (if they had one), and how were their decisions formed on the number of children to have? What did they think about contraceptives? Were these efficient or not? Some of the questions we asked were designed to get information on matters which could scarcely be dealt with by interviews; some filled in gaps we did not expect to cover by interviews, although this would have been possible. All were phrased in a way which would encourage the members of the panel to let themselves go and to answer at length.

There is one drawback to the use of the panel which is unavoidable. It is not possible to try out questions before putting them in the monthly directive; and, consequently, it is not always possible to ask questions which the replies show later would have been best. In the present investigation several questions were asked which eventually, when the scope of the investigation had been narrowed down, were not required. But this difficulty is counterbalanced by the fact that, once the question has been asked, it is in the files permanently. We frequently find that there is a considerable amount of material in our files relevant to a new investigation, which has been collected in a quite different context. More

rarely diaries can be used as illustrative material, and it was hoped this would be possible in the family investigation; but examination of some of the diaries failed to produce anything of value.

After having decided what methods are suited to the particular investigation, the places in which the investigation is to be carried out are settled. Mass-Observation rarely undertakes a national survey. To apply Mass-Observation methods on a national scale would be a very costly proceeding even if it were possible. Untrained part-time investigators are not suitable for the more intensive type of survey, and we work exclusively with full-time or trained part-time investigators. Interviewing with open-end questions takes longer than with alternative-answer questions, so that a smaller sample is used than by the polls—rarely more than one thousand. Moreover, a national poll must necessarily be somewhat superficial, and on theoretical grounds we consider it more profitable in most cases to carry out the investigation intensively over a limited area rather than superficially over a wider area.

The normal procedure is to carry out the greater part of the investigation in one region, usually London, and to supplement this by one or more smaller investigations in contrasting regions. This was the plan followed for the family survey. Using gross reproduction rates, seven London boroughs were chosen, three of which had high gross reproduction rates, three of which had low ones, and one of which was intermediate. As a contrast to London, a country town with an intermediate gross reproduction rate was chosen, and two hundred interviews were carried out there. For practical purposes we find a check sample of two hundred quite sufficient. If there is a qualitative difference in the reaction, two hundred interviews are sufficient to determine it. Regional numerical differences are not of great importance unless they are very large, in which case even two hundred interviews would locate them; for Mass-Observation aims at giving a picture of the real attitudes

of the people, and the human mind cannot grasp the significance of differences of frequency of the order of 5 per cent.

It might have been a greater contrast if the check interviews had been carried out in villages, but this was not practicable. In villages everyone knows about everyone else's affairs, and on so intimate a subject as the size of the family no reliance could be placed on the answers obtained, since people would not dare to be frank. In towns the same repression does not exist, as was demonstrated by the number of women who admitted to a totally strange interviewer that they got married because they had to.

After deciding on the regions to be investigated, the next point to be settled is the nature of the sample. Sometimes the standard stratification of sex, age, and economic group is found to be adequate, although Mass-Observation uses a socioeconomic grouping equivalent to class rather than a purely economic one, on the grounds that to do anything else is to sacrifice the substance for the shadow where general opinion is concerned. But often this is felt not to be the most adequate stratification. In the family survey it seemed likely that education was of more importance than either class or economic standing, since class was to some extent covered by the contrast between boroughs of high and those of low fertility. A careful check was kept on the education distribution as the survey proceeded, and investigators were warned of any discrepancy between the estimated education distribution for the borough and the distribution of the sample.

The plan with regard to sex and age changed as the survey proceeded. The original plan was to ask everyone the same basic questionnaire, with groups of questions as alternatives for the different ages and sexes. But reflection upon preliminary results made it clear that women of childbearing age were by far the most important group. For single people the problem was a hypothetical one, and it seemed obvious from their replies that their opinions were likely to bear little relation to their action when

they married and had to face the problem in reality. Older people might have settled views on the matter, but their opinions could only have an indirect effect on the birth rate. It seemed possible that married men might provide material of importance, but preliminary results showed that their interest in the subject was less vital than that of married women. It was decided, therefore, to concentrate entirely on married women of childbearing age, arbitrarily fixed at twenty to forty-five.

On a subject like childbearing, age within even this limited group seemed vital. Consideration, however, showed that more decisive than age was the length of time the contact had been married. The groups decided upon were, therefore, those married for up to five years (roughly speaking, the war period), those married from five to ten years, and those married 'over ten years. Figures were not available for the proportion of women who should come in each group, but every effort was made to see that the sample in each area contained the same proportion of each group.

The result of this procedure was to fix groups for stratification which did not correspond to any available data for the areas investigated. This is in accordance with Mass-Observation's principle that exact accuracy of figures should be sacrificed if, by so doing, more meaningful material can be obtained. But in this particular survey the lack of data was extreme; and, furthermore, there was another difficulty—the place where a woman of childbearing age is to be found at a given time of day in wartime is largely dependent on the number of young children she has. If she has six children under fourteen, she is fairly certain to be at home; if she has none, she is fairly certain to be at work; if she has one or two, she may perhaps be found in the street; if she has no children, she may well not be at home even in the evening. We did not feel, therefore, that it was practicable to obtain a sample which was a cross-section of each borough in the very important respects of size of family and occupation of the mother.

For these reasons we decided not to attempt to produce figures for the total number of women of childbearing age holding various points of view. Instead, we aimed at comparing the attitudes of different groups. The main sample was concerned only with women who could be found at home or in the street during the day; and a check sample of women working in a factory was obtained on a similar principle to the regional check sample. Where there were no great regional, occupational, age, or other group differences, it would be reasonable to suppose that the figures obtained were valid for all women; but the chief purpose of the investigation became to compare the views of the different groups. Consequently, the investigation became more concerned with causative factors and less with reporting the situation as a static sociological record.

The next stage is the construction of the questionnaire. This is done in a way very similar to the construction of a poll questionnaire. It is based, however, on the preliminary indirect and informal interviews as well as on the investigator's idea of what points need investigating. Since the questions are open-end ones, it is much easier to judge whether a question is satisfactory than when the experience of reliable interviewers is the only criterion. The nature of even a few verbatim replies from different types of contacts is usually sufficient to make clear deficiencies in the wording of a question. Often it is not so much that the wording of the question is wrong as that the question does not hit the high spot of interest, and a related question on a slightly different issue is found more informative.

In the family questionnaire the biggest difficulty was to determine the relative importance of various possible factors which might make people want more children. The preliminary interviews made it fairly clear which these were; the chief purpose of the questionnaire was to find out their relative importance and the reasons for their importance. But the possibility of a change in wants was far too subtle for easy investigation; people found it difficult enough to say

how many children they wanted now without the added difficulty of projecting their desires into an imaginary future.

Eventually it was decided not to make any attempt to establish the likely magnitude of such things as improved housing conditions, domestic help, family allowances, etc., but simply to ask similar questions about all of them and compare the answers. The style of question used was: "Do you think that, if you could live in the sort of house you like, that would make a difference in the number of children you would like to have?" The number of people saying that this would make a difference gives very little indication of the number who would actually have another child if housing conditions were improved; but the figures for several questions of a similar type are comparable, and the replies of the different groups are comparable, and that was all we needed to find out.

Often in the course of a questionnaire, points arise which seem to repay further investigation, and the family survey was no exception to this rule. We were surprised at the number of women who appeared not able to have as many children as they wanted; the evidence from the questionnaire, however, was not entirely conclusive. We therefore collected a small number of long, informal interviews with older women having completed families; and these confirmed the indications of the questionnaire, providing valuable illustrative material. In another context, fear of childbirth appeared not to be a frequent deterrent, but a very powerful one when it existed, and its intensity was also illustrated by collecting informal interviews.

In describing the various stages in the planning of the family survey it has been treated as though each stage was quite distinct, one being concluded before the next was started. In practice, decisions concerning one stage vitally affect the succeeding stages, and there is no set order in which different aspects are considered. Regions to be covered are affected by the way in which

the sample is to be stratified; the content of the questionnaire affects the stratification of the sample, and so on. The above outline is intended only to indicate the type of solution which Mass-Observation uses for the various problems which affect all surveys.

Such a description would not be complete without a note on the manner in which our surveys are written up, since the whole procedure aims at producing material which can be used in the way to be described. Figures do not form the main part of the report; in the present survey most of the figures are given in an appendix. The basis of the report is the verbatim comments made by the contacts, whether obtained by direct, informal, or indirect methods or from the written replies of the national panel. In this particular survey they also included letters written to a doctor who had spoken over the radio on the subject, letters to which we were allowed access. The report

describes the various attitudes found with ample quotations of these verbatim comments and draws conclusions as it goes along. We believe that, since we are in closer contact with the original material than the readers of the report, it is part of our duty in writing the report to indicate the conclusions to which, in our opinion, it leads. Everyone who tries, not only to present a report on public opinion, but also to interpret it, will quickly see how essential a part of the material the actual comments of the contact are. They bring dead figures to life and make the abstract concrete. Without unlimited financial support, it is necessary to sacrifice either a degree of numerical accuracy or a degree of accuracy in interpreting the figures obtained. We believe that in most cases the interpretation of results is more important.

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CASTE, ECONOMY, AND VIOLENCE

ALLISON DAVIS

ABSTRACT

Caste in the Deep South integrates into one system all aspects of white-Negro behavior: social, sexual, economic, political, educational, religious, legal, associational, and recreational. The only institution which is not completely organized on caste lines is the economic. Whenever Negroes as a group achieve economic mobility, they meet with severe punishment from the whites. Thus conflict and violence indicate that Negroes are beginning to compete more effectively with whites.

Caste in the Deep South integrates into one system all aspects of white-Negro behavior: social, sexual, economic, political, educational, religious, legal, associational, and recreational. The basic subsystem—caste—is a rigid stratification, maintained by physical, social, and psychological punishments and rewards. Everywhere in the South, caste establishes and maintains an endogamous and socially separate system of white-Negro relationship in which by birth the Negroes are all of lower, and the whites all of higher, status. This social caste system is more rigid than that described in the classic literature on Hindu castes.

All white or colored institutions of the southern community, including the church, the school, and the courts, systematically organize and defend the caste system. The only institution which is not completely so organized is the economic. The purpose of this paper is to distinguish caste in the area studied from social class and similar types of hierarchical relationships, to define the legal and customary sanctions of caste status, to describe the integration of the basic institutions into the largest system—that of color caste—and to state a theory of violence as a reaction to the breakdown of caste in the economic sphere.

I

Color caste in Old and Rural counties is a system of relationships which prevents inti-

* The counties specified in this article are those which were reported on in detail in Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary F. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

mate social participation between white and Negro persons. It is maintained by *endogamous* sanctions for each color group and by the associated negative sanctions upon *familial* or *clique* participation of whites with Negroes. Since caste in this society denies legal or customary recognition to sexual relationships between white and Negro people, no individual, white or Negro, can change his caste status by marriage.²

Nor can any person change his caste in Old and Rural counties by changing his occupation, or his religion, as is true in some other caste societies in the world. Even the absence in a "Negro" of the physical caste marks of pigmentation, conformation of the face, and hair form does not make him a member of the white caste. Caste status is determined by a legal and social definition of "blood" or kinship; it is therefore inherited from one's parents. If both of an individual's parents were not socially defined as "white," he is a "Negro" (lower caste), even if he is indistinguishable—as a physical type—from many of the upper-caste members. In the great majority of cases, however, a person's caste status can be defined at once by the inhabitants upon the basis of his skin color and hair form alone.

The basic caste marks of "blood" and

² In the legal and customary rigidity of the endogamous control, the color-caste taboo here described appears to be more inviolable than the endogamous rule of most Hindu castes. See Professor Warner's survey of the evidence on this point in W. Lloyd Warner and Allison Davis, "A Comparative Study of American Caste," *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, ed. Edgar T. Thompson (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939), pp. 219-29.

physical appearance and the fundamental endogamous rule operate within the economic, occupational, educational, political, and social hierarchies so as to assure the great majority of whites a rank superior to Negroes. Thus the system of regulating marriage is strengthened by controls which subordinate Negroes to whites in all the institutions of the society and, consequently, establish a very strongly defined ranking of the two groups.

SOCIAL CLASS

The form which color-caste stratification has assumed in Old and Rural counties appears unusual to the comparative ethnologist, because it includes a system of social classes *within each caste*. The Negro or white person is born into a social class just as he is born into a color caste. As here conceived, caste and class are both systems for limiting and ranking social participation, but they differ in the degree to which they permit an individual to change from his birth rank. *Caste*, in the area studied, categorically prevents marriage or intimate social participation outside of one's color *birth group*. Within a color group; furthermore, *class* restricts marriage and participation to those individuals identified by symbols and behavior as of a similar kind and rank.

Unlike caste, however, class stratification allows an individual to change his birth rank and his group of intimate participants in his lifetime by changing his class-typed participation, behavior, and symbols. He may also marry outside his class.

As here conceived, therefore, and as defined in another study of this society,³ a social class is the largest group of people whose members have intimate social access to each other. A class is composed of families and cliques. These units likewise are evaluated by the class members in a hierarchy of rank. The interrelationships between families and intimate cliques in such informal activities as visiting, dancing, receptions, teas, parties, fish-fries, and larger informal

affairs constitute the structure of a social class. A person is a member of that social class within which most of his intimate participation occurs.

Not all the members of a color caste in Old and Rural counties, therefore, possess equal rank and similar ranges of participation. Within the Negro and white castes, all individuals are further stratified by their caste members into a social class hierarchy. Whereas there is a chance that they may move out of their class, there is no possibility, as the system now operates, that they may change their color-caste membership or participation. Through physical birthmarks an individual is assigned his caste position; whether he is white or Negro, he also dies in his birth caste.

LEGAL AND CUSTOMARY SANCTIONS OF CASTE

This system of defining white-Negro rank is not termed "caste" by the inhabitants. The white group refers to this complex of sanctions as "the color line," "white supremacy," "controlling the Negroes," "race superiority" and "race inferiority," and "keeping this a white man's country." Negroes use such protective euphemisms when talking to whites as "race relations" or "getting along with the white people"; in their own organizations they speak of "race prejudice," "the oppression of Negroes," and "racial injustice." In these expressions the natives refer to the societal controls which make whites superordinate as a group and Negroes subordinate. When these sanctions of rank are examined by the anthropologist, they are seen to have the essential characteristics of a caste system. They define the behavior of both whites and Negroes in such a way as to make their caste rank and prestige universally clear. They operate upon both groups. In all white-Negro relationships they restrict the behavior of both individuals; that is, a white person, as well as a Negro, has a well-defined caste role which he must accept. For learning and maintaining the appropriate caste behavior, an individual of either the Negro

³ Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *op. cit.*, chaps. iii-xi.

or the white group is rewarded by approval and acceptance from his caste; if he violates the controls, he is punished physically, economically, socially, or legally, depending upon the seriousness of the infraction.

Although both the white and the Negro society support the caste system, these sanctions assure high status and privileges to the white individual, and the opposite to the Negro, in all mixed relationships. The relative prestige of the castes is socially defined by color sanctions with respect to occupation, wages, public gatherings, politics, and education. It is this complex of privileges, socially and biologically evaluated, which establishes the superordinate rank of the white, and the subordinate rank of the Negro, group.

The caste controls range from the taboos upon Negro-white marriage and intimacy to those upon the most detailed points of Negro-white etiquette.⁴ The basic sanctions in Old and Rural counties will be listed here in decreasing order of inviolability. Infraction by a Negro of any of these, even those concerning deference, is punished by death, whipping, expulsion from the county, or socioeconomic penalties. Whites, though seldom controlled by physical means, are stigmatized and economically punished by their own caste for violating any of these taboos.

Marriage between whites and Negroes is prohibited by a law which is rigidly observed and enforced, thus supporting the cultural rule of endogamy. By law, also, the offspring of Negro-white unions must be defined as Negroes. Any individual with one Negro ancestor is therefore a Negro, no matter what number of white ancestors he may have had. "Blood" is thus defined so as to prevent mobility across caste lines. Associated with the rule of endogamy is the rule of separate group-seating of whites and Negroes in all public carriers and assemblages. This control is also legalized.

In maintaining the separate and endogamous nature of white-Negro relationships,

the informal social controls are elaborately systematized, so as to prevent what the whites call "social equality." Not only are family and kinship relations legally and culturally interdicted between Negroes and whites but a white and a Negro may not visit as intimates. Thus clique relationships are likewise prevented between members of different color groups. With the taboo upon visiting are taboos upon eating or drinking together, dancing, playing cards, and upon all other types of intimacy. All these controls operate to support the endogamous restriction, by making intimate social access impossible.

When Negro-white sexual unions occur, they must therefore take place outside of the white, and usually of the Negro, family. Such unions are permitted only in the case of a white man and a Negro woman. In this area of sexual and social relationships, Negro-white unions are not regarded as establishing "social equality"; the same attitude is maintained with regard to association between Negro and white criminals, gamblers, or "low-life" persons. Although the white and Negro societies disapprove of all these types of association, the whites permit them because they are not a threat to the white family or social class system and are, therefore, not a violation of the endogamous ("legal marriage") caste taboo.

The socially separate, endogamous, superordinate-subordinate system of Negro-white relationships is further maintained by well-defined restrictions upon face-to-face participation. These controls establish an etiquette in all Negro-white contacts; they prescribe masterful or condescending behavior for the white and deferential behavior for the Negro. Caste etiquette varies slightly according to the class position of the white and Negro interacting in the face-to-face relationship; except in the case of the Negro-customer-white-salesman relationship, however, these modifications in etiquette never violate the masterful role of whites and the deferential role of Negroes. Even in this commercial relationship, white salesgirls in Old City address all upper-class

⁴ Extensive illustration of the evidence gathered on caste sanctions is given in *ibid.*, chap. ii.

colored women, except one, by their first names only.

Whites in this area must not shake hands with Negroes or address them as "Mr.," "Miss," or "Mrs." They address all Negroes either as "girl" or "boy" or by their first names. On the other hand, Negroes must address all whites honorifically. Even an upper-class Negro planter or physician will always address a lower-class white as "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss," whereas whites will not address Negroes in this way, although they may address them as "Professor" or "Doctor." The few exceptions to these rules are limited to Negro domestics who may address their white employers by their first names plus the honorific form, such as "Miss Alice" or "Mr. John," and to some upper middle-class whites who occasionally address a Negro as "Mr." or "Mrs."

Deference to whites by Negroes also includes a conciliating and often whining tone in speaking, removal of the hat, and acquiescence to statements or demands by the white.⁵ An absolute taboo prevails against any Negro's contradicting, cursing, or shouting angrily at any white. In the more isolated communities of the area, caste deference requires that a Negro shall not wear expensive, "dressy" clothes on weekdays, shall not smoke cigars in the presence of whites, and shall drive his automobile to the side of the road at once to allow a white driver to pass.

The roles of deference for Negroes and of dominance for whites are supported by both physical and psychosocial punishments. In preventing what the whites call "social equality," caste etiquette ranks below only endogamy and social separateness in universality and inviolability. In certain contexts the smallest lapse in deference by a Negro may be punished by beating or death.

The whites place all Negroes into two categories: "good Negroes" and "bad Negroes." The former type meticulously observes the rules of deference; the latter

type is slow, "sullen," or "sassy" or "smart" toward whites. Negroes, however, use the term "good Negro" to refer to a Negro who is more deferential than the white society requires. Like the whites, they employ the term "bad Negro" to mean a Negro who openly violates caste etiquette, but there is usually an implication of social approval in the Negro usage.

The masterful role of whites and the deferential role of Negroes, learned and maintained as specific behavior patterns and reinforced by powerful sanctions, extend into every type of Negro-white relationship. They underlie the patriarchal "gift" pattern of white behavior toward Negroes in governmental, court, and economic relations and the begging, clowning, flattering, or subservient behavior of the Negroes. Within these caste-typed roles, Negroes and whites have their *modus vivendi*. The caste subordination of Negroes, which is enforced by the complex of legal, political, economic, educational, and social restrictions placed upon them, still allows the deferential Negro to attain certain limited rewards within his lower-caste status. The Negro "leader," minister, or school principal depends upon the patronage of whites to maintain Negro institutions like the school, or the church. The behavior of the effective Negro in this community is directed toward maneuvering the white into accepting more fully a patriarchal relationship to the Negro; both the Negro servant and the Negro leader thus attempt by flattery, cunning, and deference to compel the powerful white individual to act out his patriarchal role.

CASTE DOGMAS

The sanctions of endogamy, social separateness, and white mastery and Negro deference are likewise supported by dogmas in each color group. The most general dogmas of whites in Old and Rural counties concerning the reasons for the subordination of Negroes are that Negroes are inherently childish, primitively sexual, and, except for a few unusual individuals, incapable of intellectual and emotional maturity (sociali-

⁵ Scratching the head and shuffling the feet, as if in indecision, are also deferential gestures of most Negroes in this area.

zation) on the level achieved by whites. These secular teachings are supported by the religious dogma that Negroes are inherently faithful, subservient, humble, and otherworldly. Within the Negro caste, the individual is taught that the whites as a group are superior in skills and power, extremely dangerous, all-powerful, and sinful. Negro ministers and leaders express this dogma as follows: Since whites are all-powerful, Negroes should avoid aggressive behavior toward the individuals and toward the white community as a whole; the successful accommodation of Negroes to whites requires their being deferential to whites and working conscientiously for them; Negroes have many invidious characteristics which account for white domination; and Negroes should develop their own Negro society more fully by "race loyalty" to Negro businesses, professional men, and leaders.⁶

Thus the dogmas of each caste positively sanction the separate, ranked, and endogamous relationship. Since the Christian dogma of the brotherhood of man and the democratic dogma of the inherent equality of all men before the law and state are also a part of Negro culture, however, the complete acceptance of caste dogma by Negroes includes only the inviolability of caste endogamy and social separateness. Although Negroes necessarily accept caste-ranking controls also, there is abundant evidence of psychological conflict over this categorical subordination.

The caste sanctions and teachings vary slightly according to age, sex, class, and rural-urban groups. For example, in Old and Rural counties, social separateness is less strictly enforced among very young children; also caste controls are more elaborate and severe in rural than in urban communities and in towns than in cities. Under all conditions, however, the basic restrictions

upon marriage, public gatherings, social intimacy, and etiquette operate to maintain the superordinate-subordinate relationships of whites and Negroes and to make this ranking unchangeable and dependent upon birth.

CASTE AND COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

All other systems of behavior within the society of Old and Rural counties are adjusted in some degree to the caste system. In formal organization, the caste sanctions are most rigidly applied in the political and governmental systems, the organization and functioning of the courts, the educational system, the church and associations, and in organized recreation. In local government, only whites vote or hold state, county, or municipal offices. Only six Negroes in Old City had been allowed to register as voters in national elections; these registered Negroes admitted they did not vote, because they felt, as a leading Negro professional man said, that government was "the white man's business." In the rural counties, no Negro was registered. No Negroes were registered as voters in state or municipal elections, nor had any been a candidate for any county or municipal office since Reconstruction. The white officers in charge of registration and elections stated to one of the white interviewers that the whites prevented Negroes from registering as voters by intimidation and, if necessary, by violence.

In all law courts all judges, court officers, lawyers, and juries are white persons. Criminal cases involving a white and a Negro are almost invariably decided in favor of the white, even if he has been the attacker. Civil cases between Negroes and whites, involving damage to person or property, may be won by a Negro, especially if the white party to the suit is an insurance company or nonlocal corporation. Negroes very rarely sue local whites, however. Murder of a white by a Negro is always punished by death, whereas the murder of a Negro by a white is seldom punished by the courts. Attacks by Negroes upon Negroes usually

⁶ A detailed analysis of the operation of color-caste and class controls in the Negro church and associations in Old and Rural counties and in New Orleans has been prepared for the Carnegie Corporation by the writer, under the title, *The Negro Church and Associations in the Lower South: A Research Memorandum*.

are very slightly punished, even in the case of murder.

The educational and associational institutions of the community are all segmented into white and Negro structures. Negro public schools are markedly inferior to white in teaching staff and in equipment; the per capita appropriation by the school board for Negroes is only a fraction of that for whites. The salaries of Negro teachers are lower than those for whites in parallel status. The churches and associations have either all-Negro or all-white membership; the only exceptions anywhere in the surrounding area are in certain labor unions in the building trades and in the Spiritualist and Sanctified churches. All other Protestant and Catholic churches exhibit a quite rigid form of segregation. The highest authority in the Episcopal church, the bishop, stated to a white interviewer the caste policy of his church as follows:

I think that the only solution of the situation is for Negroes to develop independently of the whites. They must recognize the situation as it is and conform to it. They must work out their own destiny without attempting social equality.

The Catholic bishop likewise stated the acceptance of the caste structure of the community by his church:

Actually we adapt ourselves to local conditions. Not only because the Negroes usually have a separate church but also because we feel it is better for them to have their own. They also prefer to have a separate church and request it.

Negro-white relationships, therefore, conform to a caste structure in the formal organizations of the society, as well as in the family, social clique, and more informal relationships. The only structure which does not exhibit this sharp dichotomy is the economic organization of the society. Although color-caste sanctions operate as occupational taboos to a high degree, the economic structure is not caste-segmented upon an all-or-none color basis, as are the political and religious structures. That is, economic status

does not follow color status with the well-nigh perfect correlation formed in regard to political and legal status.

II

In certain fields, notably in storekeeping, contracting, farming, and professional service to colored persons, the economic system is still sufficiently "free" in competition to prevent the rigid application of caste taboos. Although a large proportion of colored proprietors and contractors, lacking adequate capital, have been unable to compete successfully, the economic system has maintained a small group of colored persons of relatively high status. It has thus prevented the full development of caste—that development in which *all* members of the lower caste are legally, or by virtue of unbreakable custom, below *all* members of the upper caste in wages, occupational status, and the value of property owned.

The evidence establishes the following relationship between the systems of color caste and of economic stratification in the area studied. In general, the economic status of Negroes is inferior to that of whites; nevertheless, economic behavior openly conflicts with caste dogma at times, such as when white landlords accept Negro farm tenants in preference to white. The distribution of economic status is strongly bimodal for color; nevertheless, both Negroes and whites occupy every sort of occupational status—from landlord to day laborer. The same distribution is observed for economic status as measured by landownership, amount of cotton produced, and fertility of soil cultivated.

A study of income, savings, property ownership, and occupations has revealed the marked statistical tendency of economic and occupational status to follow caste lines; together with an actually wide intra-caste spread of economic status. With regard to the first system of behavior, that is, the economic-class stratification *within* each color caste, the chief determinants are considered to be the laws and customs of a "freely competitive" economy, the differ-

ential control and fertility of land, the differential availability of credit, and powerful economic-class dogmas and antagonisms.

The second characteristic of economic stratification, namely, the great preponderance in higher economic status of whites over Negroes, is related to the operation of the direct primary caste sanctions, which enable the white landlord to subordinate the Negro tenant even more effectively than the white tenant by law, by custom, and, if necessary, by force. The primary caste controls likewise assure the white landlord a marked competitive advantage over the Negro landlord with regard to the purchase of land, the command of credit, and the securing of tenants. In the urban society, moreover, direct caste sanctions operate to exclude Negroes from practically all preferred occupational status.

The crucial observation remains, however, that some few Negroes enjoy higher economic symbols and rank than many whites. This skew in the relationship between color caste and economic status is observed as a conflict between economic behavior patterns in a competitive system and caste patterns, deriving from a system of social stratification based upon marks of color and "blood." The criteria of status in the two systems are essentially different. A Negro landlord enjoys the economic functions and symbols of a person in the higher positions of the economic hierarchy: he may even have a white tenant working for him. But in social relationships, even with his white tenant, he is lower caste. The existence of these two systems is historically demonstrated by the position of free Negroes in the period of slavery. Most free Negroes actually possessed higher economic status than the chattel slaves and than some "poor whites." Like the slaves, however, they were lower caste, that is, members of a socially separate, endogamous, and subordinated group.

In so far as the present economic system has prevented the full extension of the caste system, it appears to have been operating upon two principles: that of the sanctity of

private property and that of free competition. This latter aspect of the national economic and legal structures gives rise to the presence in Old County of nonlocal factories and sawmills. These manufacturing firms hire labor as cheaply as they can get it, with the result that in industries where white workers have not been able to establish caste taboos, colored workers are employed to do much the same type of labor as whites. They may even be preferred to white workers, because they can be hired for a lower wage.

These nonlocal industries not only tend to disrupt caste relations in labor but they put into the hands of colored workers money which the local white storekeepers are extremely anxious to obtain. Since money has the highest value in the economic system, it causes white middle- and lower-class storekeepers to wait upon colored patrons deferentially. Money thereby increases the difficulties of adjusting caste, which seems to be essentially a structure of pastoral and agricultural societies, to a manufacturing and commercial economy. This money economy likewise leads the group of entrepreneurs and middlemen to whom it has given rise—the most powerful group in the production of cotton because they control credit and therefore production—to be unmindful whether they buy cotton from a colored or white farmer, whether they sell food, automobiles, and clothes to one or the other, whether they allow nonlocal industries to subordinate the lower economic group of whites to the lower group of colored workers. They care principally about increasing their money. Even the local white farmowners prefer colored tenants to white, because they can obtain higher profits from the former. From the point of view of the white lower group, such behavior is a violation of caste. It indicates a fundamental conflict between the economic system and the caste dogma.

In the second place, the principle of the sanctity of private property has generally operated to prevent the expropriation of colored owners. Even during the period of slavery, free colored persons were allowed to

own property in Old City and in the state generally. This right was not taken from them during the twenty years immediately preceding the Civil War, when the legislature severely restricted their behavior in other respects. At the close of the Civil War, the same reactionary legislature which passed the so-called "Black Code" in Mississippi, providing "apprentice" laws, *granted* to freedmen the right to own property in incorporated towns and cities. Since that time, colored owners have not been expropriated, except in isolated cases of terrorization. To expropriate colored property owners would be to violate the most fundamental principle of the economic system and to establish a precedent for the expropriation of other subordinated groups, such as the lower economic group of white people, Jews, Italians, and "foreign" ethnic groups of all kinds.

It is necessary to point out, however, that the modification of the caste system in the interests of the profits of the upper and middle economic groups of white people by no means amounts to an abrogation of caste in economic relationships. The economic interests of these groups would also demand that cheaper colored labor should be employed in the "white-collar" jobs in business offices, governmental offices, stores, and banks. In this field, however, the interests of the employer group conflict not only with those of the lower economic group of whites but also with those of the more literate and aggressive middle group of whites. A white store which employed colored clerks, for example, would be boycotted by both these groups. The taboo upon the employment of colored workers in such fields is the result of the political power and the purchasing power of the white middle and lower groups. As a result of these taboos in the field of "white-collar" work, the educated colored person occupies a well-nigh hopeless position in Old County.

The superior political power of the middle and lower groups of white people consequent upon the disfranchisement of the colored population, has enabled them to es-

tablish a caste barrier to the employment of colored clerical workers in municipal, state, and federal governmental offices. The inability of these white groups to extend caste taboos so as to prevent colored persons from owning real estate and from competing with white skilled and unskilled labor may be attributed to the fact that the rights of private property and of a free labor market for the planter and the manufacturer are still sacred legal rights in Old County.

A more detailed knowledge of the caste system as it exists in economic settings which differ from the old plantation economy of Old County would enable one to define the degree of subordination of the lower caste according to the type of economy. A tentative hypothesis might be advanced that the physical terrorization of colored people is most common in those areas where their general economic status is highest. In the "newer" agricultural, oil-producing, and manufacturing sections of Mississippi and of the South in general, where relatively large groups of colored people are economically superordinate to relatively large groups of white people, open racial conflict and terrorization seem to be at their height. Such conflict results from the fact that in many economic symbols, such as clothes, automobiles, and houses, a relatively large number of colored people are superior to many of the poorer whites. The white society, as a whole, often resorts to terrorization to reassert the dogma of caste and to indicate that in physical and legal power over the life and limb of colored people, at least, the caste sanctions are effective.

In the Mississippi Delta, where white and colored farm tenants are competing at an increasing rate, and in a mill-town society, a sawmill society, or an oil-mining society, where similar competition exists, most of the white men *work* for a living, as contrasted with the white planters in Old County—and work in daily contact with colored men, even though the former may be termed "supervisors." Here, where most white men, dressed in overalls or work clothes, are almost as poor as the colored workers and

occupy approximately the same occupational level, it is most difficult to maintain the caste lines with the rigidity and authority which the dogma demands. In such a community, therefore, the white population continually must resort to terrorization in order to impress the colored group with the fact that *economic* equality, or even superiority on the part of the latter, is not *real* equality or superordination; in other words, that caste exists all along the line, as the myth demands, and that actually *any* white man, no matter how poor or illiterate, is superordinate to any colored man, and must be treated with the appropriate deference.

In the old plantation areas in South

Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi, on the other hand, where almost all the colored people are families of poverty-stricken tenants and almost all the white people are families of owners of large landlords, caste is almost "perfect" economically and socially, and therefore relatively little terrorization of the lower caste is needed to support it. In fine, where caste is most fully extended there is little need for violence, because the colored people are thoroughly subordinated economically, occupationally, and socially. When the castes are in economic competition as laborers and tenants, however, violence and conflict seem to be at their height.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WORK AND RETIREMENT IN OLD AGE¹

MICHAEL T. WERMEL AND SELMA GELBAUM

ABSTRACT

Current proposals and plans to encourage or force old people to retire from their jobs in the postwar period are a threat to their best interests. Medical, psychological, and sociological research indicates that, for those who are able and eager to work, idleness may result in serious personality disintegration. Public measures such as old age clinics and government subsidized workshops and self-help co-operatives would provide employment adapted to their diminishing capacities and help them retain some degree of economic independence.

Mobilization of the labor supply to meet war needs has forced employers all over the country to make use of many workers who normally would never have been hired. As a result, older workers today enjoy a position in the labor market that in no way reflects labor policies characteristic of the period before 1940 or likely to prevail after the end of the war.

In ordinary times both business and labor have encouraged older workers to retire. With a view to greater labor efficiency, management has made increasing use of industrial pension plans as a device for shelving old employees without injuring the morale of the other workers. Labor unions also have seen in social security and trade-union pension plans a means of improving employment and promotional opportunities for their younger members.

Yet experience under the old age insurance system gives no evidence that most old people are eager to stop work. The majority of persons aged sixty-five who are eligible for old age insurance have not quit their jobs to claim benefit payments. Benefit amounts at present levels have been insufficient to encourage older workers to retire voluntarily. By the end of 1943 only 31 per cent of all persons with wage credits who were eligible for retirement benefits under this program were actually getting them—the others were still at work.

Thus, in the altered perspective of war-

time, when older workers are an asset rather than a drag on the labor market, the question arises whether it is wise or kind to try to induce or force old people to retire if they can and want to continue work. Plans and proposals for removing workers of any particular age from the labor market appear to overlook differences in ability, interests, health, and personality among the aged and also the fact that the employability of old people varies as widely as their other personal characteristics.

Old persons roughly fall into three categories. There are the highly skilled and professional workers who can maintain their full usefulness until late old age. These people have little special handicap in competition with other workers. Their wholesale retirement would serve only to increase the burden of the care of the aged on society and unnecessarily augment the cost of any old age insurance system. At the other end of the scale are the men and women who are disabled by illness or years and who are completely incapable of working. To them, old age insurance brings at least a small measure of security from destitution and dependency.

Between these two extremes, however, there are many partially employable persons who, properly placed, are competent to turn out varying amounts of useful goods and services. This group includes the marginal workers for whom industry finds room only in periods of labor shortage and also those who are not physically able to work full time. The efficiency of these workers may

¹ The opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors only and do not necessarily represent the viewpoint of the Social Security Board.

have declined considerably from their earlier peak, but they are still capable of adding to the nation's production.

Whether or not retirement is a desirable goal for persons who are fully able to work, or even for those whose efficiency has declined, is a question which needs more careful consideration than it has received in most studies of old age insurance. In old age do most people wish to enjoy a few years of leisure after a long life of struggle and labor? Does retirement really contribute to the well-being of old people?

Such knowledge as we have indicates that a job means more than earnings to the aged, as to younger people. It must be remembered that an aging man or woman has needs which are not solely economic. Work gives one a place in life and a status, psychologically and sociologically. As Professor Hollingsworth of Columbia University observes, a man tends in the course of time to become his occupation.² It is the symbol of the sum of his major activities and interests. In this sense, "the man is his job." Retirement from the job, therefore, is an important break in the continuity of life. A complete understanding of the aging process, of the personal and social problems that face the older person, and of the kinds of adjustment that it is possible for him to make is essential to any determination of the value of retirement both for him and for society.

Although a fully insured worker at the age of sixty-five is eligible for benefits under the federal insurance system, "old age" itself has no chronological benchmark. "Old age" varies with the individual, the stage of civilization, and the particular society in which a person lives. Primitive people generally identify it with the beginnings of incompetence and use as the criterion the individual's usefulness to the group. Such a standard, however, is incomplete in our own economy, where economic usefulness is also

subject to the fluctuations of the business cycle. In pre-war days some men were dropped from employment in their forties, women as early as thirty-five—a time of life which can scarcely be considered old age.

According to one group of authorities the aging process is continuous.³ It begins with conception and is terminated only by death. The rate of decline accelerates in the late sixties and seventies until the characteristics associated with senility have developed. Others hold the opinion that, biologically, "aging" is a fiction; that organic changes in later years are the result of infections, toxins, traumas, and nutritional disturbances which, early acquired, eventually give rise to degenerative impairments.⁴ Age, in this view, is disease. The exponents of the latter school of thought envisage a progressively increasing span of life for man as science advances.

Both theories have yet to be proved; the evidence on either side is by no means conclusive. Studies of longevity in man, however, indicate that the increase in the average expectancy of life in recent decades is the result of gains in the earlier years. Control of infant mortality and the reduced incidence of diseases of childhood and of adolescence have been the most important factors in lengthening the average life, not by increasing the maximum span, but by enabling a larger part of the population to live to reach old age.

Whichever view is adopted, it will always be important to distinguish between a condition that can be definitely labeled pathological and one that appears to exist simply because of the accumulation of years. The tendency to accept various chronic diseases as "natural" in old age is one reason why the needs of the aged are so often neglected.⁵

³ Aldred Scott Warthin, *Old Age, the Major Revolution* (New York: Hoeber, 1930), p. 56.

⁴ Lawrence Frank, Foreword to Second Edition, in *Problems of Aging*, ed. E. V. Cowdrey (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1942), p. xvi.

⁵ Helen Brunot, *Old Age in New York City* (New York: Welfare Council of New York City, 1943), p. 14.

² H. L. Hollingsworth, cited in Christine Margaret Morgan, "The Attitudes and Adjustments of Recipients of Old Age Assistance," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 214 (1937), p. 102.

While degenerative diseases of one type or another seem to be almost characteristic of senescence, they can never be considered normal.

There are, of course, a number of diseases which, although not unknown among the young, take their greatest toll among the aged. These are mainly diseases of the cardiovascular system; diseases of bones, joints, and muscles; diseases of the genitourinary and those of the respiratory system; and, lastly, diseases of the nervous system. On the basis of a recent survey, the United States Public Health Service has concluded that chronic diseases or gross physical impairments are present in 58 per cent of all persons sixty-five years of age and over.

Characteristic of old age, also, are certain changes in the body which do not respond to any known treatment and have never been attributed to specific diseases and, in the absence of more complete knowledge, may be considered "age changes." These include deterioration of cells and tissues; decreased speed, strength, and endurance; degeneration of the nervous system; and impaired vision, hearing, attention, memory, and mental endurance.

While degeneration in the sense organs—particularly sight and hearing—may seriously interfere with an individual's employability in certain types of work, for the large majority of occupations the atrophy of the nervous system is most significant. This condition reduces speed of reaction, neuromuscular strength, and, to some extent, intelligence. Progressive loss in speed of reaction begins early in middle age and continues into senility. Because reaction time is an important element in many types of manual labor, slowing-up is among the chief reasons for age limits in industry. Its effect is apparent in automobile accident rates; while the middle-aged driver, because he is more cautious, is safer at the wheel than the very young man, the driver in his sixties, despite his caution, is much less safe on the highways than either of the other two groups.

In this connection, however, it is impor-

tant to remember that the changes which accompany the aging process appear surprisingly early in some people and seem to be postponed indefinitely in others. Studies of biological change have shown repeatedly that differences between individuals are much greater than differences between age groups. One man is old at fifty, another not until seventy-five. So much depends on variations in heredity, accidents, disease, and mode of living that number of years alone cannot be considered an adequate standard for judging individual efficiency.

Deterioration of mental powers is another frequent handicap of old age. No thoroughly satisfactory tests have been devised to measure the degree of change as age advances, but it has been generally agreed that the mental faculties that depend on physiological factors are most seriously affected. Considerable organic shrinkage occurs in the aging brain. Experimentation has disclosed, moreover, that mental speed declines more rapidly than intelligence. The loss is first felt in the diminution of physiological energy rather than in the ability to understand or create. Much of the decline has been attributed to the fact that the habits of learning have been lost and incentive is no longer what it was in youth. Idleness, ill-health, and a sense of insecurity engendered by losing one's position in the world all combine to deaden interest.

The greatest mental difficulty among older persons appears to occur in the formation of new associations—new learning.⁶ Learning acquired in the early years, as illustrated by vocabulary, is adequately retained until late senescence. Judgment and reasoning power also seem to continue on the same level. For these latter reasons the older person may still be valuable to industry. What he has lost in speed of reaction time and in muscular strength may be offset by his relatively high level of skill, experience, and careful judgment.

In order to make full use of whatever powers remain to him, however, an old per-

⁶ Jeanne Gilbert, "Mental Efficiency in Senescence," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 188 (1933).

son must be emotionally well adjusted. Unfortunately, proper adjustment to age changes is difficult for many people. Psychiatrists have observed that human beings begin very early to think about old age. The gradual change in appearance, the diminished capacity for work, and other physiological changes all point a threatening finger to the future. The losses incurred through age are very real, and adaptation to them requires great effort. A desire to retain status socially and economically in the face of regression in one's abilities may result in emotional and mental conflict.

While true senility does bring about social impotence and dependency, few people live long enough to undergo sufficient decline in all functions to be considered completely senile.⁷ Fear of aging, rather than aging itself, constitutes the chief problem. Cultural pressures, economic factors, or neurotic tendencies prematurely impose on the individual many of the "stigmata of decline." The manual worker who is discarded at forty is much more conscious of approaching old age than the professor who, at forty, is assumed to be just reaching his full powers. The worker, therefore, is more likely to adopt the attitudes of old age, a "pseudosenescence" in which there are psychological manifestations that cannot be accounted for by the amount of physical change.

Too much stress usually is laid on the organic factors and not enough on these psychological hazards of aging. The changing world, the institutional emphasis on youth, the belief in the decline of economic opportunity, all generate self-doubt in the older person. The individual with a resilient personality, who has had emotional security all through life and has continuing prospects of security and esteem, may adapt himself to the handicaps of old age. The person whose life-goals have never been reached may become emotionally maladjusted. This condition may show itself in nothing more

serious than frequent complaints; in extreme cases, it may result in a break with reality and retirement into a world of fantasy.

Almost one-fifth of all cases committed to mental hospitals are diagnosed as senile psychotics—persons who when brought to the hospital are over sixty years of age and have had no known periods of mental illness earlier in life.⁸ While the cause of these mental disorders is often physiological, many patients are suffering from functional rather than organic diseases. Something in their social, economic, or family situation, rather than a brain lesion, has led to a psychosis.

Mental hygienists point out that if other people had a proper understanding of the situation of the older person in terms of his life-patterns and purposes they might help him to become a happy and self-sufficient human and to avoid serious mental disturbances. The needs of the aged are not very different from those of the younger person. He wants security, importance, affection, and understanding. His ability to fulfil these needs, however, is considerably diminished; therefore, he may need special help in guiding his energies into the proper channels.

Efforts to bring about adequate adjustment in the aged must be based on a correct appraisal of their abilities, interests, social reactions, and emotional patterns. Experts in this field emphasize the importance of activity and outside interests for the preservation of mental ability. Although it may be necessary for physical reasons, retirement is not considered beneficial to mental health. The need for continuing to lead a normal life is stressed. When retirement is inevitable, substitute activities may to some extent take the place of the job. Some way must be found to make the old person feel that he is still a part of society and not on the shelf.

Unhealthy emotions, such as suspicion,

⁷ George Lawton (ed.), *Old Age and Aging* (reprinted from the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. X, No. 1 [January, 1940]), "Conclusions," p. 86.

⁸ Samuel Hartwell, "Mental Diseases of the Aged," in *New Goals for Old Age*, ed. George Lawton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 133.

depression, self-centeredness, and jealousy, frequently are found in old people as a result of their feeling that they are losing their place in life.⁹ In such cases, emotional re-education and redirection of interests through work therapy and group activity may be helpful. Persons who have become emotionally rigid and indifferent in order to avoid suffering need to be led to recognize that mental pain is not without its value and that it promotes growth of personality and leads to efforts that require courage, initiative, and enthusiasm with their accompanying satisfactions.

As already suggested, much of the discontent felt by the older person is the direct result of the change in his economic and social status. Financially, people sixty-five years and over are not likely to be self-sufficient. Fear of economic insecurity has been steadily increasing among the aged for a number of reasons, the most important of which is the widespread discrimination against older workers in industry. The prejudice which leads employers to raise barriers to the employment of workers past forty are often based on erroneous notions. There is, for example, the mistaken belief that accident rates and the cost of workmen's compensation are higher for the middle-aged than for younger workers. Other factors are the preference of the public for youth in certain kinds of jobs, the decline of muscular strength in the aged, and the large number of physical defects credited to them. Speed-up and technological changes in industry have also affected the employment opportunities of older workers.

The fact that the last few years have completely changed the employment situation of older workers, however, makes it apparent that they can play a useful part in industry. In the tight wartime labor market, this "marginal" group has become a genuine asset. When wartime activity comes to an end, the plight of the older worker may again become serious. Studies of old age dependency in the 1920's and 1930's indicated that only about one-third of the aged

were self-dependent. Many in this self-dependent group, moreover, were being partially helped by friends and relatives to live more comfortably.

Financial security, however, is not the whole answer to the problem of old age. Old people seek a chance to work for work's sake as well as for money. A report based on the investigation of 381 persons who were recipients of old age assistance in New York State showed that many of those who could do so got part-time jobs, even though their assistance grants were reduced by the amount of their earnings.¹⁰ Most of this group of men and women had been working at manual labor since they were nine or ten years old, and fully 60-70 per cent reported that they would prefer to continue working. They said that work filled up the long days, kept them from brooding and reflecting on their troubles, gave them companionship, and made them feel like normal human beings.

Various aspects of our culture have made retirement a disintegrating factor for the older person.¹¹ The Puritan tradition of work for its own sake and of personal independence has become part of the American character. Even in old age, idleness and dependency carry a stigma. Added to this habit of thought is the fact that in recent years the status of old people in the home has changed considerably. The mobility of the population, the rise of cities and apartment houses, and the small family have in many cases caused a break between the older and younger generations, both physically and emotionally. The old family homestead which could house two or three generations, with room to spare, has been replaced by a three- or four-room apartment; giving the old folks a place means overcrowding or straining the family budget. Old people often are not the aid and comfort that they once were in the home. Apartment-house living leaves little or nothing they can do to

¹⁰ Christine Margaret Morgan, "The Attitudes and Adjustments of Recipients of Old Age Assistance," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 214 (1937).

¹¹ Joseph K. Folsom, "Old Age as a Sociological Problem," in Lawton, p. 33.

⁹ Lillian J. Martin and Claire-Degruchy, *Sweeping the Cobwebs* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933).

help. Recent investigations suggest that in these circumstances the aged generally prefer to live alone rather than with friends or relatives, who may find them a burden. Some even prefer to enter institutions, which provide protection as well as a greater number of social contacts.

Denied urgent home interests, many old people are more than ever dependent on work to lend purpose to their days. If our present economic setup cannot offer them jobs, it seems important to find a substitute for their loss of this and other means of satisfying their needs.

Various methods have been suggested for giving the old a sense of personal worth and importance. There is the possibility of placing older workers in jobs that require aptitudes which old people possess. Workshops such as the "Old Man's Department" in the Dodge Division of the Chrysler Corporation are an indication of what can be done for the oldsters.¹² Veteran employees who cannot maintain the necessary pace in other departments are eligible for transfer to this department, where every man works at his own speed. The job is adjusted to the man, not the man to the job. Wider use of such sheltered work-places for the old might be encouraged through some form of government subsidy.

Self-help co-operatives adapted to the capacities of the older person have also been proposed as a means of providing work for the aged.¹³ During the recent depression, producers' co-operatives grew up in various parts of the country to stave off destitution. They did not always succeed in producing an adequate income for their members, but, considering the fact that they had a minimum of capital, no land, and no tools, they made a very creditable showing. At least, they kept up the morale of the unemployed at a time when it was at particularly low ebb. They might perform a similar function for the aged.

¹² Don Wharton, "Old Man's Department," *Forbes*, November 1, 1942, pp. 14-28.

¹³ U.S. Department of Labor, "Self-help Co-operatives for Older Workers," *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1939, pp. 1081-83.

"Made work" does not carry the prestige of work done in the competitive labor market and possibly does not have the same psychological value to the individual. It might even take considerable encouragement to get the older person to participate. Nevertheless, these proposals place proper emphasis on the need of some type of work which will have at least a therapeutic effect in maintaining the physical and mental health of old people.

Just as rehabilitation and occupational therapy are provided for the disabled, so similar measures might be adopted to enable older workers to remain on the job as long as they wish and are able to do so. Old age centers, or clinics, for example, might be established to provide special medical care, psychological guidance, and employment counseling for the aging individual. By means of more widespread testing for older workers, employers might be induced to modify unwarranted discriminatory practices. An educational program also might be developed to prepare people for some type of leisure activity if retirement becomes necessary in old age.

Retirement of all workers at any particular age might seem to provide a few more jobs for younger workers; it might also help to maintain the efficiency of a plant's labor force at high level. These are objectives which have appeared important to labor and management. When the welfare of the entire community and of old people themselves is considered, however, forced retirement can hardly be regarded as a desirable goal. To deny aged persons the opportunity to work is to deprive the nation of their productive capacities. The proportion of old people in our population is increasing; if those who are able are permitted to remain in jobs, it may be possible to provide greater financial security to persons who are unable to work. No one would propose that the old be kept in the harness of regular employment until they drop; but it is no less cruel to place a barrier in the way of those to whom work is the breath of life.

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VALUES AND GROUP BEHAVIOR IN TWO CAMPS FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

H. OTTO DAHLKE

ABSTRACT

Social action based on values considered absolute is analyzed by the use of data from two conscientious-objector camps and the religious agency which administered them. The conditions of the social action consist of the value-orientation of the religious agency and of the government, the work programs, and the material milieu of the camps. These conditions interacted with the diverse and, in part, contrary value-orientations of the individual conscientious objectors. In this process special social roles and contending interest groups developed. In addition to this unstable social structure, a general pattern of adjustment is discernible, presenting various degrees of accommodation, assimilation, and conflict.

In the history of Christianity pacifism is an integral part of the structure of social action of most New Testament sects.¹ The sect adheres to a system of valuations—in this instance, with reference to man's relation to Christ, to God, and to the world, absolutely. It expresses a type of social action which Max Weber has called *wertrational*, i.e., an adherence to a value for its own sake without consideration or calculation of consequences.² Social action demonstrating values absolutely and social action which uses them pragmatically, in a rational purposeful way (*zweckrational*), differentiates the "sectarian" and the mystic from the "common man" and his ways.³

¹ Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), pp. 360-83, 849-58, 907-16, and *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte und Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925), pp. 122-56; Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932), pp. 613-42.

² Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925), p. 12; Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59.

³ Thomas Kelly, *A Testament of Devotion* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 62 and 66-67, for a recent, clear-cut distinction from the mystic's point of view. Cf. Elsa Stechert, *Vom Wesen der handelnder und schauender Mystik* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1927), pp. 31-35; Weber, "Die Erlösungswege und ihr Einfluss auf die Lebensführung," *loc. cit.*, pp. 303-30 and especially pp. 312-15; and Pauline Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), chaps. iii and v.

For purposes of analysis the conscientious objector may be regarded as one whose behavior is set on a *wertrational* basis. He follows either a prescribed role or one developed in his own life-history. In either case the conscientious objector is a deviant from the prevailing norms of a society at war. Opposed to military service on religious grounds, he is compelled to engage in "work of national importance under civilian direction" (with the exception of the absolutist, who chooses imprisonment).

The Service Committees of the historic peace churches—the Society of Friends, the Church of the Brethren, and the Menonites—are the immediate administrative agencies of Civilian Public Service (C.P.S.) camps, those camps to which the conscientious objector is sent. These sects exemplify more or less the contemplative-mystical form of religious behavior with its implication for individual conduct and group action. The C.P.S. camps are monosexual, telic groups, where men, as the church groups say, may "bear witness and give testimony to a way of life." These camps have been established by the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service in co-operation with the Service Committees. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors is a liaison agency for the Service Committees and other church groups interested in the conscientious objector. Work is directed by a technical agency of the federal government or by the superintendent

of some state institution. Each administrative agency has its own objectives for C.P.S.—i.e., ideas about the nature of the camp community, of the type of man who would live there, and of the direction in which development should proceed.⁴ The camps present, therefore, a unique conflux of policies, ideologies, and systems of social action arising from the government, the church groups, and the individual conscientious objectors.

This study will deal with two camps under the administration of the American Friends' Service Committee. It is an attempt to analyze the interaction of the different value-systems, in an effort to demonstrate the relationship of policy and value-orientation to the social patterns and social personality types which have developed.

I

Selective Service established the general framework for the camps, based primarily upon a C.C.C. pattern, but the American Friends' Service Committee (A.F.S.C.) also sought to prescribe a system of action based upon the ideological and social structure which the Society of Friends developed in its historical experience. The A.F.S.C. is an independent organization which serves as an instrument to demonstrate the value-system of the Society. It seeks to create "human fellowship and understanding in areas of strife and conflict and demonstrate the power of unselfish love and good will to overcome bitterness."⁵ In furtherance of these objectives the A.F.S.C. has maintained many projects, such as aiding refugees, feeding and caring for children in Europe, rehabilitating sharecroppers and unemployed mine

workers, working in problems areas through the work camps, etc. This "social action" is regarded as a testimony or witness of religious values; and it is considered, at the same time, as a way of devaluing or negating means and goals contrary to them. A special section of this committee is in charge of the Friends' camps.

Common to the contemplative-mystical pattern but not peculiar to the Society of Friends are the ideas of God as immanent and supranatural to man, of love (*agapē*) as the working-out of God's spirit, and of the possibility of communing directly with God without benefit of mediator, clergy, rite, or sacrament. The unique contribution from the Friends' point of view is a special form of religious meeting and its corollary, the business meeting. Both types of meeting constitute their conception of community.

In the meeting man aspires upward toward God and horizontally toward his fellow worshippers, and as a result, the divine-human relationship and the inter-human relationship blend and reinforce each other. In the meeting for worship the Godward direction of attention is emphasized and in the meeting for business the manward direction.⁶

The religious meeting is usually held in silence unless someone has a special impulse to speak briefly to the group. The business meeting considers problems and "concerns" of the group. It acts as a unit. No votes are taken. Periods of silence may break tense moments or disagreements. When a decision is being reached, it is summarized in a minute as "the sense of the meeting" for the group's consent. Prayer, silence, and divine guidance are central experiences as well as techniques for action. In this type of social unit both religious and practical activities

⁴ *America's Pacifist Minority* (New York: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1941), pp. 59-71; and Colonel Lewis F. Kosch, directive of April 15, 1943, "Projects and Services of Conscientious Objectors," and Lieutenant Colonel Franklin MacLean, "Camp Operations Division Selective Service" (the last two published by the Camp Operations Division, Selective Service, Washington, D.C.).

⁵ American Friends' Service Committee, *Under the Red and Black Star* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 3 and 11.

⁶ Howard Brinton, *Divine-Human Society* (Philadelphia, 1938), pp. 22-23, and *Guide to Quaker Practice* (Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1943), entire. Cf. Alfred Neaves Brayshaw, *The Quakers* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), pp. 101, 121, and 166-74; Douglas V. Steere, *Community and Worship* (Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1940), entire. For similar ideas and practices of divine-human unity, see Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31, 34, 43-47, and chap. v.

are combined. There are four social implications from the religious orientation of the Society: (1) community; (2) harmony; (3) equality; and (4) simplicity.⁷

In the pure mystic, both historical and contemporary, there are two characteristic attitudes: detachment from earthly concerns and ambitions (*contemptus mundi*), and a divine but painful concern for the world (*amor mundi*).⁸ In the Society of Friends this second attitude expresses itself in the idea of a "concern." For those in whom the infinite and eternal love of God has flowed, a concern is a method of crystalizing this *amor dei et mundi* to specific issues or areas of human need toward which the individual has an impulsion to tend and minister.⁹ Woolman, for example, curtailed his business activities so that he could follow his devotions and at the same time crusade against slavery.

This general pattern of values with regard to individual and group and to divine-human relations was projected into the camps alongside the C.C.C. pattern of Selective Service. Group living, physical labor, inner discipline, spiritual concern—all in accordance with the structure of the meeting for worship and for business—constituted the core of values which the A.F.S.C. sought to express in the C.P.S. camps. This effort posed an unforeseen and eventually unsolved problem: the transmutation of a politically instituted and controlled system into a religious community with a more or less mystical value-orientation. Support of

C.P.S. by Friends was regarded as a means of expressing and maintaining the Society's system of values.¹⁰

Some of the specific objectives, developed as part of the camp program before the system went into operation, were: (1) engaging in work projects of national importance; (2) relating these to a more abundant camp life; (3) training for reconstruction work in America and other countries; (4) training in helpfulness and good neighborliness; (5) promoting individual freedom under group control; and (6) working out plans for world co-operation on a nonviolent basis.¹¹ Small, intimate groups were to form the basis of a camp community. Assignees were to be housed in barracks, 20 X 60 feet in size, in groups of fifteen to twenty men. The camps were to be run democratically by the men. Camp meetings were to follow the pattern of the business meeting. Physical or manual labor received a special emphasis and sanction in and for itself.¹² The prototype placed before the campers was the mystic Brother Lawrence, who in the drudgeries of a kitchen scullion remained cheerful and practiced the "presence of God." "Use work projects as a discipline for other trials which pacifists will have to face. Facing the drudgery and realizing it may help make a creative experience out of it."¹³ To engage in manual labor was to democratize attitudes about work and occupations and create inner discipline. "Non-conformists and disgruntled campers frequently find that a day of hard, grinding physical labor does much to broaden per-

⁷ Cf. works cited; and for detailed and specific applications, see Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, *Book of Discipline* (Philadelphia, 1927); Arthur Dunham, *Friends and Community Service in War and Peace* (Philadelphia: A.F.S.C., 1942); E. Raymond Wilson et al., *Pacifist Living—Today and Tomorrow* (Philadelphia: A.F.S.C. and Pendle Hill, 1941).

⁸ Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48; Brinton, *Divine-Human Society*, pp. 55-58.

⁹ American Friends' Service Committee, *Under the Red and Black Star*; Howard Brinton, *Quaker Education in Theory and Practice* (Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1940), pp. 25-32; Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10.

¹⁰ American Friends' Service Committee, *Now Is the Time To Start Building* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 2 and 6.

¹¹ Thomas Jones, *Testimony by Work* (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 27; *Civilian Public Service Director's Manual for Friends' Camps* (Philadelphia, n.d.), p. 12.

¹² *Camp Director's Manual*, p. 12; Douglas V. Steere, *Work and Contemplation* (Philadelphia: A.F.S.C.), contains a statement of the basic viewpoint of the Work Camp Committee of the A.F.S.C., which was applied to the C.P.S. camps under Friends' administration.

¹³ Notes, Assistant Director's Training Course, November, 1941.

spective and relieve emotional upset."¹⁴ The Service Committee thought that the practice of group or corporate meditation, as found in the meeting for worship, could and should provide the pulse and motivation in the camp community.

The type of man presupposed by the Service Committee was summed up in two phrases: co-operative individual and creative pioneer. The type was essentially a good Quaker, a good work camper, or a good mystic. He had concerns. He practiced meditation, both alone and with the group. He participated in business meetings. He worked with joy, doing more than was expected of him. He shared his material objects and possessions with others, even to the extent of practicing "voluntary poverty." A participant expressed this idea thus:

Great work to be done in a sacrificial manner; intentional community living and an eager desire to find an element of devoted and unselfish co-operation in camp; a definite spirit of which I might become a part and to which I might devote my energies and my life if need be; all this was framed in the ultimate service to the world and suffering humanity.¹⁵

II

The initial advantage of the A.F.S.C. as a directive agent diminished with increased individuation as the camps grew in size. Its role also weakened with the gradual realization by Friends and assignees that ultimate controls were held by the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service. The rapid influx of men during the beginnings of C.P.S. reduced the assimilative power of the envisioned pattern. There were not enough men to sustain it. Friends were a minority group in their own camps. Only 20 per cent of all men under Friends' administration were members of the Society. Eighty per cent were affiliated with other religious groups. In Camps X and Y, Friends made up 39 per cent and 29 per cent, respectively,

of the camp population. Differences existed in other items:

EDUCATION

CAMP X

Ninety-three had completed high school; 76 had had college or advanced study; 44 were college graduates; 26 had had graduate study.

CAMP Y

Twenty-five had completed high school; 75 had had college or advanced study; 29 were college graduates; 26 had had graduate study. Range: from six to twenty years of education.

OCCUPATION

CAMP X

Students, 10; skilled workers (carpenters, chemists, toolmakers, commercial artists, etc.), 4; salesmen, 2; ministers, 1; lawyers, 1; administrators, 2; architects and engineers, 5; accountants, 4.

CAMP Y

Students, 32; skilled workers, 22; clerical workers, 19; teachers, 14; farmers, 13; laborers, 13; factory workers, 11; social workers, 5; artists, 5; research workers, 5; salesmen, 4; ministers, 3; lawyers, 2; administrators, 2.

CHURCH AFFILIATION

CAMP X

Society of Friends, 38; Methodists, 20; Congregational, 11; Presbyterian, 8; Church of God, 5; Evangelical Reformed, Baptist, Lutheran, Unitarian, Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, 2 each; Christian Science, Swedish Covenant, Jehovah's Witness, Islamic, Greek Orthodox, 1 each.

CAMP Y

Society of Friends, 39; Roman Catholic 27; Methodist, 24; Nondenominational, 12; Christadelphian, Presbyterian, 6 each; Congregational Christian, Episcopal, Congregational Methodist, Lutheran, Christian Science, Evangelical Reformed, Saints Mission, Islamic, National Church of Positive Christianity, Mennonite-Brethren, 1 each.

Other differences consisted in: background (rural and urban), age (eighteen through forty-three), marital status (single, engaged,

¹⁴ *Camp Director's Manual*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Ian Thierman, "Is CPS Worthy of Our Support?" *Friend*, March, 1943, p. 295.

married, families), religious attitude (fundamentalism, social gospel, mysticism, agnosticism, humanism), and social outlook (conservatism, indifference, socialism, co-operatives, anarchism).

Camp life was characterized by certain factors which came to the fore as time went on. These were: isolation, either physical through distance from population centers and lack of transportation or psychological by adverse community relations and administrative techniques and practices; work projects of more or less value and efficiency; pauperization of men as a result of a no-pay policy; crowded living conditions which precluded privacy; routine for twelve out of the supposed sixteen waking hours of the day; diminished cultural and social stimulation; high rate of mobility from camp to camp or to other projects; and more or less active idealism. These various conditions supplemented and complemented one another, and the cumulative effect over a period of time produced general types of response patterns.

In Camp X there were sixteen and in Camp Y twenty-four different types of Christian groups. A feeling that Friends were subtly proselyting persisted in both camps. Catholics at Camp Y were especially vehement in denouncing Friends. Efforts of an aggressive Methodist group at Camp X to plan activities for themselves were abandoned after opposition from other numerically smaller groups. At Camp X fundamentalists hung up signs, diagrams, and pictures on repentance, sin, salvation, and conversion, with the approval of fellow-fundamentalists and to the irritation and amusement of social gospelists and liberals. During a series of sermons given in the same camp over a period of three months, a humanist or liberal Christian would draw like-minded individuals, while the more conservative went to hear their own. Reading of the Bible in the camp dining-room after breakfast was strongly opposed by many as an infringement of religious liberty. In both camps meditation, as originally conceived by the A.F.S.C., was carried out primarily by non-Quakers. Corporate meditation was almost

institutionalized as a regular practice at the beginning of Camp X; but it eventually became, despite strenuous efforts of the camp director and his assistant, one practice among others with the increased denominational diversification.

It was a commonplace gag among the men that the only thing they had in common was their opposition to war, and for some only to the present war.¹⁶ "I'm not a pacifist. I'm a conscientious objector." This difference may be analyzed as follows: There were the religious pacifists, primarily New Testament fundamentalists. They stressed a personalistic approach: that social reform rested upon individual reform, that problems were to be met by the establishment of exemplary conduct, and that ultimately all rested in God's hands. The emphasis was first upon the relation of individual to God and then of individual to individual—a conception that had little in common with the Friends' group or corporate approach to religious experience and action. A second group was composed of social actionists. This group, if it was also religious, was concerned with nonviolent but direct mass or group action. The motivation in this group varied widely—from the religious at one end to the wholly political and social at the other. Members of this group were strongly influenced by the developments and techniques of the Gandhi-Satyagraha movement in India.¹⁷ A third group was interested

¹⁶ An observer of western camps states that the divergencies among men, even in their attitudes toward war and peace, is "unbelievably wide. . . . In the final analysis, I'm afraid it must be said that many of these men have really *nothing* in common at all, except the mere fact that, by the N.S.B.R.O. and S.S., they have all been sent to C.P.S. camps" (letter to author). The Roman Catholic church, of course, has the doctrine of the just war. See Rev. Gerald C. Treacy, *Thou Shalt Not Kill* (New York: Paulist Press, 1941), pp. 9-16; also any issue of the *Catholic Worker* for a contrary opinion.

¹⁷ For an exposition of this point of view, see Krishnalal Shridhirani, *War without Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), pp. 3-50, 248-311; Richard Gregg, *The Power of Non-violence* (New York: Lippincott, 1935); Barthélemy de Ligt, *Pour vaincre sans violence* (Paris: Mignolet &

neither in religious pacifism nor in social action. "I didn't ask to be sent here. Don't talk to me about this religious and reform stuff. Leave me alone." They, with others who had become neutral or indifferent, were reconciled to "sit it out" for the duration. Others became cynical and embittered.

Events and the operation of the program deflated early enthusiasms, hopes, and idealistic values. As a camper put it: "Nothing is significant under conscription. The great loss is individual, voluntary action. Coerced sacrifice is no sacrifice." Administrators and satellite campers with sophisticated casuistry tried to create the belief that the C.P.S. program was sacrificial in a voluntary or semivoluntary way, seeing that men had the choice of transferring to other projects and camps. This contention usually resulted in violent disputes, for the enemy, in the eyes of many men, was not only war but also conscription. "I've got that opposition to conscription down in my heart," went a camp song. "I know that Stimson doesn't like it, but it's down in my heart to stay." Resistance and resentment against the program increased when the men realized that the camps could not be run democratically under their leadership, as earlier propaganda leaflets of the A.F.S.C. had contended, and when they understood, through a series of disputes and directives, that Selective Service did not have the slightest inclination to permit such self-government. A prime example of the clash arising from different policies and values was the policy of no pay, even though provisions for pay were stated in Public Law 640. Selective Service refused to secure appropriations for pay, on three counts: (1) to make conditions tough and uncomfortable so that men would be forced into I-A or I-A-o; (2) to save the government money; and (3) to provide a talking-point in public relations. In Camp Y two songs expressed camper attitudes on this policy: "Hershey wants me for a work-jerk,"

and "Hershey loves me that I know, for the Friends tell me so." Many men regarded the policy as a denial not only of the provisions of the law but also of the principle that a "man is worthy of his hire" and that the policy, moreover, would set a dangerous precedent against labor and labor unions. In Camp Y men made a strong protest over the discharge of three regular tractor-operators, who were replaced by Y campers. Labor unions have opposed the use of conscientious objectors in many state institutions because of unfair competition with "free" labor. The historic peace churches thought that the refusal to accept pay would serve as a symbol for the spirit of the men in the camps and that this voluntary denial represented Christ's nonattachment to material values. On this point, protests, petitions, and agitation have gone on for almost three years; and they are complicated by the problem of dependency allowances and work insurance. All three problems have remained unsolved and act as dissociative factors in the relations of campers, Service Committee, and the government.

The person is the subjective correlative of the institutional order or of the social cultural system. Where a radical shift occurs in the milieu, similar changes may occur in individuals. This takes place when men are abstracted from either an urban or a rural community and are compelled to live in relatively isolated male groups. The C.P.S. camps were characterized by social isolation, routine, and diminished cultural and social stimulation. Stultification easily followed. This was augmented by the fact that the more aggressive and liberal moved to new camps or into other types of services. "Only the farm hands remain," remarked one camper in Camp X after twenty-eight men were transferred en masse to the California mountains. The results were uniformity of functions, of routine, and of experience and inversion of the group. The first produced monotony and boredom. These, in turn, induced organic and emotional tensions and restlessness. The frequent complaint was: "How can a guy stand it! Nothing happens."

Story, 1935), chaps. iii-vii and x-xi; Douglas V. Steere, *The Peace Team* (New York: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1939); also most publications of the War Resisters' League.

You're away from everything. No people, no women, no changes, no excitement." Inversion produced stereotyped thought patterns; i.e., thinking became expressed primarily in disjunctive propositions highly charged with personal and emotional feelings. It further resulted in emotional instability, withdrawal, outcropping of homosexual tendencies, emotional or social dullness, and intellectual sterility—types of responses not uncommon in isolated, monosexual groups. A common complaint from service committees was of the lack of creative output in the camps.

Prima facie, communal living was a crowdlike milling in eating, washing, and sleeping. Camp X was chronically overcrowded. In Camp Y from thirty-five to forty men were crowded into a barrack, which defeated the original intention of living in small groups. The incessant closeness and noise in the barracks increased nervous irritability and inhibited creative expression and reflection. In Camp X from two to six men occupied three rooms, called the Monastery, the Castle, and the Dungeon. Here they resisted all efforts to oust them and refused to allow general use of the space unless individuals subscribed to rules of silence, study, and regular hours. A group of seven men slept in a room set aside for early retiring, so that they could rise at 3:30 A.M. for study and contemplation. At the end of three months the men gave up, out of sheer exhaustion and nervous strain. At Camp Y two men built a dugout, a quarter of a mile from the camp, for privacy and silence. In both camps men secured week-end leaves for the nearest large town and rented rooms at the "Y" or at a hotel, "to get away from it all." A study of twenty-one time-budgets covering a two-week period in Camp Y showed that most of the activities of the men centered in the barracks, around personal interests and fellowship—i.e., reading, letter-writing, visiting and gossiping, personal hygiene and clothing, or recreation. Of the twenty-four-hour day, only three hours, excepting Sunday, remained for diversified stimulation. Close application to consecu-

tive work was rare unless an individual withdrew from all camp activities. Such a withdrawal, however, was regarded by some campers and administrators as an inability to adjust to group living; and efforts were made to increase the individual's participation. Notwithstanding the paucity of time and activity, the men felt that "life begins after five o'clock." "Now we can live," some would say. This attitude was contrary to the professed policy and assumptions of the Friends' C.P.S.

The quip "life begins after five o'clock" is a negative evaluation of the work program. Because of the compulsory nongainful and, to a certain extent, meaningless characteristics of the work, individuals resisted the integration of work in the organization of their lives by various devices. Some worked as little as possible, referring to their jobs as "made work" or "W.P.A." Others spent their time in discussions, arguing constantly against conscription and "slave labor." Many resented manual labor because their professional training and skill were being wasted. The therapeutic value of physical labor was denied; and, in fact, the very reverse was maintained. Manual work was not thought of as a religious discipline, especially when government foremen in Camp Y used the threat of transfer to exceedingly monotonous labor as punishment for a low output. In Camp Y almost half the men expressed a desire to leave for other types of projects, such as to work in mental hospitals and farms or as guinea pigs in experiments. Some did so from a desire to get closer to home or to more populous areas. Many wanted to deal directly with people in need and suffering.

Men assigned to overhead or maintenance work felt a greater sense of freedom and service than when working on the project. Many men contributed their spare time to projects not a part of the regular program. It was a way of introducing a sense of voluntary service in a compulsory situation. These things were done to spite the system. At Camp X it was primarily work with a rural institute. It also consisted in mutual-

aid projects to old people in the vicinity. "It is the only way I can maintain my self-respect. I feel that I have done something and nobody asked me to do it." At Camp Y the voluntary project undertaken was the redesigning, repairing, and remodeling of a small, rural church. Men regarded as the worst workers on the government project spent hours on this self-chosen, self-directed work. Apparently, despite differences and difficulties, there was a fundamental, if rudimentary, stratum of idealism.¹⁸

III

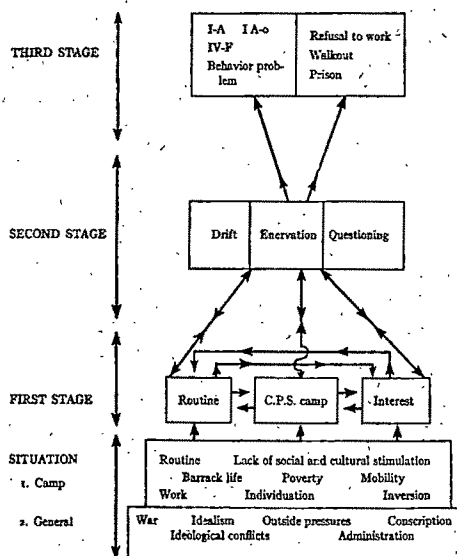
With the general situation defined, various response patterns become apparent. These are summarized in Chart I. They revolve around the initial ideologies, disillusionments, and reorganizations or disorganizations. Most men did not advance beyond the first stage, which may be regarded as a kind of "normal" response. The second phase implied a more serious disorientation or value-conflict with regard to the situation in the camp and to C.P.S. and conscription in general. The third general response involved a total break with the system. Throughout this pattern various social types developed.

A man would be carried along by an initial enthusiasm over a period varying from two weeks to four months, depending on his background and ideals and upon his susceptibility to the propaganda of the dissatisfied and disillusioned. As time went on, a man would take one of four attitudes: a pragmatic acceptance of the routine; a determination to reform and direct the camp and C.P.S. as a system; an extremely negative response to the situation; or orientation to interests of various sorts. This directing of energy and tension had the power and intensity of a compulsion. One man who isolated himself from all activities, using his time for study, said: "This is the only

way I can keep myself going." This might last for a couple of weeks or a year; but, whatever the case, this drive referred to a circumscribed area of activity.

Personal activities were integrated around routine—work, sleeping, eating, and the social life in the barracks. "All they do

CHART I
OUTLINE OF POSSIBLE BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN
TWO FRIENDS' C.P.S. CAMPS



The diagram defines the situation and the directions of responses. The arrows indicate the possible orientations and maladjustments. Each sphere of the first stage produces distinct major types and subtypes of integration. The second stage represents more or less disorientation. A person may exhibit all three characteristics of the second stage, various combinations of two, or just one. In time, reintegration with regard to some aspect of the first stage may take place. If this response does not develop, a person advances into the third stage. There are two distinct types of reaction. The first leads into the armed forces, behavior problems, medical discharge. The second repudiates both C.P.S. and S.S. and asserts the individual value-orientation. The eventual outcome is prison.

when they come back from work is talk about it," said a camper referring to a group known as "Bennett." "They lie on their beds and talk for hours about the tractors, the Letourneaus, and about what happened to them. When they have finished, they will start all over again. It goes on like that for hours and hours and day after day. I don't see how they do it." Such individuals would be dubbed derisively "second-milers" or "work-jerks" by those antagonistic to the

¹⁸ Much of the thinking in the earlier days of the camps was utopian. Pacifism was seen as the coming mass movement. Notions of a "third order" to rise from the camps are found in Paul French, *Civilian Public Service* (Washington: N.S.B.R.D., 1943).



program. But they would be popular with the camp and project administrators, who would think them "indispensable" and generally reward them with some supervisory position. In Camp X such a group was known as the "farm bloc." Others would retreat from the situation through sleeping twelve hours or more, if possible. The individual was likely to sleep through the greater part of the week end, exerting himself enough to eat meals and write a letter or two before he went back to bed. Some would expend their energies on food. Such a man complained about the diet and at the same time ate in a hoglike manner and made extensive nocturnal raids upon the kitchen larder. Others indulged in social amiability—parties, feeds, gossip, playing practical jokes, loafing, and taking it easy. "A fellow ought to rest after a hard day's work." I usually spend two to three hours visiting around. I like to do it and gossip." This reaction was found in individuals and cliques. When the monotony of daily life became too great, there was an outbreak of boisterousness and hilarity that had the appearance of a drunken spree. It was a dry jag. A barrack section in Camp Y known as the "Hill-billies" typified them.

Efforts to direct and reform the camp and C.P.S. as a system constituted a second pattern. Most groups of newcomers followed this pattern until they settled down. They wanted to show the older campers how things were to be done. There were, however, two main types. The first was more or less against the system. The man was likely to be sharply aggressive and have a liberal, humanistic slant on events. By some he would be characterized as radical. He usually was a social actionist. The second type tended to accept the system as it was, though recognizing need for changes. He was more likely to be conciliatory and sweetly aggressive. His attitude was more "religious" than the other. He would be characterized as a "company man" and "proadministration" and could usually be depended on to support the policies of the Service Committee, the camp director, and

the project superintendent. He was also likely to become a "career man," especially if he were also a Quaker. He became part of the administrative agency, either with the Service Committee or the N.S.B.R.O., or acquired a rank as assistant director in camp. Both types were exceedingly active in camp affairs, attending meetings and writing memoranda and manifestoes. They usually developed a following. Sometimes a political machine became organized. In Camp X two competing groups were known as the "Super-Democrats" and the "Kitchen Cabinet." In Camp Y, a Roman Catholic group named after the "Casbah," a notorious quarter in Algiers, and a group known as "Tobacco Road," for its obviously untidy habits, formed a coalition against the second-milers, Quakers, and overco-operative members of Camp X.

The third type of orientation was a general negative response to C.P.S. and the camp. Casbah and Tobacco Road were two examples. They were anti-Selective Service, anti-Service Committee, and opposed to work, co-operation, and sacrifice. They regarded the others as proselyting Quakers or proselyting pacifists. A modified form was one who spoke less loudly but was extremely jealous lest his rights and privileges be tampered with. He was anti-administration, insisting upon a kind of anarchistic democracy—all rights and no responsibilities. In Camp Y a group of eight signed and actively promoted a statement that no group or person had a right to tell an individual what to do, that no norms or standards existed except such as the individual worked out for himself.

Orientation in the fourth group centered on chess, cards, volley ball, baseball, photography, reading, writing, painting, classes, individual study, sometimes in cliques and groups. Other members withdrew from camp activities, devoting themselves to large correspondence and propaganda. The emphasis again might be upon religious activities, upon prayers, upon Bible-reading, attending services, even a slight degree of proselyting. It might be upon handicrafts or,

as a camper wryly put it, upon "occupational therapy." Some of these interests developed into brief fads. At Camp X a chess fad kept men up until one and two in the morning. At another time it was ping-pong. At Camp Y it was volley ball and pool.

No one orientation lasted long. One camper, isolating himself in pursuit of his interest, spent almost a year following his vocation of cartooning. This he gave up when he realized that he had lost too much contact with the outside world to stimulate his work. He took up the study of art, followed by an intensive study of the Bible and devotional literature. Another, known as the "Friar," since he spent most of his time in study and contemplation, suddenly became hyperactive for several months in camp problems and community relations and then as suddenly withdrew. A third, for example, spent his time in camp politics interspersed with tremendous reading jags and woodworking. This intershifting of interests and activities had limitations. Some men became physically and nervously exhausted. The tensional organization of their activities would break down. They were deeply dissatisfied with a social role which they felt to be incongruous with their scheme of values. At this point they entered another phase.

This type of adjustment had three characteristics, one or all of which could be manifested in a person's behavior. First, there was a general ennervation. Second, there was a cessation of activities except for those of the routine which were followed more or less automatically. Third, there was a state of drift. Then the camper experienced an emotional cycle of depression and elation and either an indifferent, neutral attitude or one of questioning and evaluating. The resolution of this drift and ennervation could take place by a reintegration into one of the earlier activities or by departing from the camp.

The third stage represented various ways in which men broke from C.P.S. Some would study physical requirements thoroughly and deliberately seek for ways through

which to become reclassified as IV-F. A few were successful in this effort. The gradual development of serious behavior problems and emotional disturbances was a second general response. Five men in Camp X and five men in Camp Y had nervous breakdowns. They were eventually sent off for psychiatric examination and then reclassified. The stereotype which men applied to such cases was "emotionally and temperamentally unfit for group living." There was a general hopelessness among administrators to cope with such problems. Obligations which pressed in from the outside, especially upon men with dependency problems, finally compelled many to ask for reclassification into I-A or I-A-o. In such instances the no-pay and no-dependency-allowance policy was effective in driving men out of the system. But this conflicted with their ideals, and an acute disturbance would develop. One man beset with such a problem was described as "running around like a caged lion." Many men took the final step of condemning the entire program and walking out of the camp. One group of men explained:

We have failed to secure freedom or consistent loyalty to principle in C.P.S. . . . Material advances have been made by the administration in improved work opportunity and better living standards, but their basis has been largely privilege and concession. What we have done to secure increased moral integrity has been deeply regretted because it has hindered these advances in privilege. . . . Conceivably men with greater moral fiber, with lives more consistently, transparently principled, might have the soul-power of example and persuasion to make C.P.S. a way of loving service not maintained daily by compromises and moral half-blindedness. We haven't been able to do that. The alternative, we as have seen it, is bargaining and compromise.

These men are now in a federal penitentiary. Three men have walked out of Camp X. In the interim between a walkout and prison a man endeavors to associate himself with the type of activity, usually some kind of social service work in a depressed area or with a co-operative, which he considers to be in

harmony with his conception of significant service and a spiritual alternative to war and conscription.

IV

At the very beginning of C.P.S. there was a potential conflict between two systems of action on the institutional level, one elaborating a scheme of means and ends on *zweckrational* principles and the other on *wertrational*. The state dealt with the conscientious objector in terms of political expediency, being forced to recognize deviant minority groups and individuals. It sluiced them from the general social structure and shifted the responsibility of maintaining the individual conscientious objector upon the minority groups, yet kept the ultimate bargaining and directive power. The religious group sought to attain certain religious values. It dealt with the conscientious objector in terms of its ideals. The conditions for the operation of the two camps were modeled, on the one hand, after the C.C.C. and the army and, on the other hand, after the work camp and the historical structure of the Society of Friends. When drafted and sent to a camp, the individual conscientious objector had to consider three possibilities: to accept the situation as defined for him by Selective Service and the A.F.S.C.; to try to redefine the situation in terms of his conceptions of religious attainment, service, and social order; or to reject it, choosing imprisonment. Civilian Public Service may not measure anything except, perhaps, the incompatibility between politics and religion, between conscription and idealism and service, between artificial monosexual groups and normal living. Certainly the A.F.S.C. did not have an opportunity to test its scheme of values in a camp where Quakers were the majority. Civilian Public Service cannot be regarded as a standard of the Society's activities when the C.P.S. section of the Service Committee was forced to become quasi-governmental as an administrative branch of the Camp Operations Division.

In the specific situation the A.F.S.C. attempted to incorporate a large number of heterogeneous elements into patterns which it furnished. Such an effort was based upon the natural expectation that men taking the conscientious-objector stand would be of the same type as those with whom they were accustomed to deal in the work camps, peace caravans, and other Friends' activities. The compulsory feature of conscription was either ignored or greatly discounted. A struggle, interrupted repeatedly by Selective Service directives which defined its superior control, grew out of the effort to develop a type of living completely other than expected—a type of community which approached the notion of the celibate religious brotherhood. The social form to attain these aims—the meeting for worship and business or the pattern of the work camp—weakens and broke with the rapid growth of a “cosmopolite” population. The primary postulates of the contemplative-mystical value-orientation were either absent or unacceptable in the ideology of most non-Friends and even among Friends. The increasing number of men in the camps developed situations in which one hundred or more diverse value-orientations mingled to produce a situation full of contravention. The policies and methods of both the Service Committee and the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service increased this dissociative behavior. In addition, a high mobility produced a large amount of instability and disorganization.

Two general behavior patterns may be noticed. In the first, living is routine and unreflective and concentrated upon barrack life. The pattern produces the institutionalized type of personality. At the same time, an undefined conflict between an individual's values and the situation is experienced because the social systems existing in fact and in ideal are mutually contradictory and because they deny previous acquired attitudes. Various degrees of disorganization result. The second pattern is rooted in a

positive or negative response to the situation. It depends upon the cognition and the efforts to attain some value: one seeking to re-create the free, democratically directed society with a system of rewards for efforts given; the second trying to give expression to the Friends' conceptions through spiritual exercise and exemplary behavior.

Social integration depends not only upon a unity of values internal to a social structure but also upon harmonious relations between the structure and the general cultural pattern. In the two camps studied, no such relation obtained; and, furthermore, instability was greatly augmented by the various administrative bodies, familial and kin relations, public relations, etc.

The C.P.S. camps present a unique op-

portunity for continuous social research as long as the war continues. A comparative analysis with other male societies—like the religious brotherhood, the army, or the prison, for example—may add to our understanding of the sociology of the monosexual group. It may also be worth while to examine the ramifications of the conscientious objector within the army (i.e., those serving in noncombatant activities); within the various federal penitentiaries, and within mental hospitals and other state institutions. In this way the interrelationships between values and social relations, institutional relations and personal-group striving, can be studied in very definite forms within markedly delimited social situations.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

THE MESTIZOS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

BREWTON BERRY

ABSTRACT

There are several communities of white-Indian-Negro hybrids in South Carolina, the members of which do not fit into the biracial caste system upon which the state's whole social structure is built. Similar groups are found in other states. Some of these are amalgamating with the Negroes, while others have won an intermediate status as "Indians." Those in South Carolina have resisted both of these accommodations and have persistently fought for white status. Their present position in etiquette and in local institutions, such as churches and schools, is a particular one, being the status of neither Negroes nor whites.

There are in South Carolina today fully five thousand people—perhaps even ten thousand—who do not fit into the biracial caste system upon which the state's whole social structure is built. These outcasts insist that they are white, and they claim the privileges and courtesies of white people. Some of them, if pressed, will not deny a strain of Indian, though they take no pride in the fact; and most of them are offended even at that suggestion. The dominant whites, on the other hand, are convinced that there is a trace of Negro blood in them and, on the theory that "one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro," are reluctant to accept them and regard their claim to white status with various and mixed emotions, ranging from amusement to horror.

This failure of a sizable group of people to fit into the social system creates many problems. It is, in fact, a threat to the whole structure, undermining the popular faith that the system functions adequately and will continue to function forever. "We simply cannot admit them to the white schools," confessed one trustee, "because, if we did, pretty soon the Negroes would want to come in, and then where would we be?" The same question arises with respect to churches, hospitals, political parties, parks, playgrounds, moving pictures, hotels, restaurants, clubs, and cemeteries. These in-

stitutions, in all of which rigid racial segregation is the rule, are operated upon the assumption that every person is either white or black and that there are absolute criteria to determine in which group one belongs. It is so with regard to the etiquette of race relations. "I wish you would tell me what these Brass Ankles are," said a bank teller, "so I would know whether to 'mister' them or not." Most disturbing of all is the threat to the assumed purity of the white race; for if these doubtful ones are being absorbed without dire consequences, as seems to be the case, what is to prevent an inundation of Negro blood?

These outcasts, whom I call "mestizos," are designated by a wide variety of names, none of them flattering. In Richland County they are known as "Red Bones." In one section of Orangeburg County they are "Red Legs"; in another, "Brass Ankles." The degrading name "Brass Ankle" is also commonly used in Dorchester, Colleton, Berkeley, and Charleston counties. In Sumter they are called "Turks"; in Bamberg, "Buckheads"; while in Marlboro, Dillon, Marion, and Horry they are "Croatans," a name that is sometimes shortened to the even more unflattering "Cro." In Chesterfield they are known as "Marlboro Blues," a slur on the adjoining county, whence they came. In some localities

they are given the most common surname in the group and are called "Creels," "Chavises," "Goins," or "Bones," the last being an impudent corruption of the family name Boone. Elsewhere they are called "Greeks," "Portuguese," "Clay-eaters," "Yellow Hammers," "Summerville Indians," or simply "those yellow people." These names have at least one thing in common: they are roundly despised by the mestizos themselves and are never used in their presence by anyone who understands their feelings—and by others only once.

The origin of these names, as of the people themselves, is lost in the obscure past. There are, however, innumerable stories which purport to solve the mystery and which are believed and recounted as solid fact by many South Carolinians, both white and Negro. Most romantic and widespread is the legend that they are descended from Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony and the Croatan Indians who befriended them, plus a subsequent admixture of Negro blood. Each locality, however, has its own mythology. The so-called "Turks," of Sumter County, are said to be descendants of laborers imported from Turkey by General Thomas Sumter, or of Turkish pirates stranded on the Carolina coast, or of refugees who escaped from their pirate captors. The legends are numerous and never convincing. The mestizos themselves are far more concerned with the present and future than with the past; but their position was best expressed in an unusually frank admission which one of them made to me: "Tell you the truth, we don't know what we is. But we know we ain't niggers; we know that."

The probability is that the mestizos stem from the thirty-odd small, independent Indian tribes which originally

inhabited the coastal region of South Carolina. These tribes were not exterminated, as was hoped and believed, but, stripped of their Indian culture and tribal consciousness, survived in the isolation of river swamps and pine barrens. From the earliest historical times they began to receive into their veins the blood of white traders and adventurers; and this process of "bleaching" has continued to the present time, with the result that Caucasoid features predominate. Runaway slaves and free Negroes, too, probably contributed to the mixture of blood found in the mestizos; but that was long ago, for at the present time mestizos have few contacts with Negroes. When the first census was taken in 1790, one of the categories into which names were placed was headed "All Other Free Persons." Prominent in this category are the surnames Driggers, Russell, Braveboy, Swett, Scott, Shavis, Williams, Bunch, and Harmon. To this day these are the most common mestizo surnames; and the districts from which they were reported in 1790 are still the sections in which mestizos bearing those names are living.

There are no infallible criteria for identifying a mestizo. Physical features, unfortunately, help but little—are, in fact, deceiving. Mestizos are anything but homogeneous. Not a few of them have fairer features than most white people, while many of them are more Negroid in appearance than many mulattoes. In skin color they range from fair to dark brown. They are found with every type of hair—kinky, frizzly, wavy, and straight; black, brown, and flaxen. A frizzly type is not uncommon; but most of them have black, coarse hair, straight or slightly wavy. Some of them are taken for Negroes wherever they go, while others have confessed to me that they have no trouble at all in passing as white

—except in the immediate community where they are known. A city school superintendent, who had the task of keeping them out of the white schools, said:

You can't tell a Brass Ankle by looking at him. Around here most of them look just like white people. We have to go by their names mostly. If anybody has the name Russell, Williams, Driggers, or Bunch, we can be pretty sure they don't belong in this school. . . . I have a teacher who has lived in this community all her life, and she knows everybody. When I'm in doubt, I rely on her judgment.

A member of a small-town Baptist church had this to say:

Once we were calling a new preacher. We had about decided on a fellow named Reverend Swett. When the congregation was voting on him, one lady got up and said, "What did you say his name was? And where is he from?" When they told her, she said, "Well, I come from the county myself, and I know that anybody over there by the name of Swett is a Brass Ankle." So we didn't elect him; but he got a fine church in another town not far from here. . . . He sure didn't look like a Brass Ankle to me, though.

Surnames, birthplace, and the persons with whom one associates are the principal criteria for identifying a mestizo in South Carolina, although skin color is of some importance, and other Negroid features, such as hair form and width of nose, do not pass unnoticed.

South Carolina is not alone in having an outcaste element of this type. Delaware has its Moors and Nantichokes;¹ North Carolina, its Indians of Robeson County;² Alabama, its Creoles and Ca-

juns;³ Tennessee, its Melungeons;⁴ and similar peoples are found in many other states, chiefly along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.⁵ Several of these groups have succeeded in winning for themselves a status as "Indians";⁶ and while that is less desirable than white status, it is not so objectionable to them as relegation to the Negro caste. These even come to speak of themselves as Indians, perhaps even to think of themselves as such; and a few with whom I have talked seem to take a genuine pride in the thought. Other communities of this type have undergone or are undergoing a process of disintegration, are intermarrying with Negroes, and are accepting Negro teachers for their schools, with the ultimate result that they will be merged with the Negro race.⁷

The situation is different in South Carolina. There the mestizos have steadfastly resisted all efforts to relegate them to the Negro caste, though there are a few individual exceptions here and there. At the same time they have never succumbed to the temptation to seek an intermediate status as "Indians"—a solution of the problem which the whites would gladly accept. Instead, they have persistently fought for white status, and their efforts have met with a surprising degree of success.

¹ H. M. Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, 552 ff.

² Paul D. Converse, "Melungeons," *Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), III, 371.

³ Laurence Foster, *Negro-Indian Relationships in the Southeast* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1935), pp. 13-18.

⁴ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 518; Weslager, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-111.

⁵ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 215-45.

¹ C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

² Guy B. Johnson, "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community," *American Sociological Review*, IV, 516-23.

In its attitudes and mores with respect to mestizos, South Carolina does not display any uniformity or consistency. In a few communities they are accorded a relatively high status, are admitted to the white section of moving-picture houses, send their children to white schools, are not excluded from white churches, and often intermarry with white families of the lowest class. Even so, all these privileges are grudgingly given, and certain ones are entirely withheld. In other communities they are carefully excluded from white schools, churches, and restaurants; they are not given titles of respect; and they must occupy the Negro section of the theaters (with the result that they never attend). But even in communities of this latter type, where their status is barely above that of the Negro, it is, nevertheless, above it. They will be found sitting in the white waiting-rooms at bus stations, occupying the front seats of the busses; and the gestures, expressions, and intonations which whites customarily use in their relations with Negroes are avoided in contacts with mestizos. In their attitudes and policies toward mestizos most communities in the state fall somewhere between these two extremes.

Those Negroes who have had any contacts at all with mestizos seem to hold a very realistic view of the situation. They appreciate their anomalous position, their aspirations, and the rebuffs with which their efforts are met; and they agree almost unanimously on the three racial strains that enter into their make-up. One aged and illiterate Negro woman, when I professed to be ignorant of the situation, explained: "Brass Ankles ain't niggers an' dey ain't straight w'ite," and then elaborated upon that succinct definition. Another, rolling back her sleeve, said, "See here, I is black; and you is

w'ite; but dese Brass Ankles, dey is yaller nuttin." A college-bred Negro man said:

I feel sorry for the Brass Ankles. They don't know where they fit in, nor how far they can go. It's not so with me. I know, for instance, when to get on a bus, and where to sit, once I get on. But these Brass Ankles never can be sure about anything.

The whites, however, have never crystallized their attitudes or formed any clear stereotype of the mestizo. It is otherwise, of course; with respect to the Negro, about whom white people have definite and positive beliefs, inaccurate though they be. As a matter of fact, most South Carolina whites, are unaware even of the existence of such an element in the population. The mestizos are concentrated in the Low Country; and few in the more populous Up Country have ever heard of them. Mestizos are virtually never the subject of conversation in white society; they are not mentioned in newspapers and histories; and they receive scant notice in the state's guidebook.⁸ They have been honestly portrayed in one novel;⁹ but I found this volume in not a single library that I visited in the state, and I encountered only two South Carolinians who had ever read it or heard of it. Many more are familiar with another treatment of the mestizo,¹⁰ which employs the popular superstition that a trace of Negro blood, however small or remote, may clearly manifest itself in one's offspring. Accordingly, even in those counties where the mestizo element is present, there are white people who know virtually nothing

⁸ *South Carolina: A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 22, 286, 312, and 464.

⁹ Gertrude M. Shelby and Samuel G. Stoney, *Po' Buckra* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930).

¹⁰ DuBose Heyward, *Brass Ankles* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1931).

about them. "We don't have any people like that in this county," I was occasionally told by some old resident; and I would thereupon surprise him by telling him that his county supported one, two, or three "special" schools for children of that type.

Even among those whites who have contacts with the mestizos, employing them on their farms or selling them merchandise and services, there is wide diversity in attitudes. There is not even agreement upon their racial composition. Ninety per cent of the white people with whom I talked believe that mestizos have some Negro blood; but the other 10 per cent consider them white and Indian, or Indian and Spanish, or white and Turkish, or some other non-Negro mixture. Of the 90 per cent, there are many who insist that mestizos are "nothing but mulattoes"—white and Negro hybrids—who obstinately refuse to accept the fact; but the great majority believe they are Indian, white, and Negro.

As to their personal characteristics, my white informants were far from agreed. Some described them as scrupulously neat and clean; others, as filthy and untidy. Some commended their energy and industry; others bemoaned their laziness and improvidence. Some reported them honest and reliable; others declared they were dishonest and undependable. Almost invariably their undesirable habits were explained as the result of their Indian or Negro blood, and their virtues attributed to their white ancestry. There was well-nigh complete agreement among my informants, however, that mestizos are hypersensitive, shy, furtive, self-conscious, hypercritical; and those who were familiar with the expression "inferiority complex" would invariably make use of it. These personal traits were commonly interpreted as

a result of Indian blood or as evidence of the evil consequences of racial mixture.

In view of such confusion and diversity in the attitudes and mores, generalizations about the mestizos of South Carolina must be made cautiously. Their present status, to be sure, is somewhere between that of the whites and that of the Negro, depending upon the local community. One other thing seems clear—they are gradually being assimilated and amalgamated into the white race. Rare, indeed, are the instances of their intermarrying with Negroes and identifying themselves with the Negro race, though such instances do occur. By no means rare are instances of their marrying whites and of their winning one concession after another from the whites. Moreover, the process whereby this transition is taking place is somewhat unique. It cannot be precisely described as "passing," as Stonequist uses the term; nor is it properly one of assimilation.¹¹ The process is conscious and deliberate, as with others who adopt the "passing" adjustment; but it is usually open rather than secret, makes little use of subterfuge, and apparently is not fraught with mental conflicts. The mestizo, when he wins some white privilege, is convinced that he is obtaining only what he justly deserves.

The complexities of the problem, as well as the current trends, may be illustrated by reference to the situation in the public schools. Racial segregation in the schools is prescribed by the constitution, stipulated by law, and firmly planted in the mores. What happens, then, to children who are neither black nor white?

In the first place, there are many mestizo children in South Carolina who simply do not attend any school at all and

¹¹ E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), pp. 193 f.

others whose attendance is very irregular and spotty. "We'd rather our chillen grow up ign'ant like monkeys," said one mother, "then send 'em to that nigger school." She did not send them, either; and nobody sought to deter her from her course. "I know there are Brass Ankle children in my district who aren't in school," said a superintendent, "but I haven't reported them to the attendance teacher, because, frankly, I don't know what to do about them. I don't go out of my way looking for trouble." Reports of this type were frequently heard.

The second method of handling the problem, and the one most acceptable to the whites, is to establish "special" schools for them. In 1943-44 there were in South Carolina nineteen elementary schools in which the enrolment was entirely, or almost entirely, made up of mestizos. Fifteen of these were in districts where there were also schools for whites and for Negroes. In conversation, officials will refer to these as "special" schools, though eighteen of them are "carried on the books" as white schools and only one is classified as a Negro school—a fact which would lead the patrons to boycott it if they knew it. Four schools, of the nineteen, are officially the "white" schools of their districts; but these are districts which have been gerrymandered to coincide with the mestizo settlement or from which white families moved when the mestizos came in.

A few of these compare favorably with other rural schools, are housed in adequate frame buildings, and have competent teachers and satisfactory equipment. Most of them, however, are poor, indeed: buildings are unpainted; equipment is at a bare minimum; window panes are broken; roofs are leaking and doors sagging; the heating is inadequate; and even the hot-lunch program is not in

operation, though no children in the state are more in need of it. These schools are invariably under the jurisdiction of boards of white trustees, who are interested in little more than providing a school which will satisfy the legal requirement of "equal facilities."

These, moreover, are all elementary schools. Graduates of three of these nineteen "special" schools are accepted into the district's white high school; the formal education of children in the other sixteen schools, however, ends with the seventh grade, unless their parents migrate to another district, where they will be accepted. In two schools the teachers occasionally provide what is called "high-school training"—this, in addition to their work with the elementary pupils. "What would happen if they demanded high-school privileges?" I asked school officials in those districts where the facilities were not made available. "We've never had the question come up." "We would just have to see to it that none of them ever passed the seventh grade." These were typical of the answers to my question. In short, very few mestizos ever reach high school; and those who do "are not very happy here," or "they hardly ever graduate," or "they seldom go more than a year."

The problem of obtaining teachers for these "special" schools is a major one. A Negro, of course, would be unacceptable, regardless of his qualifications. White teachers are usually unwilling to take a position in schools of this type; in fact, instances are numerous where white teachers have been appointed but, upon arriving on the spot and learning the situation, have refused to serve or have remained only a week or two. The mores do not look with favor upon a white person's teaching in a mestizo school. In one community I was told: "The people

around here wouldn't stand for no white woman teachin' them half-niggers." Elsewhere the opposition is less severe; and in several districts women of the highest social status have been secured as teachers, partly from economic necessity and partly by appeals to altruistic motives. Mestizo teachers are sometimes employed; but few of these are available, for those who have received sufficient education to qualify choose to go elsewhere, where they will be accepted as whites. The result is that most of the teachers of the mestizo schools are poorly trained and incompetent white persons. Many of them, in fact, cannot qualify for teacher's certificates and must be issued "temporary" permits, year after year.

The third means whereby the educational needs of mestizo children is met is by admitting them to the white schools. To win this privilege, a family may have to migrate to some other community where opposition to their presence in the white school will not be insurmountable. The migration, however, need not be any great distance—across the county line, or only five or ten miles to another village in the same county. Not infrequently, however, mestizos insist upon sending their children to the white schools in their native community, turning their backs upon the "special" school provided for them. Said one superintendent:

More and more of them are coming to this school every year. But what can I do about it? They come here with birth certificates saying they are white, their fathers have hunting licenses showing them white, and they vote in the Democratic primaries. I try to persuade them to go to their own school, but when they refuse, what can I do? . . . Then some of the folks in this town will criticize me for letting niggers into the school. Often the ones who do the most criticizing are the very ones who are letting these people register and vote as white.

An elderly teacher in the white school of another community said: "I'm teaching children right now whose mothers and fathers would never have been allowed to enter the white schools."

Mestizos, then, are gradually invading the white schools. In fact, although I visited many white schools in the South Carolina Low Country, I found few, indeed, in which there were not some mestizo children. Teachers, principals, and superintendents are fully aware of the situation; and their attitudes covered a wide range, from bitter hostility to sympathetic tolerance. One superintendent had taken an active part in a movement to permit the graduates of the special mestizo school to attend the white high school in his district and had succeeded; on the other hand, I encountered one official who had won a reputation for ferreting out the tiniest trace of Negro blood in his pupils and dismissing the tainted ones.

Admittance of mestizos to the white schools, however, does not mean that they are accepted as equals. That is virtually never the case. There are a few white schools where mestizos participate in athletic and other functions and where occasionally one graduate becomes the valedictorian or wins a certain respect for scholastic achievements or personal charm; but in most instances they are isolated, ostracized, ignored, and excluded from all school activities. Their lot, therefore, in the white schools is a hard one; but they continue to come.

The schools exemplify the mestizo's situation in the whole society. In a few communities they are without a church, though usually they have their own separate churches; but they frequently present themselves for membership in white churches, and they are often accepted,

though occasionally denied membership on one subterfuge or another. In politics they are invariably Democrats and are permitted to cast their ballots in the lily-white primaries, and there are a few instances where they have run for office and been elected. In the hospitals they refuse to be assigned to Negro wards. A hospital manager said:

One night the ambulance brought one of those Brass Ankles in here, and we rolled him up to the Negro ward. He looked like a Negro to me. When he found out where he was, he yelled out, "Git me outa here; I'd ruther die out in front of this hospital than git well in here." So we put him in the white ward, but the patients there objected. So I had to put him in a private room. That's what I always do now—put 'em in a private room. If I don't have one, I put 'em in the hall and put a screen around 'em.

In most South Carolina towns mestizos are seated in the white sections of moving-picture theaters, and they invariably use the white waiting-rooms of bus lines and railways. They are considered white by the Selective Service; and where the races are segregated on county "honor rolls," mestizos are recorded among the whites. I have seen white people shake hands with them and address them as "mister" and "mistress"—gestures tantamount to bestowing the accolade of white status. Every probate judge can recount instances of marriages of whites and mestizos and will confess that on their records all mestizos are

white, though a few "leave the race blank." To marry a mestizo is, of course, a serious blow to one's status; but it is not nearly so serious as would be marriage to a Negro.

Many of these changes have come within the last fifteen or twenty years. Prior to that time most mestizos lived almost entirely to themselves in small, isolated racial "islands." Improvements in the means of communication have broken down this isolation; and several of the New Deal's programs, especially W.P.A. and F.S.A., have contributed to the process. As a result, these compact communities are disintegrating, their members are dispersing, most of them are much smaller than formerly, and a few have become almost extinct. The present war, too, is speeding up the assimilation in a variety of ways. There are countless persons in South Carolina, to say nothing of many others who have migrated elsewhere, who themselves have made the transition from mestizo to the white status or whose forebears, a generation or two back, succeeded in leaping the hurdle. "He goes as a white man," I was often told, "but he comes from that stock." One is not rash, therefore, who prophesies that a few more generations will see the disappearance of the mestizos. In South Carolina they are almost—but not quite—white.

RHODE ISLAND STATE COLLEGE

THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE NAZI LEADERSHIP¹

ERNEST M. DOBLIN AND CLAIRE POHLY

ABSTRACT

The Reichstag under Hitler comprised the leaders in the Nazi fight for power during the twenties. Statistical analysis of this group shows that they were comparatively young, mostly veterans of World War I, and frequently members of the Black Reichswehr thereafter. The majority was born in medium-sized cities, mainly in southern and western Germany, had a moderate education, and came from the ranks of white-collar workers, artisans, and "intellectuals."

The following observations do not refer to the social structure of the Nazi party, which was a political order consisting of some seven hundred thousand members.² Nor are they directly concerned with the social composition of that part of the German population which voted for the Nazi party at any time from 1923 to 1933. Their objective is rather to throw some light on the social origin of the leading group within the party, the élite who occupied the key positions under the Nazi system. The findings are confined to the pre-1933 Nazis (who did not necessarily represent the setup after ten years of Hitlerian rule) and do not by themselves settle the old controversy as to whether the Nazis were tools and instruments of other groups or exercised independent control. The list of Reichstag members offered a fairly representative cross-section through this inner circle. The Reichstag itself had been a highly insignificant body in the German political setup under Hitler—nothing but an audience for occasional speeches by the Führer. However, appointment to Reichstag membership was a reward to party members and officials for services rendered, and for this reason an analysis of the Reichstag members promises some clue to the problem: What kind of people consti-

tuted the upper stratum of Nazi society in its earlier stage?

The Reichstag of 1938 consisted of 814 members.³ Among them were 81 from Austria who were excluded for the purpose of the present study, as were 23 "outsiders," former conservatives and industrialists who held their Reichstag positions in acknowledgment of previous political services. They were not party members, although 11 among them were accepted as "guests of the party." Filling of vacancies, etc., account for 7 additional biographies. The Nazi leaders on whose biographies the following analysis is based numbered altogether 717.

AGE

In 1938, when the party had already been in power five years, the average age of the 717 Reichstag members was 43. The average Nazi leader belonged to the generation which was born at the turn of the century. He was twenty at some time during the first World War, was still in his twenties when the Nazi struggle for power began, and was in his thirties when he reached the highest steps on the political ladder. Less than 10 per cent in the group were over fifty years of age when the party came into power, and two-thirds were under forty. The Nazi appeal to youth and the "war generation" against the petrification of public life under the "system" was reflected in the youthfulness of its leading members.

¹ The opinions expressed in the article are the personal views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of organizations with which the authors are or have been connected.

² For such statistics on the basis of a party census see Hans Gerth, "The Nazi Party, Its Leadership and Composition," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940), 517-41.

³ Biographies of Reichstag members cited here are from *Reichstagshandbuch*, 1938, "Der Gross-deutsche Reichstag."

Table 1 shows how the average age of the members of the Reichstag was reduced. Because of the mature age of the members of the middle parties, the average age of the "Reichstag of the old gentlemen" of 1930 was fifty-two years.⁴ Already under the Republic, the age composition of the Nazi Reichstag group differed greatly from the average. The Communists, incidentally, were still one step ahead in this respect.

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN

By states.—The biographies contain references as to the place of birth of the Reich-

Hitler was Austrian by birth and acquired German citizenship by appointment as *Regierungsrat* in Brunswick. Darre was born in Belgrano (state of Buenos Aires, Argentina); Hess in Alexandria (Egypt). Rosenberg's birthplace was Reval. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg was born in Esher (England) and educated at Eton. Bohle, leader of the Auslandsdeutschen organization, was born in Bradford (England).

2. Table 2 shows the geographic distribution of the birthplaces of the remaining 667 members. It is compared with the geographic distribution of the German population ac-

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION IN VARIOUS REICHSTAGS

AGE CLASS	1938	1930*					1928*	1924*
		Total	Nazis	Communists	Social Democrats	German Nationalists		
Under 30.....	1.4	4	11	11	.....	2	1	2
30-39.....	37.4	25	55	58	12	5	16	19
40-49.....	42.3	30	22	29	34	25	36	36
50-59.....	14.7	31	10	1	38	51	35	32
60 and over.....	4.2	10	2	1	16	2	12	11
Total.....	100.0	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Source: Victor Engelhardt, "Die Zusammensetzung des deutschen Reichstag," *Die Arbeit*, 1931, p. 32.

stag members. In 687 instances it is possible to determine the state or the (Prussian) province in question. An analysis of these 687 items leads to the following conclusions:

1. Quite a number of the Reichstag members—20 altogether—were born abroad (i.e., outside the pre-World War I territory of the Reich). Among them were 7 from Russia (including the Baltic States, which were at that time part of Russia); 6 from Austria; 2 from England; and 1 each from France, Belgium, Hungary, Egypt, and Argentina. Some of them were relatively obscure. However, several very prominent Nazi leaders were born abroad and some were originally citizens of foreign countries.

⁴ Heinrich Geiger, "Der Reichstag der alten Herren," *Die Tat*, XXII (1930), 285.

cording to the census of 1895, at the time of the early childhood of the average Nazi leader. Differences between the two sets of figures are conspicuous. The last column in the table—the number of Nazi leaders who were born in a district per 1,000,000 inhabitants—may serve as a measure of these territorial discrepancies.

3. Although Bavaria contributed only 11 per cent of the population of the Reich, almost one out of five Nazi leaders was born there, among them some of the most prominent personalities, such as Göring, Himmler, Esser, Frick, and Sauckel.

4. Very much in opposition to popular misconceptions, the figures show clearly that the origin of the Nazi movement as far as *leaders* are concerned was more the southern, western, and central part of Germany

than the eastern or northern. Provinces and states mainly affected were Bavaria, Oldenburg, Thuringia, Baden, Anhalt, Hesse, Westphalia, and Brunswick in that order.

Leaders and voters came from different places. If the regional distribution of leaders is measured by the ratio used in Table 3 and compared with the percentage of Nazi votes

5. The reverse side is a correspondingly smaller participation of Prussia in the Nazi leadership. Here again the West contributed more than the East: Westphalia and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the Rhine province and Hanover were in the lead. In the East only Berlin had a share above the national average.⁶ With the exception of Baldur von

TABLE 2
BIRTHPLACE OF GERMAN-BORN NAZI LEADERS BY PROVINCES AND STATES

PROVINCE AND STATE	POPULATION IN 1895		REICHSTAG MEMBERS BORN IN REGION		RATIO OF REICHSTAG MEMBERS BORN IN REGION TO POPULATION PER MILLION
	In Thousands	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
1. East and West Prussia, Posen..	5,225	10.1	32	4.8	6.12
2. Brandenburg, Berlin, Pomerania, Silesia, Saxony (province).	13,044	25.2	126	18.9	9.66
3. Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Mecklenburg, Lübeck.....	4,496	8.7	60	9.0	13.35
4. Westphalia, Hesse-Nassau....	4,403	8.5	73	11.0	16.58
5. Rhine Province.....	5,048	9.8	68	10.2	13.47
6. Bavaria.....	5,779	11.2	126	18.9	21.80
7. Saxony.....	3,753	7.2	46	6.9	12.26
8. Württemberg.....	2,071	4.0	26	3.9	12.55
9. Baden, Hesse.....	2,751	5.3	37	5.5	13.45
10. Oldenburg, Anhalt, Brunswick, Thuringia, Lippe.....	2,355	5.1	55	8.2	20.72
11. Hamburg.....	664	1.3	8	1.2	12.05
12. Alsace-Lorraine.....	1,623	3.1	10	1.5	6.16
13. Other regions.....	258	0.5			
1-3 (Prussia east of the Weser)*..	22,765	44.0	218	32.7	9.58
4-5 (Prussia west of the Weser)...	9,451	18.3	141	21.2	14.92
1-5 (Prussia)*.....	32,216	62.3	359	53.9	11.15
1-13 (Germany).....	51,770	100.0	667	100.0	12.88

* Including Mecklenburg and Lübeck.

to total votes in the March, 1933, election for 23 Prussian provinces and larger German states, the coefficient of rank correlation is $-.479$. The relation between the two sets of figures is negative, although not very close.⁵

⁵ It should be repeated that all findings in the article refer to the leaders and do not permit any conclusions upon the social structure of the Nazi voters during the twenties. From multiple correlation analysis of Nazi vote percentages by districts and the share of various social groups in the population, it appears that there were substantial differences in the social composition of leaders and voters in many respects.

Schirach, all the members born in Berlin were distinguished by complete lack of prominence. The Nazi rate was much higher for Prussia west of the Weser than east of the Weser. The rate was particularly low in eastern regions known to be politically reactionary, such as the provinces of East Prussia (7.06) and West Prussia (4.77). The roots of Prussianism and the "Junker system," on the one hand, and National Socialism, on the other, were farther apart than is commonly supposed.

⁶ Partly due to the inclusion of suburbs in the statistics (see section on "Size of Birthplace").

By size of birthplace.—German statistics distinguished five types of municipalities: rural communities with less than 2,000 inhabitants; country towns with 2,000–5,000 inhabitants; small cities with 5,000–20,000 inhabitants; medium-sized cities of 20,000–100,000 inhabitants; and larger cities above that size.

The birthplaces are classified accordingly with the help of the official register of German municipalities of more than 2,000 inhabitants in 1905.⁷ All unregistered places are classified as rural communities. Table 3 compares this breakdown with the distribu-

large cities, whereas population statistics classified them according to their actual size, the participation of large cities as Nazi birthplaces is still somewhat overstated. The fact only strengthens the conclusion that the medium-sized city proved to be the most fertile ground for producing Nazi leaders.

EDUCATION

Whatever the roots of the barbarism of the Nazi system may have been, the barbarism can hardly be attributed to extreme lack of formal school education of the leaders. At least 372 of the 717 persons went through high school. The German school system being different from the American, the term "high school" refers here to both *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*, which offered a training of six and nine years, respectively, after three years of elementary school. *Gymnasium* graduation was a prerequisite for university entrance. High schools were not free and were therefore attended by workers' children only in rare cases.⁹

Almost half of the high-school students—165 altogether—actually entered universities, and almost half of them there studied law and economics. In the midst of the inflation in 1922, when a large part of the university students consisted of war veterans—and a large number of the latter were also engaged in Black Reichswehr and similar activities—as high as 44 per cent of all university students studied law and economics as their major subjects.¹⁰ This was the time when most of the university graduates of the 1938 Reichstag were in college. Obviously, these fields attracted by their nature

TABLE 3

BIRTHPLACES OF REICHSTAG MEMBERS
BY SIZE GROUPS

COMMUNITY SIZE	POPULATION IN 1905		REICHSTAG MEMBERS	
	In Thou- sands	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent.
Less than 2,000.....	25,822	42.6	235	33.7
2,000–4,999.....	7,159	11.8	68	9.8
5,000–19,999.....	8,334	13.7	113	16.2
20,000–99,999.....	7,817	12.9	129	18.5
100,000 and over...	11,509	19.0	152	21.8
Total.....	60,041	100.0	697	100.0

tion of the German population at the same time by size of communities.⁸

The table shows that the leaders of the movement of "blood and soil" originated relatively more in urban than in rural districts. The part played by purely rural communities as well as that of country towns was well below national average.

Considering urban communities (5,000 inhabitants and more) separately, it appears that the share of the medium-sized city was particularly high at the expense of smaller as well as larger cities. Since in the Nazi birthplace statistics the suburbs of metropolitan cities are counted as part of

⁷ *Vierteljahreshefte zur Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, Vol. IV (1907).

⁸ *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1908, pp. 6–7.

⁹ No comprehensive statistics exist on the social origin of high-school students for the period under consideration. From sample investigation in 1921 it appears that at that time only 5.5 per cent were workers' children. It should be added that in 1921 the majority of future Nazi leaders were already above high-school age. In their school days high schools were, if anything, even less democratic. For some statistics see Karl Keller, "Die soziale Herkunft der Schueler der hoeheren Lehranstalten," in *Zeitschrift des preussischen statistischen Landesamts* (Berlin, 1926), p. 392.

¹⁰ *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1923, p. 320.

more students with political interests, grievances, and resentment than subjects such as medicine or theology. The number of Reichstag members in this field was relatively small. The department of philosophy—which included in German universities also history, foreign languages, etc.—was well represented. It supplied the teachers and journalists who reappeared later as party demagogues with academic background, like Joseph Goebbels. The number of students of agriculture was also large and is proof of the strong influence which the Nazi movement exercised at all times on the upper class of the German farm population.

The number of students who discontinued their university studies before graduation is striking. Although the biographies are not too definite in this respect, it appears that, of the above-mentioned 165 university students, only between 84 and 97 reached that goal. The case is unusual in German education. Subsequently the party, with its protest attitude against the prevailing order, became the outlet for the large number of persons who could not make the grade. The high social standing which the professional man in Germany enjoyed must be borne in mind.

Under this aspect it is of interest to note that the Nazi leader group contained a considerable element of the semiprofessional type (64 altogether). There were 32 who were students in colleges for elementary teachers, an occupation socially below the professional level. The same is true for the 21 men who came from lower technological schools, the social prestige of which was slightly inferior to that of an individual educated at one of the fully accepted universities (*Vollakademiker*).

WAR SERVICE AND "FREIKORPS"

It follows directly from the age distribution that the "war generation" dominated. Almost two-thirds of the Reichstag members were war veterans (Table 4). Excluding the age groups of 1904 and later, which were below military age, the rate rises to 75 per cent. In the middle brackets the participa-

tion ascends to 90 per cent and more. The majority in the two oldest veteran groups were officers: 7 of 9 in the last group, and 7 of 12 in the preceding group. Reference to active combat duty was not consistently made and does not permit of statistical analysis.

Particularly for the younger men World War I was not over with the Armistice. They did not find or did not look for a niche in civilian life. At least 164 of the 717 members joined military organizations such as Wehrwolf, Freikorps Epp, Rossbach, Crenschutz, and Einwohnerwehr. Many of these

TABLE 4
WAR VETERANS AND *Freikorps* MEMBERS
BY AGE GROUPS

Age Group	Reichstag Members	No. of War Veterans	No. of <i>Freikorps</i> Members
1909 and later....	10	.....	.....
1904-8.....	90	.....	8
1899-1903.....	179	64	56
1894-98.....	200	187	61
1889-93.....	103	99	20
1884-88.....	76	66	12
1879-83.....	29	25	3
1874-78.....	15	12	3
1873 and before...	15	9	1
Total.....	717	462	164

were under the sponsorship of the Reichswehr, and almost all were under the command of former officers. Originally these young men fought in the various *Freikorps* more or less independently and unco-ordinately. Finally, they found in the Nazi fighting organizations the centralized leadership which made them a still more efficient instrument of political unrest.

The large majority of the *Freikorps* members were World War I veterans. In their lowest age brackets, however, were quite a number of persons who went immediately from school into the black organizations. One-third of the *Freikorps* fighters among the Reichstag members had never earned a living before the war. They had been university students or were below college age. A

further group of 31 were professional pre-World War I soldiers, among them 24 officers. The number of *Freikorps* members who were members of the nobility is relatively large: von Helldorf, von Jagow, von Finkenstein, von der Goltz, and two scions of ruling houses, the Duke of Coburg and the Prince of Waldeck.

In some five hundred instances reference is made to the year in which the individual joined the party. The percentage of old party members is large, as can be expected. Since a low membership number was a definite social distinction, the selection may be biased, inasmuch as more recent party members might have withheld information on that point. This possibility precludes further statistical analysis.

OCCUPATION

In 1938 the great majority of the Reichstag members held leading positions in administration and in the party bureaucracy. What had they been before the political wave swept them into power? Table 5 presents their occupational backgrounds at three stages: in 1932, the last year of their revolutionary period; in 1923, at the peak of the inflation; and, for the older age groups, their occupations in the years shortly before World War I.

The biographical notes are not quite satisfactory for showing types. Statements as to the duration of an occupation and reasons for change to another job are frequently vague. Occupations are often identified in general terms only, without leaving a clue as to the type of responsibility assumed or the social importance of the position. In many instances there were gaps in the curriculum, and coloring of facts sometimes becomes evident. Thus occupations can be classified in broad categories only, and the observations must be confined to the years mentioned above. Exact data on the frequency of job changes are unobtainable.

By and large the distribution in 1914 does not differ too much from that of the larger group ten years later. The participation of college students—who had to inter-

rupt their studies in consequence of the war and apparently remained unsettled afterward—is considerable. The participation of the military group is conspicuous. Nearly every fifth person in the more mature groups of the Nazi leaders was a soldier before the war.

Comparing 1923 and 1932, the following facts stand out:

1. In comparison with the occupational distribution of the total male population,

TABLE 5
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF MEMBERS
OF THE NAZI REICHSTAG
1914, 1923, AND 1932

Occupational Background	1914	1923	1932
Agriculture.....	46	93	93
Industry and trade:			
Independent and executive.....	27	60	80
Employee.....	38	104	63
Worker.....	21	28	21
Craftsmen.....	39	62	51
Banking.....	8	32	15
Liberal professions.....	10	28	38
Authors and writers.....	1	19	37
Party workers.....		7	176
Military:			
Officers.....	55	10	1
Other.....	20	13	
Civil servants.....	27	68	67
Teachers.....	17	31	26
College students.....	68	69	8
Below age of gainful employment and unknown	340	88	41
Total.....	717	717	717

the Nazi group showed a particular pattern. Excluding the items "unknown," "college students," and the "under regular employment ages" group in 1923, the share of agriculture was far below the proportion of farmers in the nation's population. Industry, too, contributed comparatively few Nazi leaders. The participation of the "service" group, which includes the liberal professions, civil servants, teachers, and similar categories, were exceedingly high, and the participation of craftsmen (*Handwerker*) was also far above the national proportion. Percentages of the total Nazi group, with the percentages of total population in paren-

theses, are as follows: agriculture 16.6 (23.3); industry and crafts 25.6 (51.1); trade and communications 26.4 (17.9); services except domestic services 31.4 (7.5).

2. The census classifies the working population according to their social position into four broad categories: "independents"; unpaid family workers; salaried employees and civil servants; and workers. The craftsmen's biographies usually do not reveal their positions in this respect. They may have been self-employed independents or skilled workers. For lack of better information they are for the present purpose equally distributed over the two categories. A comparison between the Nazi group and census data for the total gainfully employed male population establishes the fact that the manual workers' group was relatively small among the Nazi leaders (11.4 versus 53.6 per cent); that the share of "independents" plus the above-mentioned unpaid family members was comparatively higher, with 37.2 (versus 20.5) per cent; and that the participation of salaried people was exceedingly large, with 51.4 (versus 19.5) per cent, owing mainly to the large quota of business employees and civil servants (the civil servants group in Germany included elementary, secondary, and university teachers).

3. The list of liberal professions is diversified. It is remarkable that 4 of the 28 persons in this group were architects—a role which Hitler frequently liked to assume. One was a discredited clergyman, and 5 were lawyers. The participation of "intellectuals"—upper civil servants, members of the liberal professions, teachers, writers, college students—amounted to over 20 per cent of the 717 Reichstag Nazis and is in strange contrast to the proclaimed anti-intellectualism of the party.

4. The number of government employees in the wider sense amounted altogether to 122, which is more than 20 per cent of the total group of Nazi Reichstag members. Among them were 23 soldiers and officers, 31 teachers, and 68 civil servants. The lower civil servants and the grammar-school teachers predominated. The term "inde-

pendent" does not necessarily imply a position high up on the social ladder. In fact, most of them were "small" people. Among the 208 "independents" in the Nazi group were 88 in agriculture. Few were listed as large landowners (*Gutsbesitzer*), and the great majority were farmers. There were, furthermore, 31 craftsmen in this group.

5. After 1932 a new group played a major part in the occupational classification: party workers (i.e., persons who made a living wholly or almost wholly through the party). About 176 of the 717 persons were in this group in 1932. The class comprised those persons whose biographies do not list any other occupation for them in 1932 and who were at that time either members of the old Reichstag, and in such capacity drew a salary, or occupied a leading position in the organization of the party or its militia. The term "leading position" excludes S.S. or S.A. rank-and-file and S.S. and S.A. lieutenants, who were placed in the miscellaneous group if no information was given as to their having any other occupation.

6. From a correlation table (unpublished to conserve space) showing the occupational distribution of the 717 Nazi leaders in 1923 and 1932 it appears that, except for those who were to become full-time party workers, the majority remained in their old occupational lines. Even shifts within the same occupation from higher to lower level and vice versa were exceptions: wherever a differentiation between economic levels in the tabulation could be made, no social drop during that decade was observable. If there was a tendency toward proletarianization, it expressed itself in some form of hidden unemployment, the person in question becoming a "political writer" or (in more numerous instances) a party worker.

7. Shifts away from farming to other occupations were rare. To a somewhat lesser degree the same was true for craftsmen. Occupational changes were particularly frequent in the case of salaried employees and consisted partly in normal upgrading. However, as many as 40 per cent of the employees in the trade and commerce group

of 1923 became "writers" for the party. Of the 31 bank employees, only 12 had remained in banking in 1932 in consequence of the shrinkage of bank activities after the currency stabilization.

The other category which had practically disappeared in 1932 was the military group. All the 13 privates and 9 of 10 officers of 1923 had left the armed forces as a result of the army's efforts to get rid of the politically hyperactive elements who would discredit its outwardly "neutral" and essentially conservative character.

8. The 70 college students of 1923 had been in 1932 only partly absorbed in the labor market and in positions which generally presupposed college education, such as high-school teachers (3), higher civil servants (5), or the liberal professions (9). Some of them were in jobs definitely below this level in the lower grades of the civil service (2) or business employees (4). A large number (25) appeared in 1932 as party workers without any other job, and another group of 5 as editors and authors—which actually amounted to the same thing. Roughly half of the 20 persons below college age in 1923 also became party workers.

9. As already pointed out, the occupational position of 1932 differed from that ten years earlier in that (1) the military group disappeared, (2) members of the groups of college students and the youngest generation were distributed over the other groups, and (3) the "party worker" category had become much more prominent—25 per cent of the whole.

Where was the party worker group recruited? The question is already partly answered by the analysis of the shrinkage of some other groups. For 39 party workers no data were available on their previous careers. Some 60 per cent of the remaining 137 came from four groups: intellectuals unemployed or employed under their highest skills (25 former college students); very young persons of high-school age in 1923 (9); discharged or retired Reichswehr members (13); and a large number (34) of unsuccessful white-collar workers.

SUMMARY

The average Nazi leader was moderately young; at the time the party gained complete control (1933) he was about thirty-eight years old. He was more frequently of urban and less frequently of rural origin than the average cross-section of the total population and more frequently came from medium-sized cities than from small or metropolitan places. Again, relatively speaking, he was born outside Prussia rather than in Prussia, frequently in Bavaria; and, if he was a Prussian, he came from the western part of the state (Westphalia, Rhineland) rather than from the eastern part.

His educational level was mediocre but not elementary. Half of the leaders had high-school education, and almost 25 per cent had some university training, with economics and law as the favorite subjects. The number of failures among those who were college students was remarkable. Three-quarters of those in military ages were veterans of World War I, and almost 25 per cent of the whole group had been members of Black Reichswehr organizations after that war.

The occupational distribution of the group differed considerably from the general occupational pattern of the male German population. Agriculture, industry, and trade were underrepresented. The share of craftsmen, on the one hand, and teachers, members of the liberal professions, civil servants, and similar categories was far above the national average. The participation of manual workers did not reach the national proportion: salaried persons constituted the great majority. "Independents" were predominantly from the lower-income groups, mainly small farmers or artisans. The ratio of intellectuals, from college students to writers and higher government employees, was far above the corresponding proportion in the total population. Between 1923 and 1932 the occupational pattern changed little except that almost 25 per cent of the group had become full-time party workers. Altogether the Nazi leader group presented the picture of a revolt of the lower middle class.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1944 . . . . .	50

According to reports received by the *Journal* from institutions in the United States offering graduate instruction, 33 doctoral degrees and 92 Masters' degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1944 by 36 institutions. This list follows the reports exactly, and it includes degrees in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology shares in the granting of such degrees.

DOCTORS' DEGREES

- Robert Freed Bales, B.S. Oregon, 1939; M.A. Harvard, 1943. "The 'Fixation Factor' in Alcohol Addiction: An Hypothesis Derived from a Comparative Study of Irish and Jewish Social Norms." *Harvard*.
- Dorothy Fahs Beck, B.A. North Carolina, 1928; M.A. Chicago, 1932. "The Cost of Dental Care for Adults." *Columbia*.
- Leonard Covello, B.S. Columbia, 1911. "The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child—a Study of the Southern Italian Family Mores and Their Effect on the Social Situation in Italy and America." *New York University*.
- Paul K. Crosser, Dr. of Economics, Institute of Economics, Berlin, 1932. "Ideology and American Labor." *Columbia*.
- Vernon Davies, B.S. Brigham Young University, 1936; M.S. Utah, 1938. "The Construction and Partial Standardization of a Scale To Measure Rural Community Satisfaction." *Minnesota*.
- John Peebles Dean, B.A. Dartmouth, 1936. "Home Ownership: Is It Sound?" *Columbia*.
- William H. Form, B.A., M.A. Rochester, 1938, 1940. "The Sociology of a White-Collar Suburb—Greenbelt, Maryland." *Maryland*.
- Joseph H. Gaiser, B.S. Whitman College, 1921; M.S. Wisconsin, 1924. "The Basques of the Jordan Valley Area: A Study in Social Process and Social Change." *Southern California*.
- Oswald Hall, B.A. Queens University, 1935; M.A. McGill, 1937. "The Informal Organization of Medical Practice: Case Study of a Profession." *Chicago*.
- Paul Kitchener Hatt, B.A. Linfield College, 1936; M.A. Washington, 1940. "A Methodological Analysis of the Concept 'Natural Area.'" *Washington*.
- John E. Ivey, Jr., B.S. Alabama Polytechnic, 1940; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "State Planning in America: An Inquiry into the Rise, Development, and Trends of State Planning in the United States." *North Carolina*.
- Sidney Kobre, B.A. Johns Hopkins, 1927; M.A. Columbia, 1932. "The Development of the Colonial Newspaper." *Columbia*.
- Homer Chi'Ch'en Loh, M.A. Soochow University, 1931. "Chinatown in Philadelphia: A Case Study in Sino-American Cultural Conflict." *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Virgil E. Long, B.A. Kentucky Wesleyan, 1928; M.A. Emory, 1933. "State Supervision and Control of Welfare Agencies and Institutions in Wisconsin: Processes and Structures." *Wisconsin*.
- James E. Montgomery, B.A. Maryville College, 1940; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1941. "Three Appalachian Communities: Cultural Differentials as They Affect Levels of Living and Population Pressure." *Vanderbilt*.
- Edward William Noland, B.A., M.A. West Virginia, 1930, 1936. "Factors Associated with Absenteeism in a South-Central New York State Industry." *Cornell*.
- Celestine J. Nuess, M.A. Northwestern, 1937. "Social Thought of Early-American Catholics, 1634–1829." *Catholic University*.
- Charles Henry Parrish, Jr., B.A. Howard, 1920; M.A. Columbia, 1921. "The Significance of Color in the Negro Community." *Chicago*.
- Wimberly Rosomonde Ramsey, B.A., M.A. South Carolina, 1933, 1934. "The Sequence-Pattern Concept of Social Change with Especial Reference to Blindness and the Blind in South Carolina." *Duke*.
- Earle Reynolds, B.A., M.A. Chicago, 1939, 1943. "The Pelvic Girdle in Early Infancy: A Serial Roentgenometric Study of 96 Children from Birth through Twelve Months." *Wisconsin*.

- Duane M. Robinson, B.A., M.A. Washington, 1935, 1939. "Social Stratification among the Youth of Spokane, Washington." *Columbia*.
- George Rosen, B.S. City College, New York, 1930; M.D. Berlin, 1935. "The Specialization of Medicine." *Columbia*.
- Alfred C. Schnur, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1941. "Parole Prediction Methodology." *Wisconsin*.
- Sister Agnes Claire Schroll, O.S.B., M.A. Catholic University, 1940. "Social Thought of John Lancaster Spaulding, D.D." *Catholic University*.
- Vahan D. Sewny, B.A. Michigan, 1929; B.S., M.A. Columbia, 1930, 1933. "Social Theory of James Mark Baldwin." *Columbia*.
- Irving Andruss Spaulding, B.S. Iowa State, 1941; M.S. Kentucky, 1942. "Farm Labor Camps for Youth in New York State." *Cornell*.
- Thomas Y. Stine, B.A. Carroll, 1925; M.A. Wisconsin, 1928. "The Development of Public Welfare in North Dakota." *North Dakota*.
- Joseph Nathaniel Symons, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1927, 1932. "Utah Residence Types and Criminal Behavior." *Chicago*.
- Melvin Marvin Tumin, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1939, 1940. "San Luis Jilotepec: A Study of Social Relations." *Northwestern*.
- Marguerite L. Walker, B.A. Mundelein College, 1934; M.A. Loyola, 1935. "Some Psychosocial Factors and Problems Involved in the Adjustment and Rehabilitation Processes of a Selected Group of Persons Discharged from a State Hospital for Mental Diseases." *Southern California*.
- Vincent Heath Whitney, B.A., M.A. North Carolina, 1936, 1937. "An Analysis of the Villages and Hamlets of the Subregion." *North Carolina*.
- Marechal-Neil Ellison Young, B.S. Temple, 1935; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1936. "Factors in the Parental, Home, Social, and Economic Background Contributing to the Vocational Guidance of Negro Children." *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Carolyn Zeleny, B.A. Vassar, 1930; M.A. Yale, 1939. "Relations between Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico." *Yale*.

MASTERS' DEGREES

- Annette Kramaroff Altschuler, B.A. Temple, 1940. "The Effect of Increased Employment and Increased Income." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Viola Florence Anderson, B.S. New York University, 1940. "Social Engineering as Illustrated by Tuberculosis." *New York University*.
- Phyllis Aronson, B.A. Wayne, 1937. "The Adequacy of the Family Allowance System as It Affects the Wives and Children of Men Drafted into the Armed Forces." *Wayne*.
- Mildred Atkinson, B.A. Maryland, 1943. "American Trade Union Leaders." *Maryland*.
- Olive Backhurst, B.S. Wayne, 1941. "A Description and Brief Appraisal of a Training Program for Civilian Defense Volunteers Given by the Social Service Bureau of Detroit Department of Public Welfare." *Wayne*.
- Mable Barron, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1943. "A Study of Births at the Elizabeth Steele-Magic Hospital, 1932-1944." *Pittsburgh*.
- Rudolph Philip Beerman, L.L.D. University of Bonn, 1926. "The Effect of Recent Developments in the Immigration and Naturalization Field upon the Program of an Agency Dealing with the Foreign Born." *Buffalo*.
- Mary Bigger, B.A. Wayne, 1941. "Factors Underlying the Commitment of Twenty-five Delinquent Girls to the House of the Good Shepherd with an Evaluation of Their Cases According to Legal Concepts." *Wayne*.
- Clarence Charles Blubaum, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1935. "The Impact of the Defense Program on the Ecological Community Structure throughout the United States." *Illinois*.
- Charles Brashares, B.A. Carleton College, 1941. "A Description and Appraisal of a New Technique for the Observation of Group Leadership." *Wayne*.
- Rose Buchhalter, B.A. Wayne, 1931. "Five Years' Experience in Providing Agency Endorsed Loans for Self Maintenance." *Wayne*.
- John Newell Burrus, B.A. Mississippi, 1942. "Availability of Selected Medical Facilities and Personnel in Louisiana, 1935-1942." *Louisiana State*.
- J. Jane Byers, B.A. Iowa, 1943. "Attitudes toward Academic Freedom: An Analysis of Editorial Opinion." *Iowa*.
- Charles M. Campbell, B.A. North Carolina College, 1939. "The Relative Size of the Negro Population as a Factor in Determining Its Socio-economic Status." *Columbia*.

- Ann Cazemier, B.A. Wheaton College, 1942. "A Study of a Group of Children Whose Mothers Are Inmates of a School for the Feeble-minded." *Buffalo*.
- Esther Cohan, B.A. Wayne, 1937. "The End of an Institution." *Wayne*.
- Carolyn C. Comings, B.A. Smith, 1942. "The Social Theory of A. G. Keller." *Connecticut*.
- Olivia Betty Curry, B.A. Fisk, 1942. "Miscegenation, Acculturation, and Assimilation in Brazil, with Special Reference to the Negro; An Annotated Bibliography." *Fisk*.
- Lawrence Davis, B.A. South Dakota, 1936. "Socio-cultural Changes in the Cheyenne River Sioux Indians as a Result of Contact with White Civilization." *Southern California*.
- Filiz N. Erol, B.A. Washington University, St. Louis, 1942. "Interpretations of Juvenile Delinquency by William Healy and Clifford R. Shaw, and Their Comparison." *Maryland*.
- David B. Fales, B.S. Idaho, 1926. "Social Participation and Membership Characteristics of Farm Youth in Cortland County, New York." *Cornell*.
- Lois Kast Fischer, B.A. Linfield College, 1940. "A Theory of Leadership Motivation in Four Utopian Communities of Early 19th Century—Amana, Oneida, New Harmony, and Brook Farm." *Northwestern*.
- Elise de la Fontaine, B.A. 1920, Barnard. "Some Implications for Case Work and Medical Treatment Derived from the Family Study." *Columbia*.
- Mary Frontczak, B.A. Wayne, 1940. "The Social Needs of Elise Hospital In-patients and Some Ways of Meeting Them." *Wayne*.
- Carmella Fusco, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1937. "Case Work with Unemployed Handicapped Clients." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Robert Vance Gardner, B.A. Northwestern State College, 1942. "Study of the Oklahoma Penal System." *Iowa*.
- Ruth Gilbert, B.A. Mount Holyoke, 1920; B.M. Yale, 1927. No thesis required. *Yale*.
- Robert Gillespie, B.A. Kalamazoo College, 1939. Thesis waived. *Wayne*.
- David I. Golovensky, B.A. Yeshiva, New York, 1932. "Some Sociological Aspects of a Unique Community (Long Beach, New York)." *New School for Social Research*.
- Wilma Good, B.A. Goshen College, 1921. "Training for Day Care and a Study of the Selection and Training of Volunteers in a Day Care Program." *Wayne*.
- Louise Elizabeth Grant, B.S. Lincoln University, 1940. "The St. Louis Unit of the March-on-Washington Movement: A Study in the Sociology of Conflict." *Fisk*.
- Emily Gunning, B.A. Barnard, 1942. "Trends of Attitudes of War in Motion Pictures." *Columbia*.
- Thomas J. Harte, C.S.S.R., Ordination Mount St. Alphonsus, 1942. "A Social Analysis of a Negro Parish in Atlantic City." *Catholic University*.
- Alice Bowie Haskin, B.A. Louisville, 1928. "Sociological Approach to a Clothing Study." *North Carolina*.
- Hilda Hertz, B.A. Skidmore College, 1942. "Negro Illegitimacy in Durham, North Carolina." *Duke*.
- Jean Tennent Hewitt, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1939. "The Emotional Reactions of Women Responsible for the Reclassification and Induction of Their Husbands." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Marjorie Littell Himes, B.A. Cornell, 1941. No thesis required. *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Mildred W. Hoadley, B.A. Earlham, 1933. No thesis required. *Yale*.
- Susan Jahoda, B.S. University of Vienna, 1932. "A Preliminary Study of Occurrence of Hereditary Blindness among Two Groups of Blind People." *Wayne*.
- Rose Kaplan, B.A. Wayne, 1939. "The Co-operative Handling of Family Cases by a Public and Private Agency: A Study of 47 Cases Carried Jointly by the Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid and the Detroit Jewish Social Service Bureau in the Years 1940, 1941, and 1942." *Wayne*.
- Eva Karpinski, B.A. Michigan, 1926. "War Time Employment of People between the Ages of 45-70 Known to a Family Agency." *Wayne*.
- Leona M. Kerstetter, B.S. Columbia, 1939. "The Persistence of Choice of Pupil Associates within a Class Group." *New York University*.
- Dorothy King, B.S. New York University, 1935. "Professional Training for Social Work in Canada." *New York University*.
- Rose Kohn, B.A. New York University, 1943. No thesis required. *Yale*.
- James F. Lover, C.S.S.R., B.A. Mount St. Alphonsus, 1942. "The Negro in Papal Documents." *Catholic University*.
- Ruth Granbery Lynch, B.A. Madison College, 1942. "Some Aspects of the Consumer Co-

- operative Movement in the Southeast since 1920." *North Carolina*.
- Frank McClelland, B.A. Kansas, 1931. "An Institutional Survey of the Kansas State Boys' Industrial School." *Kansas*.
- James McKeown, B.A. Wayne, 1941. "A Statistical Analysis of the Causal Influence of Ten Social and Economic Factors upon the Rates of Five Major Crimes in Thirty-eight American Cities in 1939." *Wayne*.
- Lowell E. Maechtle, B.A. North Central College, 1936; B.D. Evangelical Theological Seminary, 1939. "The Evangelical Church: A Study in Denominationalism." *Wisconsin*.
- Naomi A. Mahn, B.S. Temple, 1939. "Health Education in a Children's Hospital: Organization, Methods, and Problems of a Co-ordinated Program." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Jane Masterson, B.A. Middlebury College, 1936. "Social Therapy with Adolescent Girls in an Agency Providing a Controlled Coeducational Group Environment." *Buffalo*.
- Setsuko Matsunaga, B.A. Washington University, St. Louis, 1943. "The Adjustment of Evacuees in St. Louis." *Washington University, St. Louis*.
- Bernard Meltzer, B.A. Wayne, 1943. "Explorations in the Prediction of Length of Hospitalization of Schizophrenic and Manic-Depressive Patients." *Wayne*.
- James Radcliffe Miller, B.A. Taylor, 1942. "A Social Study of a Suburban Community." *Kent State*.
- Samuel Mopsik, B.A. Connecticut State College, 1937. "A Sectarian Population Study and Its Use in Community Organization." *Buffalo*.
- June S. Murphy, B.A. Wayne, 1939. "An Analysis and Follow-up Study of 44 Direct Adoptions Completed in Wayne County in 1935 To Determine the Effectiveness of the Original Home Study by the Wayne County Agency." *Wayne*.
- Thomas E. Nash, O.S.A., B.A. Villanova, 1940. "A Study of a Typical Slum." *Catholic University*.
- Rose Norman, B.A. Ohio State, 1942. "An Analysis of the Social Services Available to a Section of the In-patient Population of Eloise Hospital." *Wayne*.
- Irene G. Osborne, B.S. Kent State, 1940. "A Study of the Interaction between Jewish and Gentile Students." *Ohio State*.
- Dorothy Elizabeth Owens, B.S. Lincoln University, 1941. "W. E. Burghardt DuBois: A Case Study of a Marginal Man." *Fisk*.
- Ruth Littman Pawel, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1942. "The Impact of Institutional Patterns of Acceptance on Children's Personality." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Lawrence F. Pisani, B.A. Yale, 1942. No thesis required. *Yale*.
- Mabel Henderson Plummer, B.A. Municipal University of Omaha, 1930. "The Homemaker." *Municipal University of Omaha*.
- Konrad Reisner, Doctor of Law, University of Breslau, 1930. "Social Services and Social Legislation in France." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Julian Roebuck, B.A. Atlantic Christian, 1941. "Domestic Services with Particular Reference to the Negro Female Servant in the South." *Duke*.
- Clyde Newton Rogers, B.A. Hamline, 1940. "The Social Development of Reading Community." *Cornell*.
- Ruth Rogers, B.A. Toledo, 1927. "An Experiment Conducted with Two Local Draft Boards To Make Available to Selective Service All Social Data on a Registrant To Aid in Determining his Induction or Rejection by the Army." *Wayne*.
- Alvin Wolcott Rose, B.A. Lincoln University, 1938. "Sociological Implications of the South Africa Policy of William Miller Macmillan." *Iowa*.
- Bernard Rothman, B.A. Wayne, 1938. "The Concept of Maturity." *Wayne*.
- Ralph Ayer's Schofield, B.A. Indiana, 1942. "A Sociological Approach to Alcoholism." *Indiana*.
- Joseph J. Seldin, B.B.S., City College, New York, 1936. "Analysis of Want Ads: 1929, 1933, 1938, *New York Times*." *New School for Social Research*.
- Charlotte Vera Senn, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1943. No thesis required. *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Tamotsu Shibutani, B.A. California, 1942. "Rumors in a Crisis Situation." *Chicago*.
- Casimir P. Sirvaitis, Dr. of Theology, Catholic University, 1943. "A Survey of Social Legislation in Pre-war Lithuania." *Catholic University*.
- Geraldine Spencer, B.S. Cornell, 1938. "Services Rendered to Families of Men in the Armed Forces by a Private Family Agency." *Buffalo*.
- Allen Spitzer, B.A. Rollins, 1934. "A Prelimi-

- nary Survey of the Nature of Taboo." *Stanford*.
- Howard Raymond Studd, B.A. Buffalo, 1936. "A Study of Forty Child Marriage Applications." *Buffalo*.
- Leslie W. Syron, B.A. Mary Baldwin, 1942. "A Study of Educational Leadership in the Southeast since 1900." *North Carolina*.
- Bruriah Szapira, B.S. Temple, 1941. "Social Services in Poland: Their Scope and Function, 1918-1939." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Kim Fong Tom, B.A. Chapman College, 1936. "Participation of the Chinese in the Community Life of Los Angeles." *Southern California*.
- Eleanor Elaine Torell, B.A. Mount Holyoke, 1941. "The Swedish Immigration Movement as a Factor in Changing Family Organization." *Chicago*.
- Mary A. Trost, B.A. Michigan, 1927. "Pastoral Counseling Practices as They Are Reflected in the Ministries of Fifty Clergymen of Rochester, New York." *Michigan*.
- Paul J. Wagner, S.M., B.A. Dayton, 1926. "The Role of the Lay Brother in a Religious Community." *Catholic University*.
- Bernice Schwartz Wax, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1940. "A Foster Home Study." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Clyde B. Wedder, B.A. California, 1928. "Factors Affecting the Attitudes of Felons toward Punishment." *Southern California*.
- Geraldine Weitz, B.A. Wayne, 1941. "An Evaluation of the Family Boarding Home as Observed in 35 Placements." *Wayne*.
- Ann Carolyn White, B.A. Meredith College, 1944. "A Delineation of Rural-Farm Housing Regions in New York State." *Cornell*.
- Louise Ellyson Wiley, B.A. Westhampton, 1943. "The Chinese Cooperative Movement." *North Carolina*.
- Dorothy Kunin Willner, B.A. Wayne, 1935. "Postwar Economic Objectives of Organized Labor." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Erma Wood, B.A. Wayne, 1928. "A Study of One Learning Experience in Social Case Work." *Wayne*.
- Rev. Theodore Zaremba, O.F.M., B.A. St. Francis, 1938. "Franciscan Social Reform According to the Encyclical *Auspicato*." *Catholic University*.
- Beryl Zlatkin, B.A. Wayne, 1937. "An Analysis of the Intensive Cases Carried over a Six-Month Period in the Social Service Department of a Medical Clinic." *Wayne*.

STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations and Masters' theses in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States is a compilation of the returns from letters sent by the editors of the *Journal* to departments of sociology. The name of the college or university in italics designates the institution in which the research is in progress. The list does not include names which have formerly been printed in the *Journal*, except where the research problem has been changed. The number now working for doctoral degrees is 108, and the number working for Masters' degrees is 81. This list follows the reports exactly, and it includes theses in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

- Leta M. Adler, B.A. U.C.L.A., 1942. "A Quantitative Definition of the Primary Group." *Wisconsin*.
- John Louis Afros, B.S., M.A. New York University, 1931, 1932. "Adult Workers' Education in Great Britain and the United States." *New York University*.
- Sister Agnes of Rome, M.A. Boston College, 1942. "Social Thought of French Canada Reflected in *Semaines sociales*." *Catholic University*.
- Charles Brooks Anderson, B.A. St. Johns, 1935. "The Growth Pattern of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Its Determining Factors." *New York University*.
- Ervin Anderson, B.A., M.A. California, 1936, 1938. "The International Rayon Industry." *Columbia*.
- Ariel Ballif, B.S. Brigham Young University, 1925; M.A. Southern California, 1937. "Social Effects of Relief Program on Farmers of Utah County." *Southern California*.
- Joseph Balogh, B.S. California Teachers College, 1937; M.L. Pittsburgh, 1939. "An Analysis of the Cultural Organization of Hungarian-Americans in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County." *Pittsburgh*.
- Selma Barchard, M.A. Catholic University, 1937. "The American Child and the Law." *Catholic University*.
- Milton L. Barron, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1939, 1942. "Intermarriage in a New England Industrial Community." *Yale*.
- Joseph Allan Beagle, B.S. Pennsylvania State, 1939; M.S. Iowa State, 1942. "Differential Fertility in Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Kingsley Birge, B.A. Dartmouth, 1938. "Social Status of Political Personnel." *Yale*.
- Louis Booth, B.S. Valparaiso, 1925; M.A. Columbia, 1927. "Predictions of Outcome in Family Case Work." *New School for Social Research*.
- John Bovingdon, B.S. Harvard, 1915. "Ideological Tendencies in Congressional Thinking Affecting American Participation in a World Collective Security Program." *Columbia*.
- John Briggs III, M.A. Columbia, 1943. "Studies in the Social Reintegration of Wisconsin Parolees, with Special Reference to Community Attitudes." *Wisconsin*.
- Louis Bultena, B.A. Dubuque, 1929; B.D.; M.A. San Francisco Seminary, 1932, 1935; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1941. "A Study of Factors of Integration of Religious and Church Groups." *Wisconsin*.
- Frank Alan Burtner, Jr., B.A. Texas, 1939; M.A. Harvard, 1941. "Inquiry into Regional Attitudes and Information of College Students." *North Carolina*.
- Sophie Cambria, B.A. Barnard, 1937; M.A. Bryn Mawr, 1938. "Vocational Adjustment of Youth in Philadelphia." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Theodore Caplow, B.A. Chicago, 1939; M.A. Minnesota, 1941. "Trends in the Growth Curves and Diffusion Curves of Social Mass Movements." *Minnesota*.
- Hsi Ku Chang, B.A. M.S. Iowa State, 1930, 1931. "An Analysis of the Effectiveness of Some Selected Agricultural Extension Methods in a Wisconsin County." *Wisconsin*.
- Wen-hui Chen, B.A. Yenching University, 1931; Southern California, 1940. "Comparative Study of Child Welfare Institutions of Los Angeles County." *Southern California*.
- Ch'eng-k'un Cheng, B.A. Yenching University, 1931; M.A. Washington, 1937. "China: A

- Folk Society in Transformation." *Washington*.
- David Cheng, B.A. Sukien Christian University, 1930; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1942. "The Acculturation of the Chinese in Philadelphia." *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Fr. Thomas Coogan, M.A., Catholic University, 1944. "An Analysis of Catholic Fertility in the Diocese of Saint Augustine, Florida." *Catholic University*.
- Carleton Currie, B.S. Michigan State, 1920; M.A. Ohio State, 1940. "Some Background Factors in Marital Adjustment." *Ohio State*.
- David DeMarche, B.S., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1934, 1937. "The Measurement and Analysis of Factors Related to Success or Failure of Camp Counselors." *Southern California*.
- Richard S. Dewey, B.A. Wooster, 1936; M.A. Oberlin, 1939. "Sociological Processes Operating between Major and Minority Groups in the United States." *Wisconsin*.
- Mary Huff Diggs, B.A. Minnesota, 1932; M.A. Fisk, 1933. "A Study of Delinquency among Negro Boys in Philadelphia." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Joseph H. Douglass, B.A., M.A. Fisk, 1937, 1941. "Comparative Analysis of the Cape Colored of South Africa and the American Negro." *Harvard*.
- Zelma Watson Duke, Ph.B. Chicago, 1924; M.A. New York University, 1943. "The Negro Art Music Biographical Index." *New York University*.
- Allan W. Eister, B.A. DePauw, 1936; M.A. American University, 1937. "The Oxford Group Movement: A Typological Study." *Wisconsin*.
- Hugo Englemann, B.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "Problem-solving Procedures: A Study in Social Dynamics on an Empirical Basis." *Wisconsin*.
- Sara Feder, Ph.B. Chicago, 1929; M.A. Missouri, 1931. "Adjustment of the Injured under the Missouri Workmen's Compensation Act." *Missouri*.
- Elizabeth A. Ferguson, B.A. Vassar, 1933; M.A. Yale, 1936. "Medicine among Primitive Peoples." *Yale*.
- Helen Ferris, B.A. Goucher, 1918; M.A. Southern California, 1928. "Social Effects of Educational Technique of Co-operative Movements." *Southern California*.
- Walter Irving Firey, Jr., B.A. Washington, 1938; M.A. Harvard, 1943. "The Role of Social Values in Land-Use Patterns of Central Boston." *Harvard*.
- Paul Gillen, B.S., M.Ed. Johns Hopkins, 1931, 1935. "Administration of Community Relationships." *Columbia*.
- Mala Gitlin, M.S.S. New School for Social Research, 1943. "Progress and History in the Scottish School of Sociology." *New School for Social Research*.
- James W. Gladden, B.A. Waynesburg College, 1933; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1943. "The Methodist Church on War and Peace (1939-45)." *Pittsburgh*.
- Patria Aran Gosnell, B.A. Hunter, 1929; M.A. Columbia, 1930. "The Puerto Ricans in New York City." *New York University*.
- Joseph H. Greenberg, B.A. North Carolina, 1942; M.A. Yale, 1943. "Social Implications of Sex Ratio in American Cities." *Yale*.
- Julian Leon Greifer, B.S. New York University, 1927; M.A. Columbia, 1933. "Neighborhood Centre: A Study of the Adjustment of a Culture Group in America." *New York University*.
- Llewellyn Z. Gross, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1936, 1939. "The Construction and Partial Standardization of a Scale for Measuring Self-insight." *Minnesota*.
- George H. Haines, B.A., M.A. Ursinus College, 1927, 1930. "A History of the Virginia State Federation of Labor." *Clark*.
- J. Garrick Hardy, B.S. Alabama State, 1932; M.S. Iowa State, 1933. "A Study of the State Reform School System for Negro Juvenile Delinquents in Alabama." *Wisconsin*.
- Dorothy D. Hayes, B.A. Oberlin, 1924; M.A. Minnesota, 1940. "The Construction of a Scale To Measure Attitude toward Authority." *Minnesota*.
- Hilda Hertz, B.A. Skidmore College, 1942; M.A. Duke, 1944. "Language and Race Relations." *Duke*.
- Fr. Wm. Hogan, S.V.D., M.A. Catholic University, 1942. "Development of Bishop William von Ketteler's Interpretation of the Social Problem." *Catholic University*.
- Florence Hollis, B.A. Wellesley, 1928; M.S.S., Smith, 1931. "Marital Problems of Young People in the War." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Louisa Pinkham Holt, B.A., M.A. Radcliffe, 1937, 1939. "Psycho-analytic Theory and Sociology." *Harvard*.
- Katharine Holtzclaw, B.S., M.A. Peabody College, 1926, 1929. "Some Factors Related to Curriculum Development for a Minority Segregated Group as Revealed by a Study of Home Economics Education in North Carolina." *New York University*.

- Richard A. Hornseth, B.A. Carroll, 1937; M.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "A Weighted Index of Discrimination against the American Negro." *Wisconsin*.
- Paul B. Horton, B.A., Kent State, 1939. "Sociology in American Schools." *Ohio State*.
- Ruth Ardell Inglis, B.A., M.A. Stanford, 1935, 1937. "The Hayes Office as an Institution of Social Control." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Audrey Kittel James, B.A., M.A. Missouri, 1936, 1938. "A Study of the Effects of Industrial Experience on Attitudes of Women toward Marriage." *Washington*.
- Patrick A. Johns, B.A. Illinois, 1940; M.A. Northwestern, 1941. "Nineteenth-Century Anarchism: The Social Psychology of the Anarchist Movement." *Wisconsin*.
- Ray Earl Johns, B.A.S., George Williams College, 1924; M.S.W., Michigan, 1940. "Cooperation among National Social Welfare Agencies." *Columbia*.
- Fr. George A. Kelly, M.A. Catholic University, 1943. "Sociological Analysis of the Composition and Characteristics of the Catholic Population of Saint Augustine, Florida." *Catholic University*.
- Eric Carl Knorr, B.A., M.A. State College of Washington, 1929, 1930. "The Adjustment of the Lutheran Church to Social Change in the Modern World." *Washington*.
- Earl L. Koos, B.A. Ohio State, 1931; M.A. Columbia, 1942. "Crisis and the Low-Income Urban Family." *Columbia*.
- Jay H. Korson, B.A. Villanova, 1931; M.A. Yale, 1942. "Social and Economic Readjustments of Technologically Unemployed Cigar Makers in New Haven." *Yale*.
- Cecil Larsen, B.A. Texas College of Arts and Industries, 1930; M.A. Southern California, 1932. "The Community Organization of Solvang County." *Southern California*.
- Fr. John Lerhinan, C.S.S.R., M.A. Catholic University, 1943. "A Translation and Sociological Commentary on the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*." *Catholic University*.
- Frank S. Loescher, B.A., M.S. Pennsylvania, 1932, 1935. "The Principles, Policies and Practices of the Major Protestant Denominations in Relation to the Negro, with Especial Reference to the Congregation Membership." *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Grace Barr Maas, B.A. Northland College, 1935. "The Origin and Development of Social Case Work." *Wisconsin*.
- Joe U. McGee, M.A. Catholic University. "An Application of the Sociological Indices in the Study of Functional Entity in Washington, D.C." *Catholic University*.
- Fr. L. McHaltie, S.J., M.A. St. Louis, 1930. "Paul Bureau: An Analysis of His Sociology." *Catholic University*.
- Helen S. Martz, B.A., M.S.W. Pennsylvania, 1938, 1939. "A Study of County Boards of Public Assistance in Pennsylvania." *Bryn Mawr*.
- William M. Moore, B.A., M.A. Kansas, 1926, 1930. "The Development of the Pictorial Image of a Statesman." *Wisconsin*.
- John Morsell, B.S., M.A. Columbia, 1934, 1938. "Political Attitude of Negroes in Harlem." *Columbia*.
- Gwynne Nettler, B.A. California, Los Angeles, 1934; M.A. Claremont, 1936. "A Sociopsychological Study of Migration." *Stanford*.
- Eylon J. Niederfrank, B.A., M.S. Oregon State, 1932, 1935. "Rural Families in Maine Who Migrate to Urban War Industrial Centers." *Wisconsin*.
- Carl A. Nissen, B.S. Linfield College, 1922; M.A. Chicago, 1929. "A Study of a Portion of the Social Class Structure of a Modern Community and Certain Social Class Characteristics." *Ohio State*.
- Joseph E. Nuquist, B.A., M.A. Nebraska, 1935, 1936. "The County Bank: An Analysis of the Sociology of Finance." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert W. O'Brien, B.A. Pomona, 1929; M.A. Oberlin, 1931. "The Role of the Nisei College Student during the 1941-1943 Crisis Period." *Washington*.
- Lillian Patterson, B.A., M.A. Washington, 1940, 1943. "Family Problems in Venereal Disease Control." *Washington*.
- Walter Perkins, B.A. Rollins, 1933. "Comparative Analysis of Relief Trends in Nineteen Large Cities." *Wisconsin*.
- Otto Pollak, LL.D. Vienna, 1930; M.A. Bryn Mawr, 1940. "Criminality of Women in Wartime." *Wharton School, Pennsylvania*.
- Orville Quackenbush, B.A., B.S., M.A. Minnesota, 1933, 1935, 1938. "A Theoretical and Empirical Consideration of the Concept 'Stereotype.'" *Minnesota*.
- Myles W. Rodehaver, B.S., B.D. St. Lawrence, 1933, 1935. "Patterns of Social Interaction in the Rural-Urban Fringe Community of Madison, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Sylvia Russell, B.A. Hunter, 1932; M.A. Radcliffe, 1933. "The Sociological Background of American War Songs." *New York University*.

- Beate Salz, B.A. Ohio State, 1941; M.S.S. New School for Social Research, 1943. "The Indian and Industrialization in Ibero-America—a Sociological Inquiry." *New School for Social Research*.
- Fr. Rodriguez Sandoval, M.A. Catholic University, 1943. "The Social Economic Life of the Sierra Indians of Ecuador." *Catholic University*.
- Jyotirmoyee Sarma, B.A., M.A. Chicago, 1941, 1942. "A Study of Negro-White Friendship Relations." *Chicago*.
- Afife Sayin, B.A. American College for Girls, Istanbul, 1936; M.A. Brown, 1939. "Home Workers under State and Federal Law in Pennsylvania." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Alfred C. Schnur, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1941; M.A. Wisconsin, 1944. "The Influence of the Educational Treatment of Prisoners in the Wisconsin State Prison upon Post-release Recidivism." *Wisconsin*.
- Fr. L. Seebold, S.M., M.A. Catholic University, 1942. "Social-Moral Reconstruction According to William Joseph Chaminade." *Catholic University*.
- William Shaw, B.A., M.S. Southern California, 1936, 1938. "Social Effects of Industrial Recreation upon Employee-Employer Relationships in the Los Angeles and Metropolitan Area." *Southern California*.
- Anna Greene Smith, B.A. Cumberland University, 1928; M.A. Peabody College, 1936. "Regional Differences in Education." *North Carolina*.
- Orton Smucker, M.A. Chicago, 1942. "A Sociometric Study of Friendship Groupings in a Stratified Campus." *Ohio State*.
- Allen Spitzer, B.A. Rollins, 1934; M.A. Stanford, 1944. "Nature of Taboo." *Stanford*.
- Margaret Smith Stahl, B.A. British Columbia, 1937; M.A. Washington State, 1939. "Sociology of Law as Applied to the Study of Juvenile Delinquency." *Wisconsin*.
- Anne E. Strong, B.A., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1936, 1937. "Social Integration." *Pittsburgh*.
- Philip A. Sundal, B.A. Augustana College, 1938; M.A. Wisconsin, 1940. "A Study of War Marriages." *Wisconsin*.
- Guy Edwin Swanson, B.A., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1943. "Family Relationships and the Delinquent Boy." *Chicago*.
- Glen L. Taggart, B.S. Utah State College, 1940. "An Acculturation Study of the Czechs in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Donald L. Taylor, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1940, 1941. "Courtship as a Social Institution in the United States, 1930 to 1945." *Duke*.
- John W. Teter, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1932, 1935. "An Ecological Study of Madison, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Howard Ellsworth Thomas, B.A. Wheaton College, 1934; B.D. Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, 1937; M.A. Cornell, 1943. "Influence of the War on a Rural Community." *Cornell*.
- Ruth Hill Useem, B.A. Miami, 1936. "The Aftermath of Defeat: A Statistical Study of Acculturation among the Rosebud Sioux." *Wisconsin*.
- Preston Valien, B.A. Prairie View, 1935; M.A. Atlanta, 1936. "A Study of Negro Urban Migrations in the U.S." *Wisconsin*.
- Clyde B. Vedder, B.A. California, 1928; M.A. Southern California, 1944. "Social World of the Taxi Dancer." *Southern California*.
- Archibald Ward, Jr., B.S. North Carolina State College, 1933. "The Criminal Psychopath." *Maryland*.
- Donald Webster, B.A. Oberlin, 1923; M.A. Wisconsin, 1935. "Leadership and Social Structure in the New Turkey." *Wisconsin*.
- Marion Weidenrich, Diploma, New York School of Social Work, 1938. "Technique, Science, and Philosophy in Social Case Work." *Columbia*.
- Forrest Weller, B.A. Manchester College, 1925; M.A. Chicago, 1927. "The Sect in Transition." *Chicago*.
- Morris Werb, B.A. Yeshiva, New York, 1936; M.A. New York University, 1943. "The Status of the Socially and Physically Inferior as Reflected in the Literature of Ancient Israel." *New York University*.
- Ellwood Hsin-pao Yang, B.A. Fukien Christian University, China, 1927; M.A. Drew University, 1940. "Co-operative Agricultural Extension System of the United States." *Columbia*.
- William L. Young, B.A. Carroll, 1920; M.A. Montana State, 1926. "The Attitudes of High-School Students toward Some Minority Groups." *Pittsburgh*.
- Abdel Hamid Zaki, B.A. New York University, 1940; M.A. Columbia, 1941. "Some Aspects of Rural Child Welfare in Rockland County, New York." *Columbia*.

MASTERS' THESES

- Jean Louise Adams, B.A. Wisconsin, 1939. "The Genesis of Anti-Semitism in the Experience of Selected Negroes." *Chicago*.
- Agnes Anthony, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1944. "A Socio-psychological Study of the Tubercular Patient." *Fisk*.
- John Cheslow Belcher, B.S. Oklahoma A. & M., 1943. "Demographia Analysis of an Oklahoma Village." *Louisiana State*.
- Elizabeth Thompson Blackburn, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1932. "Study of Significant Social Factors in the Families of Children Admitted Two or More Times during a Specific Period to St. Christopher's Hospital." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Fanita Blumberg, B.A., Doane College, 1942. "A Study of the Symptoms of Enuresis as Seen in a Child Guidance Clinic." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Rilma Oxley Buckman, B.A. Mount Holyoke, 1937. "Social Engineering Features in the Career of Lenin." *New York University*.
- Susan P. Burns, B.A. Smith, 1941. "Use Made of Temporary Foster Home Placement for Babies by Mothers Who Did Not Have a Definite Place in Mind at the Time of Application." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Marie K. Bush, B.A. Western Reserve, 1934. "The Negro in the Public Schools of Ohio." *Western Reserve*.
- Mary Ellen Caldwell, B.A. Northwestern State College of Louisiana, 1943. "Social Ecology of Baton Rouge, Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Henry Woodrow Calvert, B.S. South Carolina, 1937. "An Analysis of the Population of Durham City and Durham County, North Carolina." *Duke*.
- Charlotte Cartwright, B.A. Stanford, 1941. "A History of Collective Bargaining in the Printing Trades in San Francisco." *Stanford*.
- Ana G. Casis, B.A. Panama, 1943. "Population Studies in Mexico, Panama, and Puerto Rico, with Special Reference to Urbanization Processes." *Syracuse*.
- Mark Leroy Church, B.A. Akron, 1941. "Political Intellectuals in the 1930's." *Maryland*.
- Elizabeth P. Clark, B.A. Mount Holyoke, 1940. "A Social Science Evaluation of Historical Materials on American Indian Groups: The Dakotas." *Wisconsin*.
- Esther Florence Clark, B.A. McMaster University, 1943. "Needs of the Blind and How They Are Met in Philadelphia County." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Mary Coker, B.A. Vassar, 1944. "Some Social Effects of Adult Education in South Carolina." *North Carolina*.
- Gloria Count, B.S. Minnesota, 1943. "Women in the Labor Force in Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Rev. F. P. Crawford, B.A. Villanova, 1941. "Sociological Study of the Family Life Bureau." *Catholic University*.
- Margaret Leone Davis, B.A. Hunter, 1942. "The Negro in World War II." *Pennsylvania State*.
- Fr. Herman Doerr, O.F.M., A.B. St. Joseph College, 1931. "The Social Studies in the Seminaries: Their Content According to Pontifical Documents." *Catholic University*.
- Rev. William Dowell, B.A. Sacred Heart Seminary, 1941. "American and Catholic Theory of Religious Freedom." *Catholic University*.
- Ellen S. Edelston, B.A. Berea, 1943. "Comparison of Pre-war and Post-war Intake of Adolescent Girls in a Selected Agency." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Max Etheart, A.B., L.L.B. Université d'Haiti, 1934, 1937. "A Study of the Haitian Fiscal Policy." *Fisk*.
- Fred R. Finne, B.A. Illinois, 1943. "A Quantitative Study of Juvenile Delinquency Outside of Police and Court Records." *Northwestern*.
- Maxine Mae Foth, B.A. Kansas City University, 1942. "A Study of Factors Correlated with Job Satisfaction of Social Case Workers in Minnesota in 1939." *Minnesota*.
- Geraldine Beatrice Goodstein, B.A. Detroit, 1944. "Family Interaction and the Young Female Delinquent." *Northwestern*.
- Calvin Wayne Gordon, B.S. Kansas State Teachers College, 1941. "Techniques, Practices and Procedures for Integrating Negroes in Industry through Labor Unions." *Washington University, St. Louis*.
- Joan Gordon, A.B. Rockford College, 1942. "A Critical Study of the Stimulus-Response Theory as a Method of Research in Social Psychology." *Chicago*.
- Michael Hakeem, B.S. Ohio State, 1943. "An Application of the Glueck Method of Parole Prediction to 1861 Cases of White Burglars." *Ohio State*.
- Faye Elizabeth Hancock, B.A. Georgia State College for Women, 1943. "The Range of Occupational Opportunities for Southern Women." *North Carolina*.

- Mrs. Camille Hayes, B.A. Michigan, 1918. "Comparative Analysis of Girls in Peace and Warfare as Revealed in Contact with Women's Bureau of Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia." *Catholic University*.
- Vivian Horatio Henry, B.A. London, 1937; L.L.B. Cambridge, 1940. "The Changing Status of Jamaican Mulattos: A Study in Nationalism." *Fisk*.
- Jean Martin Hirons, B.A. Bryn Mawr, 1923. "The Use of Health Resources by the Fathers in 22 Aid to Dependent Children Cases in Delaware County." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Elaine Fritz Howard, B.A. Radcliffe, 1944. "Attitude of College Students in Regard to the Feminine Role in American Society." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Ann Huntington, B.A. North Carolina, 1940. "Runaway Minors during the Wartime Year 1944 as Known to the Travelers' Aid Society in Philadelphia." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Nancy Jefferis, B.A. North Carolina, 1943. "Need for Co-ordination and Joint Planning in the Field of Social Welfare." *North Carolina*.
- Clément Jumelle, A.B., L.L.B. Université d'Haiti, 1934, 1937. "Competitive Position of Haitian Products in the American Markets." *Fisk*.
- Bessie P. Kannerstein, B.A. Cedar Crest College, 1932; M.A. Lehigh, 1934. "The Physician's Place in Administrative Controls of Health Insurance Programs." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Rigdon Wayne Kernadle, B.A. North Carolina, 1943. "Development of Family Counseling Clinics in the United States." *North Carolina*.
- Rosalynde Kolodner, B.A. Maryland, 1944. "Career Studies of Eminent Americans Based on Current Biographies." *Maryland*.
- Rev. Apolonius Krajiwski, B.A. Poland, 1942. "Women Workers under Protection of Law in Poland." *Catholic University*.
- Jean Kravetz, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1944. "The Woods Run Community Center." *Pittsburgh*.
- Marcus Lang, B.A. Concordia Seminary, 1942. "Relation between Progress of Lutheran Churches and Their Immediate Environs in St. Louis." *Washington University, St. Louis*.
- Franck Legendre, B.A., L.L.B. Université d'Haiti, 1929, 1934. "The Habitation: A Study in Rural Sociology." *Fisk*.
- Djen-shui Lin, B.A. Ginling College, China 1939. "The Problems of Child Welfare Service in China." *Northwestern*.
- Floyd S. Lounsbury, B.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "Phonology of the Oneida Language." *Wisconsin*.
- Bernice A. C. Lukas, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1933. "Social and Emotional Factors in G.I. Patients." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Caroline Manning, B.A. Swarthmore, 1942. "Cultural Factors in Transiency: A Study of Second Generation Americans Known to the Travelers' Aid Society in Philadelphia." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Lucie Mayer, Diploma, Deutsche Oberschule, Berlin, 1929. "Use of Budgeting as a Case Work Tool." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Josefina Morales de Miller, B.A. North Carolina, 1943. "Attitudes toward Rural Living." *Cornell*.
- R. F. Mitchell, B.S. Texas A. & M., 1938. "A Study of Attitudes and Accomplishments of Military and Civilian Students Who Formerly Lived in Student Co-operative Housing Projects." *Texas A. & M.*
- Bernice Moskowitz, B.A. Connecticut, 1943. "Public Opinion Issues and the Roman Catholic Church in the United States." *Wisconsin*.
- Chia-lin Pan, B.A. Tsing Hua University, China, 1933. "An Evaluation of the Population Registration Systems in Europe and Asia." *Stanford*.
- Constance Collis Peters, B.A. North Carolina, 1939. "A Critical Analysis of Literature on Marriage and Family Counseling." *North Carolina*.
- Margaret Nell Price, B.A. Mississippi State College for Women, 1943. "Leadership of Southern Women." *North Carolina*.
- Marsha Fisher Raleigh, A.B. Rockford, 1943. "Comparative Study of Grievance Procedures." *Chicago*.
- Doris Stevenson Robbins, B.A. Connecticut, 1943. "Cultural Delegation of Traits and Attitudes by Sex and Its Influence on Personality." *Chicago*.
- Clarence C. Schrag, B.A. State College of Washington, 1939. "Social Types in a Prison Community." *Washington*.
- Melvin Seeman, B.A. Maryland, 1944. "A Sociometric Study of Grade-School Classes." *Ohio State*.
- Margaret L. Shively, B.S. Ursinus College, 1935. "A Study of the Use of Homemaker Service in the Family Society of Philadelphia." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Matille Singerman, B.A. Cincinnati, 1943. "A

- Comparison of the Opinions of Negro Leaders in World War I and World War II." *Stanford*.
- Marshall Sklare, "A Comparative Study of National Jewish Organizations Seeking To Protect the Position of the Jew." *Chicago*.
- Karoline Solmitz, Social Certificate, School for Social Work, Berlin, 1914. "Child Welfare Services in Germany." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Jozetta Srb, B.A. Nebraska, 1941. "A Study of the Rural Population Movement in Nebraska with Special Emphasis on Farm Labor." *Stanford*.
- Mildred Louise Steele, B.A. Fisk, 1942. "A Study of the Nature of the Unity of Interaction among Family Members." *Fisk*.
- Edith Virginia Stone, B.S. Rich. Prof. Inst., 1936. "Social Planning for the Reduction of Tuberculosis in the Southeast." *North Carolina*.
- Marion Strauss, B.A. Queen's College, 1943. "Construction of a Multi-dimensional Scale To Measure Attitudes toward Labor Unions." *Minnesota*.
- Roy A. Sturm, B.A. DePauw, 1924; S.T.B. Boston, 1927. "The Leadership Requirements of the Methodist Minister." *Wisconsin*.
- Irene R. Sulkin, B.S. Temple, 1937. "Analysis of the Use of Social Service in Philadelphia as Shown by Social Service Exchange Clearings on Selective Service Registrants." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Leila Aline Sussmann, B.A. New York University, 1942. "The Public Relations Counselors as a Professional Group." *Chicago*.
- Dorothy Kuniko Takechi, B.A. California, 1940. "Forms of Adjustment of the Nisei in Denver, Colorado." *Fisk*.
- Francis Tetu, B.A. Butler, 1935. "An Ecological Study of Plymouth, Michigan." *Butler*.
- Rena Ethel Thorbourne, B.S. (natural science), B.S. (historical and social science) A. & I. State, Tennessee, 1941, 1943. "The Social Position of the Descendants of West Indian Immigrants in Panama." *Fisk*.
- Maria E. Vari, B.A. Louisville, 1943. "Personal and Cultural Factors in the Community Adjustment of Second Generation Polish Girls from Sleighton Farm School for Girls." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Charles Warriner, B.A. Hillsdale College, 1942. "A Study of Some Evaluated Social Beliefs as Compared with Certain Social Characteristics of the Respondents." *Chicago*.
- Guy E. Weeks, B.A. Davidson College, 1923. "History on Development of the Y.M.C.A." *Kentucky*.
- Dorris J. West, B.A. Washington State, 1942. "The Selective Characteristics of the Institutional Population of the United States in 1940." *Minnesota*.
- Olive Elizabeth Westbrooke, B.A. Goucher, 1936. "The Learning Process of White Southerners on Racial Attitudes." *Chicago*.
- Preston Wiles, B.A. Washington University, St. Louis, 1939. "Religion and Crime." *Duke*.
- Nathalie S. Woodward, B.A. Meredith College, 1944. "Patterns of Juvenile Delinquency Control in Maryland." *Maryland*.
- Larry Burton Young, B.A. Oklahoma, 1945. "County Jails of Oklahoma." *Oklahoma*.
- Jacob William Zang, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1941. "The Early Development of a Juvenile Institution: the Philadelphia House of Refuge." *Pennsylvania State*.

NEWS AND NOTES

American Association of Schools of Social Work.—Mary Sydney Branch has been appointed consultant on pre-professional education. Miss Branch is on a six-month leave of absence from her position as assistant professor of social work at the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. She is inquiring into what part the undergraduate colleges can best play in the total program of professional education; what the general content of the undergraduate course should be; what aspect of field-work experience should be provided, if any; and what provisions for accrediting and for continuing field service might be developed.

Any schools wishing advice from the Association on matters related to preprofessional social work education are invited to write to Miss Branch in care of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1313 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

On April 28 and 29 the first meeting of the Joint Committee on Education for Social Work was held in Chicago. The committee, under the chairmanship of Esther Lucille Brown of the Russell Sage Foundation, was authorized at the joint annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work and the National Association of Schools of Social Administration held in Cleveland last January. The committee is composed of six delegates in addition to the chairman, three from each association. Walter Pettit, director of the New York School of Social Work, Arthur Dunham, professor of community organization, University of Michigan, and Anne Fenlason, associate professor of case work, University of Minnesota, are the representatives of the A.A.S.S.W. The N.A.S.S.A. delegates are Coyle E. Moore, head of the department of sociology and social work, Florida State College for Women, and secre-

tary-treasurer of the Southern Sociological Society; Mattie C. Maxted, department of social welfare, University of Arkansas; and Ernest B. Harper, head of department of social service and president of the N.A.S.S.A., Michigan State College. Considerable progress was made in defining the content of the undergraduate social work and preprofessional curriculum and in planning procedure for joint accrediting by the two associations. Last January both associations approved the A.B. in social work.

American Jewish Committee.—Elliot E. Cohen has been appointed editor of the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, a magazine devoted to Jewish thought and culture. The magazine will be issued as a monthly under a new name, beginning in the fall of 1945. Its purpose will be "to provide a more comprehensive picture of current trends and events, as well as a broader range of opinion on the basic issues of our time, especially as they bear on the position and future of Jews."

Bryn Mawr College.—The following alumnae of the department of social economy are in the armed services: Major Mary S. Bell, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, is service command director, W.A.C., AUS, and instructor, Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth; Lieutenant Margaret Becker, U.S.N.R., Philadelphia, is executive secretary, Navy Relief Society, Philadelphia Navy Yard; and Lieutenant (j.g.) Alice Cook Evans, U.S.N.R., Trenton, New Jersey, is communication officer, Naval Air Facility, Trenton.

Bureau for Intercultural Education.—The Bureau has just published a list of *Publications on Intercultural Education for School and Community*. This is a catalogue of the

books, pamphlets, and bibliographies carried for purchase by school people. It also serves as a bibliography, for it gives a brief annotation of 107 of the better-printed materials on intercultural education. The Bureau is also acting as consultant to the summer workshops on intercultural education being held at Teachers College, Columbia University; Goddard College; the University of Minnesota; and Stanford University.

University of California.—Sergeant Robert A. Nisbet, assistant professor of social institutions, whose article on "The Coming Problem of Assimilation" in the January issue of the *Journal* has provoked much favorable comment, is now stationed in the Marianas. His address is: Sgt. Robert A. Nisbet, 39136056, Hq. Co., 23rd Rpl. Dep., APO 244, % Postmaster, San Francisco, California.

University of Chicago.—At the suggestion of Wen-tso Wu, Chinese students of the department of sociology at the University of Chicago organized the Chinese Sociological Society in April. Its purpose is to promote social research on the problems of China and to establish as a connection with the Chinese Sociological Society in China. The members are: Ti Huang, Su-I Liu, Yichuang Lu, Ernest Ni, and Ru-chiang Su. Ernest Ni has been elected secretary until next October.

Arnold Rose, who assisted Gunnar Myrdal in the study *An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, is now in Italy. His address is: Sergeant Arnold M. Rose, 33751642, Research Branch, Inf. & Ed. Sect., A. F. H.Q., APO 512, % Postmaster, New York, New York.

Connecticut College.—Visiting lecturers for the course on "Cultural Diversity and World Order" for the summer session are E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Oscar I. Janowsky, College of the City of New York; Bruno Lasker, Institute of Pacific Relations; Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University; and Bessie B. Wessel, Connecticut College.

University of Denver.—Wesley Frost, former ambassador to Paraguay and a veteran of thirty-five years in the State Department, has joined the University of Denver faculty as an instructor in international economics and international relations. Second to Joseph C. Grew in career diplomatic seniority when he resigned from the State Department last year, Frost has served in Ireland, France, Canada, Brazil, Chile, and Paraguay.

Twenty scholarships, valued at \$500, are being awarded to qualified persons wishing to attend the Inter-American Education Workshop. The workshop is sponsored jointly for the third summer by the University and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. It will be in session from June 18 to July 20. The purpose of the workshop is to help teachers, school administrators, librarians, and others develop instructional techniques and materials for inter-American education. This study begins with our own Spanish-speaking population in the Rocky Mountain Region and extends to the twenty Latin-American republics of the hemisphere.

Among staff members will be Samuel Guy Inman, author and lecturer; Wesley Frost, former ambassador to Paraguay; Benjamin Hunnicutt, president of Mackenzie College, São Paulo, Brazil; Enrique Noble, professor of geography and history, Chandler College, Havana, Cuba; Ben M. Cherrington, chancellor of the University of Denver and adviser to the United States Department of State; Harold Davis, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; Ruth Cunningham, Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, N.E.A.; Elizabeth Craven, teacher of Spanish and social studies, Byers Junior High School, Denver; and Beatriz Antillon, teacher of Spanish and Latin-American dancing, San José, Costa Rica.

Workshop director will be Wilhelmina Hill of the University of Denver faculty. Scholarship applications and requests for information about the workshop should be

sent to Miss Hill at the University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

An Intercultural Education Workshop will be conducted in co-operation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, featuring as specialists in the field of education Bertha Richardson, Springfield, Massachusetts; Ruth Cunningham, National Education Association; and Harry A. Lintz, Los Angeles.

An Institute in Psychodrama, Sociodrama, and Sociometry will be conducted by J. L. Moreno, director of the Psychodramatic Institute of New York for the study of psychodrama as a group therapy by psychiatrists and persons in the fields of guidance and correction.

In co-operation with the Iliff School of Theology at the University, a Religious Drama Workshop will be conducted by Louis Wilson, co-author with Fred Eastman of *Drama in the Church*.

A Workshop for Professional Regional Writers will be conducted by Harold G. Merriam, University of Montana English professor and chairman of the Humanities Division, and outstanding writers from the Rocky Mountain Region. Regional resources of western folklore will be utilized for writing purposes.

The first Denver Radio Institute will be held at the University of Denver and will present nationally known radio officials and authorities throughout the summer. Courses offered will include: "Radio Broadcasting in Schools," "Radio Announcing," "Religious Programs," "Radio News," "Radio for Children," "Recording- and Control-Room Techniques," and "Television Broadcasting."

Fisk University.—The Second Annual Institute of Race Relations will be held July 2-21, under the auspices of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Society. Nine special seminars are planned as follows:

1. Federal Policies and Practices toward Racial Minorities
2. The Problems of Racial Adjustment and

Integration in Industry and Labor Organizations.

Community relations—problems, programs, and techniques of official and citizens' committees and organizations working in the field of race relations. This general topic will be reviewed in three separate seminars:

3. Official and Citizens' Interracial Committees

4. Public and Private Housing for Low Income Groups and Restrictive Covenants

5. Problems of Urban Adjustment of the Major Minority Groups in the United States—Health, Recreation, Transportation, and Other Problems of General Welfare

6. The Church and Race Relations

7. The South, Including the Rural Aspects of Race Relations

8. The Press, Radio, Cinema, and Other Means of Social Control

9. Intercultural and Interracial Education

These special seminars are interrelated and will be so conducted. Among the consultants and discussion leaders will be W. W. Alexander, formerly the director of the Farm Security Administration; vice-president, Julius Rosenwald Fund; Fred L. Brownlee, general secretary, American Missionary Association Division, New York; Allison Davis, assistant professor of education, University of Chicago; Rachel Davis-Du-Bois, director, Intercultural Education Workshop, New York; Edwin R. Embree, president, Julius Rosenwald Fund; chairman, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Chicago; Charles H. Houston, attorney, member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice; Giles A. Hubert, head of the department of economics, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Frayser T. Lane, civic director, Chicago Urban League; Ruth A. Morton, director, American Missionary Association Schools, New York; Ira DeA. Reid (coordinator of discussion groups), professor of sociology, Atlanta University; associate director, Southern Regional Council; Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary, New York; Charles H. Thompson, head of the department of education, Howard University; Willard S. Townsend, member,

Executive Committee, C.I.O.; international president, U.T.S.E. of A.; Robert C. Weaver, director, Community Services, American Council on Race Relations; and Louis Wirth, professor of sociology, University of Chicago. Additional Information may be secured from Charles S. Johnson, director, Division of Race Relations, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

Werner J. Cahnman will join the University of Atlanta summer-school staff. He will teach social stratification and colonial policies.

Guggenheim Fellowship Awards, 1945.—Ninety-six fellowships were announced in April. Forty-one of the newly appointed Fellows received their awards under the Foundation's plan for post-service fellowships available to Americans who are engaged directly in the war effort, in the Army, Navy, and civilian war agencies. Their fellowships will be held for their use after they are discharged from service.

Two of the Fellows will carry on studies of Japanese affairs. They are:

Lieutenant (j.g.) Robert King Hall (Navy), formerly assistant director of the Commission on English Language Studies, Harvard University: A study of the educational situation in Japan at the close of hostilities, with a view to formulating recommendations for the rehabilitation of the Japanese educational system

Bradford Smith, chief of Central Pacific Operations of the Office of War Information, Honolulu: The writing of a book on the history of Japanese immigration to the United States. Mr. Smith plans his book to be a human story of the merging of two cultures, American and Japanese, and of the changing pattern of life in successive generations in America.

Other fellowships of interest to social scientists are:

Private Edward Rosen (Army), instructor in history, College of the City of New York: A study of the place of Copernicus in the development of modern thought

Lieutenant Barnaby Conrad Keeney (Army), formerly instructor in history, Harvard University: A study of the origin and development of the feudal institution of judgment by peers on the continent of Europe and in England

Lieutenant C. Vann Woodward (Navy), professor of history, Scripps College, Claremont, California: The completion of a book to be entitled "Origins of the New South 1880-1913"

Warrant Officer (j.g.) William Farr Church (Army), instructor in history, University of Kentucky, Lexington: A study of political thought in seventeenth-century France

Jerre Mangione, writer, Rochester, New York, now doing war work in the Office of the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, Philadelphia: The preparation of a book on the reconstruction of Sicily, treating of its political, spiritual, and economic rehabilitation

Dale L. Morgan of Salt Lake City, now working in the Office of Price Administration, Washington, D.C.: A history of Mormonism and the Mormons with particular reference to the influence of the Mormons upon American life since 1830

Master Sergeant Henry William Spiegel (Army): A postwar study of industrial planning in Brazil, with especial emphasis on the principles guiding it and its mechanisms. Sergeant Spiegel, who is on leave from Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, is the author of *The Economics of Total War*.

In addition to the above forty-one post-service fellowships, the Foundation also awarded fifty-five fellowships for use by the recipients in the course of the year 1945-46:

William Clement Eaton, professor of history, Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania: A study of liberalism in the New South, 1865-1929

Paul Henry Giddens, professor of history and political science, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania: A study of the growth of the petroleum industry in the United States, 1870-1895. Giddens, who is curator of the Drake Well Memorial Park, Titusville, Pennsylvania, is the author of *The Birth of the Oil Industry*.

Henry F. Pringle, writer, Washington, D.C.: The preparation of a history of the second World War on the home front as well as on the military front

Benjamin N. Nelson, historian and lecturer, Y.M.H.A., New York City: Studies of the relations between conscience and casuistry in the moral philosophy and law of the later Middle Ages (twelfth-sixteenth centuries)

Charles W. Jones, associate professor of English, Cornell University: A study of Romanesque literature, with special reference to the influence of social conditions upon literary form

Hans Rosenberg, assistant professor of history, Brooklyn College: The writing of a book to be entitled "The Prusso-German Junkers: A History of a Social Class"

Frederick Ludwig Will, assistant professor of philosophy, University of Illinois: Research in the theory of knowledge, with special reference to the problems of empiricism

Abraham Kaplan, instructor in philosophy, New York University: An application of semantic analysis to the discourse of ethics, politics, and aesthetics, leading to a formulation of criteria of meaning, truth, and value in these fields distinct from, but compatible with, those of the logic of science

C. Wright Mills, associate professor of sociology, University of Maryland: The preparation of a book to be entitled "The White-Collar Man: A Study of Middle-Class People"

Harvard University.—Carle C. Zimmerman resumed teaching in July, 1944, after three years' service in the Army Air Corps. He was honorably discharged with the rank of major.

George C. Homans has been on leave of absence from the department and has been in the United States Naval Reserve for more than three years. He has recently been promoted to lieutenant commander and is serving as a beach master in the Pacific theater. His address is: Staff, Commander Transport Division 69, % Fleet Post Office, San Francisco, California.

Lieutenant (j.g.) Arthur K. Davis has been serving in the Navy as an air combat intelligence officer until recently in the European theater but has returned to this

country awaiting probable transfer to the Pacific theater. His address is: N.A.C.I.S., Quonset Point, Rhode Island.

M. F. Ashley Montague, of Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia, is visiting lecturer in sociology for the spring term.

Housing Authority, Newark, New Jersey.—*The Social Effects of Public Housing*, a study published in April, is available for free distribution on request to the Housing Authority.

University of Kansas.—Carroll W. Clark has resumed his duties as head of the department of sociology after serving two years and nine months in the Air Corps at Selman Field, Louisiana, as wing training officer, then as commanding officer of the pre-flight school, and, finally, with the rank of major, in a new school for bombardier combat returnees.

Marston McCluggage is on leave and is now a Navy lieutenant and the commandant of the Naval Training School, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota.

University of Maryland.—C. Wright Mills, associate professor of sociology, has just completed "Big Business and the Middle Class: A Report on Six Cities," for the Smaller War Plants Corporation. It was used in May as an exhibit in a Senate Hearing of the Smaller Business Committee. He is on leave of absence and at present is teaching in the Bureau of Applied Social Research. He has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for the year 1946 to finish a book on "The White-Collar Man: A Study of Middle-Class People."

University of Michigan.—Robert C. Angell, chairman of the sociology department, has returned to the university after thirty-two months in the Army Air Forces as a training, intelligence, and historical officer. He has gone on the inactive list as lieutenant colonel. For sixteen months he was with the headquarters of the Ninth Air Force and the headquarters of the First

Allied Airborne Army, in England and Normandy.

Candidates for higher degrees in sociology may be interested to learn that a number of positions are open in the men's residence halls at the University of Michigan for those who have an interest and competence in student counseling and student administration and who might be interested in supplementing their maintenance while pursuing graduate studies. Any persons interested may communicate with this department.

University of Minnesota.—Clifford Kirkpatrick, professor of sociology, is on leave for the remainder of the spring and summer quarters, having accepted an assignment from the War Department to study the psychological effects of strategic bombing in Germany.

University of Missouri.—Brewton Berry has accepted an appointment as professor and head of the department of sociology at Rhode Island State College, assuming his duties there in June.

New School for Social Research.—The tenth summer session of the graduate school will open on Monday, June 11, and run through Thursday, August 2. Ten graduate courses, most of which are closely concerned with war and postwar problems will be offered, all granting three points of credit toward graduate degrees. Topics include money and monetary proposals; civil rights and discrimination, with special reference to the newly enacted Ives-Quinn law; international organization, emphasizing the Dumbarton Oaks plan, U.N.R.R.A., etc.; employment and unemployment; economic theory; classical political philosophy; American sociology; dominant ideals of Western civilization; social psychology of leadership; Max Weber. Students enrolled in the A.B. program of the New School will be admitted to the summer session and may earn credit for that degree.

Abba P. Lerner is dean of the summer school; Carl Mayer, secretary. Other faculty

members include Philips Bradley, Ephriam Fischhoff, Alfred Kahler, Alexander H. Pekelis, Leo Strauss, Arthur L. Swift, and Frieda Wunderlich. Three scholarships have been established for the summer term.

New York School of Social Work.—The following summer institutes will be held:

Series A—July 9-20:

- Community Responsibility for Services to Veterans (E. C. Lindeman)
- Psychiatric Aspects of Veterans' Problems (Melly Simon)
- Current Problems in Child Welfare (Dorothy Hutchinson)
- Psychiatry in Social Case Work with Children (Dr. Viola Bernard)

Series B—July 23—August 3:

- Public Relations in Social Work (Natalie Linderholm)
- Experiences of a Veterans' Service Center (Louis Bennett and Ethel L. Ginsberg)
- Supervision in Social Case Work (Helen Harris Perlman)
- Current Trends in Case Work (Gordon Hamilton)

Series C—August 6-17:

- Administrative Problems in International Social Work (Clarence King)
- Practical Problems of Racial and Cultural Conflict (Mary E. Hurlbutt)
- Group Work Services in the Reconversion Period (Nathan E. Cohen)
- Current Developments in Community Organization (Arthur Dunham)

University of New Zealand.—Ernest Beaglehole, lecturer in mental and moral philosophy at Victoria College, has made a number of contributions to the field of social psychology and personality study, using more particularly materials from primitive societies. At the moment he is preparing for publication a social psychological study of a present-day Maori community.

Northwestern University.—Janina Adamczyk, who for many years has been an instructor in the department of sociology, has recently accepted a position as associate professor and acting chairman of the de-

partment of sociology of the University of Toledo. At the University of Toledo she will teach courses in theoretical and applied sociology.

Office of War Information.—Henrik Infield, who is in London with O.W.I., reports that his two books, *Cooperative Living in Palestine* and *Cooperative Communities at Work*, recently published by the Dryden Press, are being published also in the Kegan Paul series, "Sociology and Social Reconstruction," edited by Karl Mannheim, in England.

Rocky Mountain Rural Library Institute.—Sponsored jointly by Colorado A. & M. College and the School of Librarianship of the University of Denver, the summer institute will be held from July 23 to August 10. In the first section—to be held at Fort Collins—the sessions will be devoted largely to questions of major interest to rural educational leaders, rural sociologists, agricultural extension personnel, library trustees, leaders of rural life, and librarians who are interested in the broader aspects of rural library administration. Those to appear on the program are Carl Kraenzel, Montana State; R. W. Roshelley, Colorado A. & M.; G. T. Hudson, Colorado A. & M.; B. F. Coen, Colorado A. & M.; and others. In the second section—to be held in Denver—interest will be centered on the problems of the professional librarian or present members of rural library staffs. For further information write to James G. Hodgson, Librarian, Colorado A. & M. College, Fort Collins, Colorado; or to Harriet E. Howe, Director, School of Librarianship, University of Denver, 211 Fifteenth Street, Denver 2, Colorado.

University of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.—Professor R. M. Berndt of the department of anthropology and Mrs. Berndt are at present engaged in field work in the Northern Territory of Australia. Their address is: Birrindudu, Northern Territory.

Wartime Social Survey, London.—The *Journal* has received the reprints from Louis Moss, the director of research of "Social Survey Technique of Obtaining Housing Information," by Dennis Chapman, senior research officer, Wartime Social Survey, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, June, 1944; "Population Sampling for Social Surveys," by Louis Moss, a paper read before the British Psychological Society; and "The Wartime Social Survey," by Kathleen Box and Geoffrey Thomas, a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, May, 1944, and to be published in its journal.

University of Washington.—George A. Lundberg, professor of sociology and statistics at Bennington College, has been appointed professor of sociology and chairman of the department at the University of Washington effective October 1, 1945. His position carries the title of Walker-Ames Professor of Sociology and is the first of a limited number of distinguished service professorships to be awarded under the Walker-Ames Fund.

Jesse F. Steiner, who has been chairman of the department since 1936, will remain on the departmental staff as a professor of sociology.

Wayne University.—Norman Daymond Humphrey, assistant professor of sociology, spent the first semester in Tecolotlan, Jalisco, Mexico, as a post-doctoral fellow of the Rackham Foundation, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He is making a study of a typical community from which Detroit and other northern urban Mexicans migrated. He returned to Wayne for the second semester and will then spend the summer in Tecolotlan.

Edward C. Jandy, associate professor of sociology, is serving as a consultant on police practices to the American Council on Race Relations. He has also formulated and taught an in-service course on intercultural relations for members of the Detroit Police Department.

Maude L. Fiero, assistant professor of sociology, has introduced a course on the "Sociology of Religions."

Western Reserve University.—At the School of Applied Social Sciences an interracial and intercultural seminar in June was led by Leonard W. Mayo, dean of the school. Consultants were Henry Murphy, director of the Riverdale Children's Association, Riverdale, New York, and Marion Cuthbert of Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. Lecturers at the institute on programs for the "teen" age held in June were Alexander Martin, psychiatrist, Children's Aid Society, New York; Esther Test, Western Reserve University; and Geneva Mathieson, executive secretary, Youth in Wartime Committee, Ohio State Council of Defense.

Clyde White was the discussion leader at the workshop held in June for teachers of undergraduate social work and leadership courses. Consultants were Mary Sydney Branch, University of Chicago, and consultant, American Association of Schools of Social Work; Anne Fenlason, University of Minnesota, chairman of the committee on preprofessional education, American Association of Schools of Social Work; and Ernest B. Harper, Michigan State College, president of the Association.

The public welfare workshop will be held July 24 through August 3. Lecturers will be Virginia L. Tannar, Western Reserve University; Frank Tallman, Ohio Commissioner of Mental Diseases; Agnes Van Driel, chief of the division of technical training, United States Bureau of Public Assistance; and Dean Mayo and Professor White.

Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic.—S. M. R. O'Hara, secretary of welfare for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, has announced that the name of the Western State Psychiatric Hospital, Pitts-

burgh, Pennsylvania, has been changed by action of the legislature to Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic.

Six junior and six senior residencies in psychiatry are available. Junior positions offer opportunities in clinical work and teaching. Senior positions require previous experience in psychiatry; this work is largely confined to the care and treatment of outpatients. Both men and women not subject to military service may be appointed. Later it may be possible to accept applicants liable for military service if deferment can be obtained. The stipend is \$79 per month and maintenance, subject to withholding tax and retirement. Residents must conform to Pennsylvania laws relative to licensure. Pennsylvania residents are given first preference. Further information can be obtained from, and application should be made to, Grosvenor B. Pearson, M.D., director.

University of Wisconsin.—Howard Becker is on leave with the Office of Strategic Services in Europe. His address is OSS Detachment, APO 413, % Postmaster, New York, New York.

Leland C. DeVinney is back from overseas and is stationed in Washington, D.C. as chief of the Research Branch in the Army Morale Division with the rank of major. His address is 4030 North Washington Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia.

W. W. Howells is continuing to serve as a lieutenant in the Navy with headquarters at 2432 Tracy Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Svend Riemer of Cornell University will join the staff of the department of sociology and anthropology as a lecturer in 1945-46.

Miss Ruth Gaunt, recently on the staff of the Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Division of Child Welfare, has been appointed assistant professor of social work.

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Psychology. By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1944. Pp. vi+578. \$4.00.

This revised edition of a text published in 1930 attempts to incorporate relevant features of individual psychology and social psychology within a totality. Three broad topics are covered from these viewpoints: (1) some basic relationships of personality to society and culture; (2) some aspects of human conflict; and (3) mass behavior.

In integrating the biological individual within a sociocultural context, the author reviews animal societies which possess an elementary social control but lack culture or transmitted symbolic content. In human societies genetic development varies with the cultural emphasis, as is amply illustrated by selected preliterate and modern groups. Individual dissimilarities within similar milieus, however, are accounted for by the constitutional and psychological variables, in addition to the social factor, and in combination are applied to motivation, learning, personality mechanisms, and the rise of the self—the last subject as interpreted by George Mead and substantiated by Piaget. The function of culture in individual growth is limited. In motivation any culture offers a range of choice which differs with the biological intensity of the drives. Sheerly biological or “physiological imperatives (e.g., hunger, thirst, self-preservation, sex), clearly set definite limits to the modification of goals. Culture itself cannot extensively alter or suppress these, but in the derived motives (e.g., aesthetic, religious) culture may or may not permit a wide range of selection to the individual” (p. 84).

Though personality types are discussed, the adult personality is omitted because of an extensive analysis in an interim work, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* (1940).

The overlay of meanings, as sociocultural reality, includes those types operative in all groups and those peculiar to the urban or “mass” society. These emotionalized symbols include among others stereotypes, myths, clichés, legends, folklore, the leader symbol, and prejudice. Prejudice, “a composite of stereotypes, myths and legends,” is regarded as arrested conflict. The more overt forms of con-

flict are revolution, discussed in its cyclic nature, and war. In the present total war the author traces the external steps which change civilians into military personnel, lists the desirable military traits and the morale factors, and describes the civilian dislocations, readjustments, and types of mental breakdown under wartime stress.

Mass behavior, connoting crowd and public behavior, is concerned primarily with the impact of fashion, public opinion, and propaganda upon the detached urban personality and upon the dispersed mass by such wide-reaching communicative mediums as the newspaper, radio, and motion picture. The manipulation of propaganda techniques in international relations transforms these devices into effective war weapons. The theme of the work is oriented around social control; and from its segment, political control, arise the normative implications of the use and abuse of power.

The author has amassed a wealth of data to elucidate his points and has carefully defined his terms, but his use of multiple vantage points to clarify a topic gives the book an encyclopedic inclusiveness. And this eclecticism raises an important question in social psychology. It fuses findings derived from the psychological and sociological points of departure. In human behavior, Weber's law of learning or the influence of the endocrines on prepotent drives, for example, are significant factors and “bear” on social adaptability; but in effect such data equate social psychology with human development and deprive it of an autonomous terrain of concern. The techniques run the gamut from those in laboratory psychology to the case study. Though social psychology may be “too immature” to have a “well rounded theory or method,” the inference seems to be that the findings from assorted subjects would form a husk from which a smooth and shapely discipline eventually can be hewn. But it seems dubious to the reviewer that an integrated system can be built from these disparate strands by sheer empiricism.

The meeting ground between these approaches is in the polling and statistical analysis of meanings, attitudes, and opinions, which cover a substantial portion of this volume. The technical excellence of this phase of research

has in this respect placed it almost on a level with a science. But a nuclear problem of study, the personality-culture tie-up, has to some extent been neglected by social psychologists and has been largely taken up by cultural anthropologists and by some psychiatrists.

The author has in this synthesis presented the theoretical incongruities as well as the trends of research in the field. His scheme of motivation and its relationship to culture is a thoughtful attempt to solve a recurrent and knotty problem. As a revision, new and excellent chapters have been added and former ones expanded and brought up to date. Readable and informative, this volume should benefit student and researcher alike. A glossary is appended.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

*Conv. Hospital Staff
Percy Jones Hospital Center
Fort Custer, Michigan*

War and Its Causes. By L. L. BERNARD. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1944. Pp. vii+457. \$4.25.

This book is divided into sections dealing, respectively, with war as a social institution, with the causes of war, and with the future of war.

The first section attempts to define war and to set forth pertinent facts and opinions about it. After discussing economic, naturalistic, political, judicial, theological, emotional, ethical, and sociological conceptions of war, the author arrives at the following "all-purpose" definition.

War is organized continuous conflict of a transient character between or among collectivities of any sort capable of arming and organizing themselves for violent struggle carried on by armies in the field (or naval units on water) and supported by civil or incompletely militarized populations back of the battle areas constituted for the pursuit of some fairly well defined public or quasi-public objectives [p. 28].

In spite of its length this definition ignores the distinguishing feature of war, at least from the legal point of view, that is, the juridical equality of the participants. The statements about the history and types of war are in general terms and unsupported by much concrete evidence. For understanding what war has been most readers would prefer the recent volume by Lynn Montross, *War through the Ages*.

In chapters on the prediction of war and the time and space distribution of wars Bernard summarizes materials from various writers with little original contribution of his own. In chapters on the cost of militarism, changing attitudes toward war and ideologies of war, quotations from philosophers, jurists, soldiers, historians, theologians, sociologists, poets, and others, many of them of considerable intrinsic interest, are brought together but without suggesting important conclusions other than that people have had very divergent views about war. The author is eclectic and for the most part withholds critical judgment concerning these opinions.

The second section on the causes of war lacks precise analysis and accurate terminology. The author considers psychological, biological, economical, political, geographical, and cultural causes of war. He especially emphasizes imperialism as a cause and approves E. M. Earl's definition of imperialism as "the expansion of national interests beyond the national borders" (p. 354). Within this definition he distinguishes political, economic, and ecclesiastical imperialism. Later he discusses predatory imperialism, dynastic imperialism, commercial imperialism, strategic imperialism, administrative imperialism, and financial imperialism. The reader may conclude, after going through similar subdivisions of all the other "causes of war," that there are as many "causes" as there are wars. Occam's warning about not multiplying essences seems to have been forgotten.

Bernard believes that economic causes of war are of major importance. He seeks to refute the opponents of "the economic interpretation of war" who assume "that if war does not pay and is therefore irrational it cannot be the result of economic causes. To them the causes are chiefly psychological and are based on the erroneous assumption that war does pay—the 'great illusion' of which Norman Angell has had much to say" (p. 326). If "economic causes" mean activities rationally directed to increasing wealth, that is, to doing things that pay, this proposition which Bernard opposes appears to be a truism. Perhaps, however, Bernard had a different conception of economic causes in mind. He says that Angell's theory rests on the fallacious assumptions that there is "free exchange or trade among states" and that "governments are not swayed by the economic interests of their subjects." This hardly does Angell justice. He assumed that if trade were

free, if governments were intelligent, and if they all put the economic interests of their people first, there would be little war.

Illuminating discussion of causation usually depends on precise definition, demonstrated quantitative relationships, imaginative insight, or incisive illustration. Since the key words in most of Bernard's "causes of war" are undefined, since quantitative relationships are seldom suggested, and since the operation of the causes are not often illustrated by concrete and suggestive instances, the discussion does little to advance thinking. Where historical illustrations are attempted they are not always convincing. Thus the repeated statement that the "British government actually forced opium upon China" in the war of 1838 (pp. 251, 341) and the assertion that, after Secretary Stimson had sent his nonrecognition note in the Manchurian episode of 1931, "the British foreign office failed to keep its specific promise to send a like note to the Japanese government" (p. 445) show historical carelessness and illustrate an anti-British bias rather than the points in question. In spite of the author's hesitancy to criticize theories and opinions about the causes of war, he is highly critical not only of Britain but also of diplomats (p. 443), of the League of Nations (p. 444), and of propaganda (p. 351). The entire discussion of the causes of war is more useful as illustrating the author's state of mind than as throwing light on either the prediction or the control of war. In fact, in the chapters on the latter two topics the author seems to pay no attention to his elaborate discussion of "the causes of war."

The final section of the book suggests seven ways to peace: (1) general acceptance of the Atlantic Charter; (2) a United States of Europe; (3) a new League of Nations; (4) Union Now; (5) United States enforcement of world peace; (6) abolition of imperialism; and (7) letting nature take its course until some state conquers the rest (pp. 448-56). The author seems to prefer the first two, expresses little enthusiasm for any, and presents little material for judging the differences between them or their relative values. He appears to think the last may happen whatever is done.

The book deals with a complex and important subject, but it lacks in careful analysis, precise definition, trenchant criticism, original ideas, illuminating insight, or arresting expression. A number of interesting quotations and several sketchy expositions of opinions of others

may be of some use, as may the nine-page Bibliography.

QUINCY WRIGHT

University of Chicago

Experimental Sociology: A Study in Method. By ERNEST GREENWOOD. With a Foreword by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Morningside Heights, N.Y.: King's Crown Press, 1944. Pp. xvi + 165. \$2.25.

This is one of the most important methodological syntheses in the field of sociology in at least a decade. Greenwood has surveyed the literature of experimental sociology in this country and evaluated it objectively and dispassionately. No one interested in sociological method can afford to overlook it.

After reviewing five conceptions of experiment—the pure, or laboratory, or direct experiment; the natural, or uncontrolled, or indirect experiment; the *ex post facto*, or retrospective experiment; controlled observational studies; and the trial-and-error experiment—Greenwood concludes, on the basis of the criteria originally formulated by J. S. Mill, that only behavior which holds constant all factors and varies one at a time (i.e., the controlled experiment) may legitimately be termed "experimental." Personally, I would not be so strict as Greenwood about limiting the use of the term "experiment" to controlled or scientific experiments. I sympathize with his motivation. Many people try to share the prestige of science by labeling any sort of new behavior "experimental." But why deprive the public of a term which it has used for generations when by simply adding the adjective "scientific" or "controlled" we can distinguish the popular from the precise usage? I for one see no reason why Pandora's behavior or that of the Sorcerer's Apprentice or the U.S.S.R. or our own republic or prohibition or appeasement or minimum wage laws should not be called "experiments." Not all experiments need be scientific, just as all science need not be experimental. Why not be generous enough to let the public continue to call its trial-and-error or simply curious behavior experimental? The use of what Greenwood considers a tautology, "controlled experiment," is a minor concession to make.

Greenwood summarizes a number of experimental studies from sociology and psychology without, however, evaluating them individually.

After discussing some of the outstanding technical problems of control, he turns to a very fair discussion of the psychosocial limitations of experimental methods in sociology. Although obviously himself a partisan of experiment, he in no way glosses over the fundamental problems, both psychosocial and technical, involved; indeed, he even, in my opinion, exaggerates them, particularly the psychosocial ones. Most of the psychosocial difficulties if properly stated reduce ultimately to technical ones, and technical problems nearly always prove amenable to solution when stated in a form susceptible to scientific attack.

The chief technical problems of sociological experiment as Greenwood sees them are: (1) identification of relevant factors, which involves insight and careful preliminary study of cases; (2) selection of factors for control, which in practice if not in theory involves grading them in order of importance and controlling only the most important; (3) factor equation either through precision control (i.e., exact individual matching) or through frequency distribution control; and (4) randomization in order to eliminate the effect of factors which are not controlled by distributing them by chance in both the control and the experimental groups and thus neutralizing them.

The main psychosocial drawbacks are (1) the sacrifice of significance for rigorous control; (2) the refusal or reluctance of people to submit to manipulation for experimental purposes; (3) the vitiating effects of self-selection; (4) the artificiality of social experiments, resulting in self-conscious and nonnormal behavior; and (5) human mobility and social change, which introduce changes other than those contemplated by the experimenter.

The *ex post facto* experiment, sponsored particularly by Chapin—which works backward from the present to the past and imposes its controls upon records or symbols rather than upon human beings directly—solves some of these difficulties, while, however, running into new ones, such as dependence on complete and accurate records. But the difficulties are not insuperable even for projected experiments (those designed at the present and carried forward into the future).

As to the first of these psychosocial drawbacks: in the past, experimental sociology has been at least as much concerned with its method as with the results it achieved, and therefore it has been justified in trying itself out in fields

that were relatively simple and easy to exploit. The results were, to be sure, trivial in themselves, but the contribution of the method was significant. The probing of difficulties was itself a valuable contribution. (And the proportion of experiments in such mature fields as physics, chemistry, and biology which are equally trivial we shall perhaps never know. They are shrouded in such obscure technical language that we cannot even guess.) I am convinced that once we become surer of ourselves in this field—and Greenwood's study helps immensely in this respect—we will be able to formulate increasingly significant problems and design increasingly adequate experiments for their solution. In other words, the insignificance of the data yielded so far by experimental techniques is a mark of immaturity rather than inherent in the method itself. We do not yet have the know-how. Stouffer tells us that experiments in the Army are solving a good many problems, and no one would accuse the Army of asking its technicians for insignificant data.¹

Nor do I believe the reluctance of people to submit to experimentation is an inherently serious drawback. People change. Who would have thought twenty-five years ago that tests would become in one generation a national pastime, that no issue of a popular journal would be complete without some kind of test or other? Suppose we had tried to test the generation of the 1890's as exhaustively as we test ourselves today. The reaction would probably have been as violent as it is to experimentation today. But intellectual climates change. A generation from now individuals and institutions and groups and communities may be clamoring to be subjected to sociological experiments. Even Muncie is said to have come to enjoy its status as guinea pig for sociological dissection.

It is, of course, perfectly true that sociologists cannot do anything contrary to the mores, a handicap more serious than in other sciences, because the mores are themselves subject matter of their science. We cannot, as Greenwood says, ask people for permission to make bullies or cowards or misfits or delinquents out of their children in order to test scientific hypotheses as to what causes these traits. But we do not need to. Here again it is a matter of ingenuity in framing questions and designing suitable experiments for solving them. Would we, for example,

¹ Samuel Stouffer, "Social Science and the Soldier," in *American Society in Wartime*, ed. W. F. Ogburn (Chicago, 1943), pp. 115-16.

have to produce delinquents experimentally in order to test our hypotheses about the genesis of delinquent behavior? Could we not perform the experiment in reverse or by elimination?² Assuming adequate time, money, and personnel—of which more later on—we could easily design such experiments which would work with rather than against the mores. Suppose there were n hypotheses to be tested with respect to what produces criminal behavior. Let us find $n+1$ groups of subjects, n of which embody one each of the criminogenic factors and none of the others, that is, one group comes of criminal parents but shows no psychopathic traits, lives in nondelinquent areas, has unbroken families, etc., through all the other factors to be tested. The $n+1$ group contains none of the criminogenic factors. Now, within the limits imposed by our controls, subject all the groups to the most approved, the most wholesome, the most anti-criminogenic influences available, also according to current hypotheses. This subjection to desirable influences is our lure or bait or reward for control. So far from violating the mores, we are submitting to them. Now which group produces delinquents and in what proportion? We are, in effect, conducting n experiments with the $n+1$ group as our control and the standardized wholesome influences as our stimuli. I am not, of course, proposing this as a bona fide design for an experiment—the technical difficulties would be enormous and the defects obvious—but simply to illustrate that it is possible to state problems in ways that may not be so crucial as they could be if we were not limited by the mores but that are nevertheless crucial without violating the mores. To dwell on the moral limitations of experiment in sociology is in effect to try to excuse ourselves from the effort of invention.

Self-selection, when it attracts people with traits associated with the factor being studied, is obviously a serious problem but certainly amenable to technical solution. Volunteers for any experiment can be "equated." That is, if volunteering selects a biased sample, let the bias be equally present in the control and in the experimental group. Or, as Greenwood himself points out, the bias can be randomized in both groups and thus neutralized.

It is true, as Greenwood says, that if people know they are subjects of experimentation, they

consciously or unconsciously try to influence the results, as the Hawthorne Plant efficiency studies by Western Electric demonstrated. But this is merely a challenge to technicians. Learn to formulate experiments in such a way that such biases are neutralized. I do not know off-hand how this could be done in every case, but certainly if the Western Electric experimenters had known at the outset as much about the influence of experimental subjects' attitudes as they knew at the end of their experiment, and as we all know now, they could have eliminated it. Different sets of girls, matched for pertinent control factors, could have been exposed to the different stimuli (working conditions) at the same time, using either the original records of output or another group as a control; or some other device could have been used. We have simply learned that the subject's attitude is an important factor to be taken into consideration in designing experiments. Preliminary surveys of the subject's biases could be made, as we now do in jury selection, and this factor equated or randomized, as the situation called for. I am sure that clever technicians will not find themselves stumped here when they have mastered much more difficult problems.

Greenwood recognizes that the artificiality of many sociological experiments can be prevented by ingenious techniques. He also points out that contemporaneous comparisons of control and experimental groups is preferable to successional or before-and-after comparisons of a single group, in order to eliminate the influence of uncontrolled effects from social change. Contemporaneous comparisons, on the other hand, run into the danger of infiltration or contact between the control and the experimental groups if they are physically near. This, again, I consider a technical problem, since once we know the danger, we can provide for it in our original design. Human mobility, like all the other inevitables, can be, figuratively, insured against by proper planning, once we have explored its incidence and influence.

The one great drawback inherent in sociological experiment that I see, and one that can only be minimized but never eliminated by technical ingenuity, is that it is, like all scientific experiment, extremely expensive. It takes high-caliber personnel from beginning to end, it takes time, and it takes money. My own fears about experimental sociology stem from this. Once academic sociologists have perfected the method, it will be taken over by special interest

² As the null hypothesis does, for example. We set it up not because we accept it but as a basis for testing some other, often opposite, hypothesis.

groups that can afford it and become a powerful weapon for discovering exploitive techniques, just as so many techniques in psychological research have been taken over by advertisers, propagandists, and public relation counsels for exploitive purposes. Social psychologists turned over the laws of suggestion, and laboratory psychologists turned over the laws of color appeal, arrangement, etc., to the propagandists and advertisers, and now we are all their victims. Imagine what a wealthy vested interest could afford to do in the way of sociological experiment, uninhibited by financial considerations or by the ethical considerations that might hamstring the academician. They could attempt to answer such vital questions as: "What is the best way to alter the mores in the direction of fascism?" "What is the best way to alter the mores in the direction of intolerance of ———?" "What is the best way to alter the mores regarding civil liberties?" etc. They would learn, too, since the scientific method grinds out equally valid results for sinners as for saints. Advertisers are still uncertain about their ability to buck fundamental social trends. Experimental sociology would not only help them answer this question but would also help them learn how to buck these trends if they were not already doing so. Those of us who have a public welfare interest have a hard time keeping up with vested interests, as the race between consumer and advertiser illustrates. We are sharpening a tool with as portentous implications as any in the history of science. Let us hope that experimental sociology does not turn out to be a booby trap.

JESSIE BERNARD

Lindenwood College

Representative Bureaucracy: An Interpretation of the British Civil Service. By J. DONALD KINGSLEY. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1944. Pp. ii+324.

Professor Kingsley has written a very illuminating book on the British civil service. He gives a historical account of the English civil service since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in a second part he analyzes its contemporary structure and operation. In both parts the author has given major emphasis to the impact of the changing class stratification on English administration. As a result, the book is notable not only for clear organization of the material but particularly for its sociological

theme, which is unusual in studies of public administration.

In the historical part the development of civil service reform is examined in considerable detail in its relation to the emergence of middle-class supremacy. Particular emphasis is placed on the peculiar interpenetration of aristocracy and middle class, which characterizes both English society and the composition and mental outlook of its administrative personnel. Some parts of the civil service (e.g., the Foreign Office) are even today virtually closed to middle-class candidates. But, more important than that, the methods of recruitment for the higher administrative positions still favor the candidates who have received the traditional, classical education. Thus, the social outlook of the administrative personnel is still exceedingly conservative, although in social origin it is broadly representative of the middle class.

In this connection Kingsley presents a theory of representative bureaucracy which he has hardly developed as fully as might be wished. He criticizes the idea of a "managerial revolution" by pointing out that the key administrative personnel, which is in control, does not constitute a social group *sui generis*. His whole book is, in fact, designed to show how the history of civil service reform and especially of the methods of recruiting the higher administrative personnel have been instrumental in making this personnel representative of the English middle class, both in social derivation and in social philosophy. The author goes on to point out that bureaucracy will be responsible only when it represents in this fashion the ruling groups of a country. Thus, he feels that bureaucratic autonomy is not a danger to democracy as long as its personnel is broadly representative in this sense. In making this point, the author himself avers that in other countries the bureaucracy has frequently not been representative of the groups "ostensibly" in power (e.g., Weimar Republic, France under Léon Blum). As a result, it has acted irresponsibly. But he fails to consider that England is exceptional with regard to the representativeness of its administration. Thus the theory of representative bureaucracy (which acts responsibly because it represents the ruling class) is incomplete as long as the possibility of a permanently unrepresentative bureaucracy is not examined. Since bureaucratic autonomy is today coupled with a vast technological superiority in the use of military equipment, the representativeness of a bu-

reaucracy hinges on the particular conditions which might favor either a peaceful or a revolutionary overhauling of the administrative personnel—a problem that is real enough in view of the present experience encountered in Italy, France, Germany, etc.

I should add, however, that Kingsley's analysis contributes greatly to our understanding of bureaucracy by an effective criticism of "administrative impartiality." This impartiality means that administrative officers will faithfully execute policies of which they personally disapprove. The author points out that such impartiality presupposes a similarity of outlook between the officials and the groups which determine policy, because without this basic agreement administrative discretion would result in sabotage rather than in impartiality. Only such a basic similarity in outlook makes occasional or even frequent disagreements on specific policies politically and administratively feasible.

Sociologists will regret that Kingsley has devoted only one chapter to a theoretical analysis of bureaucracy, while the bulk of his book is given over to a historical account of British civil service reform. They may question the author's reliance on Professor Laski's class analysis and regret that the author did not expand on his few but stimulating comparisons of the British administration with that of other countries. They may also question the wisdom of intermingling a historical analysis with technical considerations concerning the improvement of the civil service.

These critical remarks are not intended to detract from the value of the book. The author has, indeed, contributed a study which demonstrates the great analytical value of an examination of personnel policies for an understanding of governmental bureaucracy.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of Chicago

The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860.

By ARTHUR ALPHONSE EKIRCH, JR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. ii+305. \$3.50.

The perennial interest in progress and the idea of progress again finds expression in this book. While long a subject of philosophical theorizing, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the idea penetrated the general thinking of the American people. Obviously it turned

out to be an intellectual element quite compatible with their interests and experience. While any period of a half-century in our history would have opened lucrative possibilities for surveying the concept, the author has chosen that special period of flux and optimism between the War of 1812 and the Civil War.

In the introductory chapter on the heritage of the idea, the author, taking his main cue from Bury, goes back only to the "explicit formulation of the idea in France, Germany, and England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries." It need only be mentioned in passing—and the author admits the possibility—that a considerable number of students of progress have found good hunting among thinkers antedating the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

The body of the work is devoted to the task of showing how the purely philosophical idea of the Europeans received a high degree of dynamic reality in America, owing to the unique experience and the concrete achievement of the people. The writer, in conducting his survey of current ideas, examines in a most detailed fashion speeches given before all manner of audiences of the period, articles in scholarly, political, religious, and popular journals, books from a variety of authors, essays, pamphlets, prospectuses, biographies, and even an occasional report and novel or other piece of imaginative writing.

On the basis of these numerous and varied source materials the author examines, as the main body of his study, the relation of the American progress idea to (1) the political experiment in democratic government, especially as the faith and hope in the general progress of democracy was transformed into the dogma of political and material expansion; (2) the belief in the almost limitless increase of the material resources of the nation; (3) the thought about, and the practical application of, the powers of science and the new technological boons of the time, such as the printing press, the steam engine, the telegraph, medicine, railways, and industrialization; (4) the programs of the new society—Owenism, the labor movements, Fourierism, transcendentalism, philosophical anarchism, and the other reforms and panaceas then current; (5) the pessimistic, cynical, and conservative reactions to the idea of progress by the classicists and other tradition-steeped intellectuals, the churchmen worried about stability, and the propertied interests; (6) the

newly evolving educational programs with their mounting enrolments, broadening curriculums, and secularization and political centralization; and, finally, (7) the qualified affirmation of the South, owing to its insistence upon slavery as an agency of progress. The views of the critics as well as proponents are presented.

Not only do the great thinkers of the period—Bancroft, Edward Everett, Morgan, Brownson, Channing, Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Calhoun, Parker, Whitman, Clay, Greeley, Sumner, John Quincy Adams, Henry C. Carey, Francis Bowen, Robert Dale Owen, Beecher, Mark Hopkins, Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Charles Eliot Norton, Horace Mann—parade across the pages, but also a host of others who were pertinent in their time but since forgotten. In addition to carrying out this task in a most competent manner, the author presents a detailed social "closeup" of the period. This is a piece of indefatigable and assiduous scholarship with an almost encyclopedic bibliography.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

Foundations of the Social Sciences. By OTTO NEURATH. ("International Encyclopedia of Unified Science," Vol. II, No. 1.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. iii+50. \$1.00.

Like many other collective projects, the *Encyclopedia of Unified Science* is more useful for its particular sections than for the master-idea it is supposed to embody. Some of it is a bang and some of it is only a whimper. Morris' *Theory of Signs* and Dewey's *Theory of Valuation*, for instance, are definite advances in their respective fields. The same cannot be said of the current release, the tenth so far issued of the twenty which are to comprise the first two volumes of the *Encyclopedia*.

This generously entitled pamphlet carries on the central contribution of logical positivism, the recognition of verbal snags in the research flow, and contains many wise and rather well-known suggestions for research procedure. It is less doctrinaire than other statements, several of which have been set forth upon the sudden discovery that the written word can be nonsense. In keeping with his stress on the role of conventions in research, many of Dr. Neurath's points are wisely displayed as tolerant suggestions.

Yet the content does not approach the promise of the title. Too many issues are pinched at to permit a real grip upon any of them. The pamphlet does not stand up alone, that is, it has to be read in close connection with other literatures; and I do not find any clear-cut aim which unifies any original line of argument. One has the feeling that is not closely enough connected with the going problems and live procedures of social research to be very useful to many people in the design of studies.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

University of Maryland

The Ideal Foundations of Economic Thought. By W. STARK. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 212. \$3.50.

This book is a collection of three serious and thought-provoking essays which survey the development of social philosophy underlying the growth and decline of economic liberalism. In the first essay, which deals with the origins of laissez faire philosophy, the author traces the ideals of freedom and equality and their mutual interdependence back to Locke and Leibnitz; the statement of the ideals and their intimate connection with a well-ordered universe he credits to Leibnitz; the practical aspects of the theory, its application to politics and government, chiefly to Locke.

The second essay, undoubtedly the best part of the book, consists of an exhaustive treatment of the social and political theories of Thomas Hodgskin and William Thompson. The author does not confine himself merely to an analytical description of the doctrines of these two men, whose belief in the smooth functioning of an economic system based on pure laissez faire was shaken by the more dismal aspects of the Industrial Revolution, but he also shows occasionally the relationship of Hodgskin's and Thompson's views to their predecessors and followers. It would have been advantageous if the author had developed more space to the latter type of analysis.

Richard Jennings and H. H. Gossen are the economists whose writings are discussed in the third essay; which deals with the advent of marginal-utility analysis and the changed emphasis on pure economic theory at the expense of social reform and questions of public policy. The author arrives at the conclusion that this development of political economy was a deplor-

able decline from the high ideals of the earlier writers and sums up his argument with the statement that "capitalism has not fulfilled the high promise with which it entered upon the stage of history; . . . it has realized the greatest possible production . . . [but] . . . it has failed to realize the best distribution" (p. 207).

The first essay is without doubt the weakest of the three. The author does not show convincingly how a workable social philosophy can be built on Leibnitz's naïve optimism; he tries hard to show that Locke's theoretical doctrines were consistent with his practical recommendations. The reader who accepts this view must draw the conclusion that Locke's practical proposals were highly unrealistic, not to say foolish. In the second and third essays the chaff and the wheat are not always carefully separated. These essays contain a good deal of thoughtful analysis, but the author confuses somewhat indiscriminately the valid fact-statements of the writers with their prejudices and their rather voluminous preaching. In this way the book scarcely contributes to a clarification of the valid issues.

Despite these occasional defects, the book is an important contribution to the sociology of knowledge. It deals with an important segment of economic and social thought, and the selection of representative figures whose views are treated in detail has been made with a view to concentrating on writers whose works present the key problems in a succinct and yet exhaustive form.

BERT F. HOSELITZ

University of Chicago

The Sociology of Literary Taste. By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Translated from the German by E. W. DICKES. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. v+78. \$2.00.

This book was first published in Germany in 1931, and to read it today is to realize how much work has been done since then in the field of the sociology of literature. For this is little more than a notebook containing a fairly scrappy assortment of suggestions and examples intended to illustrate some of the problems awaiting investigation by those interested in the mutations of literary taste and fashions. On almost every point mentioned there has in the last thirteen years been some fairly detailed work done, with the result that Dr. Schücking's essay reads like the product of a much more naïve mind than

his other writings (particularly his study of character problems in Shakespeare) would lead us to attribute to him.

Though there are many shrewd remarks scattered throughout these pages, they do not compensate for the lack of all solid investigation which characterizes the book as a whole. To explain changes in literary taste as arising from the development of certain cliques or the emergence of a new kind of audience, without any inquiry whatever into the social and economic forces which produced the cliques and the changed audience, is to explain one mystery by another. The problem of causation in the history of culture is difficult enough, and the relation of literary movements to social and economic factors complex enough, as any investigator of these phenomena very well knows; but the problem is not solved by taking the existence or emergence of a type of audience as an absolute. Much of Dr. Schücking's explanations are really no explanations, and much of his implied reasoning is circular: a new taste emerges because a new audience takes control. But the emergence of a taste simply means the emergence of a new audience which asserts that taste (no literary taste exists apart from the readers who profess it), and to say so is hardly to advance knowledge. What we require is insight into (a) how and why that new audience emerged and (b) what aspects of its nature and history predisposed it to be the champion of that particular taste. These questions can only be answered by most careful investigation into a field which includes cultural psychological, sociological, and economic phenomena. It is in this field that some of the most profitable literary criticism of the past decade has ventured, leaving Dr. Schücking's 1931 position very far behind.

DAVID DAICHES

British Embassy, Washington

Sociology of the Renaissance. By ALFRED VON MARTIN. Translated from the German by W. L. LUETKENS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. x+100. \$2.50.

The Renaissance is here studied as a mutation in social thought, linking medieval and modern ideologies. Such thinking is not a spontaneous generation but attached to time, space, and circumstance and, above all, to the interests of the economic social "ruling class." Following Max Weber, the author endeavors to shake

down the multiplicity of events and trends to its essential "types" and then to relate the social forces to them. Some of these threads are the rise of money economy and the consequent secularization of thought, the decline of supernaturalism and the rise of reason, and the new concept of natural law which is no longer secondary to the omnipotence of God but primary and dominant in its own right. The church then, by a new set of rationalizations and biblical quotations, came around to an approval of an ethic which it had previously abhorred, effecting a *rapprochement* between religion and the capitalist order. The revival of an interest in antiquity was more a reinforcement of the current interest than an original factor and in that sense of relatively minor sociological concern.

Most of the points of view here set forth are already absorbed by competent discussions of the Renaissance history. But this refreshingly good translation sets forth the interaction of vested and acquired interests and attitudes in a dynamic period of history in a compact manner.

The author, Alfred von Martin, presented a fragment of this work in the *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*. The original treatise was published in Germany in 1932 and is now one of a series of works published as "The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction," edited by Karl Mannheim.

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

The Disappearing Daily: Chapters in American Newspaper Evolution. By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. Pp. vii+285. \$3.50.

Because of his long and honorable newspaper career, Mr. Villard should be given a respectful hearing whenever he feels moved to speak of the press. He could write the history of half-a-century of American journalism in terms of personal memoirs. This volume continues the study begun with the publication of *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen* in 1923.

The daily is disappearing by way of extinction and amalgamation; its mortality rate is rising. In Villard's opinion it is also disappearing as a democratic force because the publishers are very rich men, committed to the defense of capitalism and conservatism. It is disappearing as a moral force, and the writing of editorials has become a conventional exercise that has no effect on public affairs.

In *Newspaper Crusaders* Silas Bent did a conscientious job of pinning good-conduct medals on deserving newspapers. Villard does the complementary work of chastising. His chapters are essentially editorials, most of which deplore and view with alarm. He judges newspapers by the things they stand for and finds many of them mercenary, dishonest, cheap, and complacent. His own prejudice against President Roosevelt and the New Deal, which he thinks has misled the nation into an avoidable war and is now wrecking the basic democratic institutions, animates every chapter: it leads him to the discovery of virtue in the *Chicago Tribune*. Though he is more concerned with evaluation than with the writing of history, the book would be useful as history were it not for this pervasive animus.

The author finds the Associated Press repeatedly guilty of willingness to act as "a tool of the federal government" (p. 43). He documents the statement that the A.P. never represents the Negro fairly and is antilabor. These weaknesses he blames on the policy of using local members to report local events, for that puts local values into circulation.

One of the most interesting chapters is on the Yiddish *Forward*, a nonprofiting-making daily. There is no paper quite like it. It largely created its own language as it went along, turning the common speech of the New York immigrant into a written language. It publishes the belles-lettres of the Yiddish world and also publishes sensational and poignantly personal confessions, which latter Villard thinks is a bad habit learned from Hearst. He approves of *Forward*, though with reservations, and succeeds in conveying a sense of the paper's closeness to the life of the East Side.

The last chapter is a nostalgic and very readable account of William Lloyd Garrison, whose *Liberator* was an effective voice against slavery. Reflecting on the hardy fiber of his grandfather, the author blames the decay of the American press on the disappearance of the fine old sterling qualities. But in a footnote he quotes Charles Merz of the *New York Times*: "The reason why Horace Greeleys are not writing editorials today is not the scarcity of Horace Greeleys but the difficulty of finding people who would read them." The readers, too, are not so robust as they used to be.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago, Illinois

War, Peace and Non-resistance. By GUY F. HERSCHBERGER. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1944. Pp. xv+415. \$2.50.

This volume is written by the professor of history and of sociology at Goshen College in order to assist the Mennonite people themselves, as well as the general public, to a better understanding of their principle of "biblical nonresistance." It deals with the scriptural basis, the historical development, and the present status of the nonresistant faith and of its relation to other forms of pacifism.

The doctrinal section, which includes more than ninety pages, assumes the inerrancy and authority of the Holy Scriptures. That God in the Old Testament commanded the slaying of the Amalekites and required that Agag should be hewn to pieces the author explains as "permissive commands" given to a sinful, lean-souled people who had chosen to live on the lower, "sub-Christian" level. He holds that God's fundamental moral law is unchanging and that this law forbids war and requires nonresistance. The Christian church must thus be a holy brotherhood, separate from the state, refusing always to sacrifice or compromise this principle. To be true to this principle, the Christian may not consistently serve as president or congressman of the United States or as governor of the state or as member of its legislature; neither may he serve as mayor of a city because of the inescapable involvement with coercive measures which these offices require. He may, however, legitimately teach in a state school and participate in the public health service, in road-building, forestry, soil conservation, and the like.

The historical review of the vicissitudes of the principle of nonresistance in the Anabaptist movement and among the Mennonites is carefully done and is of real interest and value, particularly so the chapters on the two world wars. Of greatest interest are the two lengthy chapters on "biblical nonresistance and modern pacifism." These chapters show the effects of intimate contacts with pacifists of various types which the C.P.S. program has forced upon the leaders of the historic peace churches. The author has gone carefully through the files of the various publications in which C.P.S. abounds and has extracted some very telling quotations. It is clear that, to him as well as to other leaders of the peace churches, the "absolutist" has constituted a very puzzling and trying enigma.

It is to be noted that, of the historic peace churches, the Mennonites have adhered most

consistently to the pacifist position. In the Church of the Brethren only one out of ten of their young men has made a stand as a pacifist. Among the Quakers the proportion is still less. The Mennonites thus constitute about 40 per cent of the C.P.S. enrolment, while the proportion of Brethren is 12 per cent and of Quakers 7 per cent.

For the sociologist, Professor Herschberger's book will be a valuable source of information regarding a significant religious group and its attitude with reference to a problem which is likely to become of increasing importance.

ANTON BOISEN

Elgin, Illinois

Social-Economic Movements. By HARRY W. LAIDLER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1944. Pp. v+751.

The present volume incorporates a part of the author's earlier publication, *A History of Socialist Thought*. The present volume merits being mentioned among the few textbooks on the history of social doctrines which are written with an adequate firsthand familiarity with the underlying source material. The author, moreover, can rightly claim credit for the only comprehensive history of the subject published in English.

The first part of *Social-Economic Movements* offers a historical review of early utopias from the Prophets to Robert Owen and Brook Farm. Marxism and revisionism, the Fabian movement, French syndicalism, and English guild socialism are presented in considerable detail of history, biography, and doctrine. Some hundred and twenty pages are devoted to the Bolshevik Revolution, from the *Communist Manifesto* and the November Revolution to the Soviet constitution of 1936 and the abandonment of the Third International. The last third of the book is a comprehensive inventory of the socialist and co-operative movements in recent times, their ideological metamorphoses, and their political role in the countries in which they are established.

While the treatment of the material is not uniform, varying from sketchy outlines to most extensive descriptions, the author has covered considerable ground and covered it with unique competence. The material presented is well documented throughout the book. A selective but fairly extensive bibliography is appended to

what must be considered the standard textbook on the subject.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Patients Have Families. By HENRY B. RICHARDSON, M.D. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945. Pp. xx+408. \$3.00.

This volume represents a novel venture into what a doctor considers a fundamental type of research. The type selected, and its treatment, reveal an extremely acute observer of the practice of medicine. Without employing the language of sociology, he uses its insights to study the system of medical services and a wide range of nonmedical problems which trouble the medical practitioner. Surgeons may ask whether it is insight or humor which leads him to state "the effects [of an operation] can be ascribed to many things besides the operation itself; the removal of the patient from the stress of home environment to the hospital, the attention he receives, his enhanced sense of importance, the long rest in bed, and, above all, the intensely dramatic aspects of the operation. Failure to improve, at least temporarily, under such conditions might be attributed to sheer obstinacy" (p. 166).

The study focuses attention on a central problem of present-day medicine—how to bring to bear on a given case the array of specialists needed to deal with all aspects of the case. The author explores, but does not limit himself to, the institutional machinery, formal and informal, which serves this function. He probes the more fundamental problem of establishing co-operation, or even communication, between fields as traditionally isolated as medicine, psychiatry, public health, and social service.

His analysis of the healing process leads to the conclusion that patients have families. This is a new perspective in medicine; it means that the patient is viewed not as a case, nor just as a person, but as part of a family constellation. Hence, treatment must be seen in terms of family roles and the function of illness in the family. Illness is considered "an integral part of the family equilibrium" (p. 150). It may be the major weapon by which a family member preserves his status. In such a case healing represents a threat to the person. Such is the milieu within which healing proceeds.

This style of thinking lends itself explicitly to matters of diagnosis and treatment. Illness,

from this point of view, is not an extraneous happening but one element in the web of family living. Distinctive family types generate distinctive illnesses. Digestive disorders, heart conditions, and nervous diseases are related to family types. The pattern of illness which develops is not a simple product of the mode of life of a family; illness, when present in one member, becomes a definition of the situation for other members. The families studied showed a marked tendency for various members to share the same ailment. Obviously, this type of analysis applies only to certain classes of illness. Presumably, it applies to "those patients whose difficulties are in the field of the emotions. These constitute more than half of [the physician's] practice" (p. 166). Those who have considered ulcer an occupational hazard of the intellectual life will be somewhat taken aback by this analysis. The author has the most enlightening explanation offered to date for the prevalence of ulcer in the armed services.

Students of sampling may lift an eyebrow at a study revolving about a dozen families. The study is frankly exploratory; it is important because it tackles weighty problems; the author has raised these problems by exploring the margin between medicine and sociology.

OSWALD HALL

Department of Labour
Ottawa, Canada

American Medical Practice in the Perspectives of a Century. By BERNHARD J. STERN. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945. Pp. xvi+156. \$1.50.

This compact volume is a very meaty summary of a century of medical history. It draws together elusive materials encountered in the course of much research and also selects the relevant findings from a broad range of recent surveys which touch on medical matters.

In general, the book is oriented toward the "problems" of medical care. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of research in sociology, it is extremely provocative. There is an excellent statement of the development of the specialist and of the relationships of specialists and general practitioners to their clienteles. The economics of medicine is treated in terms of patient loads, incomes and the ways they are acquired and distributed, and the distribution of practitioners and other medical services.

The book has a wealth of statistical data and a vast amount of detail and is eminently readable.

OSWALD HALL

Department of Labour
Ottawa, Canada

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico. By OLEN LEONARD and C. P. LOOMIS. ("Rural Life Studies," No. 1.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, November, 1941. Pp. 72.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas. By EARL H. BELL. ("Rural Life Studies," No. 2.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, September, 1942. Pp. 113.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Landaff, New Hampshire. By KENNETH MACLEISH and KIMBALL YOUNG. ("Rural Life Studies," No. 3.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, April, 1942. Pp. 117.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. By WALTER M. KOLLMORGEN. ("Rural Life Studies," No. 4.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, September, 1942. Pp. 105.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Irwin, Iowa. By EDWARD O. MOE and CARL C. TAYLOR. ("Rural Life Studies," No. 5.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, December, 1942. Pp. 93.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Harmony, Georgia. By WALLER WYNNE. ("Rural Life Studies," No. 6.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, January, 1943. Pp. 58.

The six communities of which these studies were made were selected as "samples of, or points on, a continuum from high community stability to great instability" rather than as geographic samples of contemporary rural America. An Amish community was selected as representing highest stability and a Kansas "dust-bowl" community as representing great-

est instability; the others are presumed to fall somewhere between these extremes.

The authors played the role of participant observer, and each was disciplined in his observations by the following rubrics: identification and characterization of the community, history and background of settlement, people on the land, community organization and values, making a living, the farmer's expanding world, and integration and disintegration in community and individual life.

These rubrics appear to constitute what is referred to as "something approaching a commonality of observations." This is as close as the studies come to an explicitly stated common frame of reference. The rubrics thus suggest rather than comprise an adequate logical framework for the studies taken singly or together. In the absence of such a clear and explicit frame of reference one must ask: Community stability or instability with reference to what pervasive process? In the reviewer's view it is the attempt of any one of the six communities to maintain its socioeconomic integrity in the process of being more completely drawn into the Great Society. In this "drawing-in" the market is the prime mover.

The degree of unsettlement found in these communities is then incident to the transition from "status to contract" or from a sacred and self-sufficient to a secular and interdependent economy and culture. These are alternative ways of identifying the continuum along which the communities range themselves from high stability to great instability.

The absence of an explicitly stated principle which would have furnished the logical matrix for the studies is their major weakness. Even this fault is somewhat modified by the fact that scattered passages reveal an insight which stems from the perspective suggested here. Representative of these, and to be found in the better executed monographs, are the following: "changes . . . hurried on by the pressures and pulls and an encroaching urban and industrial society"; "the difficulty of maintaining community economic and social self-sufficiency in a period of increasing commercialization"; and the observation that "prosperity is contingent not only on the size and quality of the crops but on developments in regional, national, and international markets."

Despite the uneven quality of the studies, they make an interesting and useful contribution to a problem which concerns not only the

sociologist but the economist, political scientist, and cultural anthropologist. A judgment concerning the contribution which they make to methodology must await the appearance of the promised seventh volume, which is to deal with "the complete methodology used" as well as a body of generalizations.

The reviewer's interest in the teaching of the social sciences prompts the suggestion that it would be "nice" if the people in these communities, and others in comparable situations, might have an opportunity to read the studies and thus know what is happening to them. The social scientist, unlike the physicist, inherits an obligation to do this. But usually he does little about it; and thus knowledge, like prosperity, trickles down to those who perhaps most need it at something like a snail's pace.

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

Neosho, Missouri, under the Impact of Army Camp Construction: A Dynamic Situation. By LUCILLE T. KOHLER. ("University of Missouri Studies," Vol. XIX, No. 4.) Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1944. Pp. ii + 121. \$1.25.

A number of studies have been made of certain demographic and economic aspects of rapid changes brought about in communities by the establishment of war plants and camps. This one is different. The author went out to live in the community, after making herself familiar with its history, and saw for herself. It is an Ozark town, which formerly was quiet and stable. She has followed through the effects of the camp-construction boom on life in general, on various social problems, and on local institutions. The account is well flavored with personal observations and with the comments of local people.

In general, the local people were hostile to having the camp and, when their protests availed nothing, turned their hostility upon the people who came to do the building. But in time they rented their rooms to the new people, sold them goods, and otherwise served them for profit. But they did not open the ranks of local cliques and clubs to them. In fact, one has the impression from the account that the local social structure has been but little affected.

The situation is, as the author says, too active to allow much prediction of the net final

effects of the change. The construction workers have been followed by the soldiers, who are trained in the completed camp. But the study was well worth the doing, both for the record and for the analysis made.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The Swedes and the Swedish Settlements in North America. By HELGE NELSON. 2 vols. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; New York: Albert Bonnier, 1943. Vol. I (text), pp. ii + 441; Vol. II (atlas), 73 pls. \$24.00.

This rather elaborate report by the professor of geography in the University of Lund, Sweden, is the result of about a quarter of a century of study, in the course of which four journeys were made to North America (in 1921, 1925, 1926, and 1933). These travels were made possible by government grants and traveling scholarships from several foundations. In the Preface the author expresses his indebtedness to Professor Nils Hammerstrand "for the translation into the English language," but it is not entirely clear whether or not the responsibility for the translation is shared by Professor Nelson as well. The translation is in many places literal rather than idiomatic, and there are irregular arrangements of words and phrases. However, the meaning is nearly always clear, and for the most part the text is quite readable.

The author states that his interest in North American Swedish settlements grew out of his participation in the comprehensive emigration studies in Sweden during the first decade of the century. He became familiar with the motives and factors which entered into the emigration from Sweden to America, and his interest was aroused in the way the Swedes distributed themselves in the new country. It is primarily, therefore, a demographic study.

Following the introductory chapter in Volume I, the author gives a brief description of the geographic regions of North America, a review of the general westward movement of population since 1790, and a brief history of immigration from Sweden with relation to the specific districts of Sweden from which the immigrants came. From this point on (beginning with chap. v) the volume deals with the main problem: the geographic distribution of the immigrants in America. The problem is treated by regions and by states and provinces in the

United States and Canada. There is, moreover, special treatment of counties and communities in which the Swedes gathered in significant numbers and played an important role in the social and economic development. The names of individuals who have gained some measure of prominence in the various communities are cited.

The demographic data are drawn from the United States Census, especially that of 1930. The historical data are drawn from numerous sources in both Sweden and the United States and Canada. These sources include newspapers and other periodicals, as well as church and other archives, and the more extensive treatises on the subject, such as George M. Stephenson's *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*.

Reference is made throughout the discussion of the various localities to the rapidity of assimilation of the Swedes in America. This observation is confirmed by the 1940 "Mother-Tongue Census" (not available at the time to Mr. Nelson), which shows that, of those reporting Swedish as the mother-tongue, only about 4 per cent are third generation or later, compared with 12 per cent for the Norwegian stock, for example, and 19 per cent for the German.

In the opinion of this reviewer, Professor Nelson ascribes too much importance to the geographic environment as a determining factor in the location of the Swedes in the United States. For example, he says:

The migration of the Swedes to different areas is however determined in a high degree by the natural conditions of the country whence they hail, by their having lived in forest regions or on the plains at home in Sweden, by their occupations which make one fit for living in one particular region, the other fit for living in another. Thus, it is not accidental that they have settled in great number in the forest regions of Minnesota with their relatively temperate climate, not either accidental that so many Swedes from Värmland, Dalecarlia and Norrland are to be found in the forests and sawmills of the Pacific Coast—both their habitual wielding of an axe at home in Sweden and their being accustomed to a similar nature account for this [I, 54].

This is a familiar thesis often advanced also to explain the location of Finns, German, and other groups in the New World. It overlooks what is probably the main factor in their location, namely, that it was in precisely these areas that unappropriated land could most easily be secured at the time when the first waves of immigration came in. Moreover, these lands were

more accessible both from the standpoint of distance from the main ports of entry and the east-west transportation facilities. It was, in short, more likely the fortuitous convergence of several factors other than the similarity of the landscapes of Sweden and the Northwest which account for the distribution of the immigrants. That they were able to put to immediate use their facility with the ax in the forests of America was incidental.

Elsewhere, the author refers to the "Swedish inborn love of nature and turn of mind" as reacting against the environment of the plains (p. 4) and, again: "The dear memory of Swedish nature with its forest and lakes and its austere beauty no doubt played a trick on the Swede—he did not always choose the best ground but that which somewhat reminded him of his native country" (p. 4). But not even the old-stock Americans regarded the plains as a fit or even possible place of abode until after 1850 and especially after the Civil War. There was neither water nor fuel. Until well-drilling machinery and a plow suitable for breaking sod were developed and made available, and the development of railways made fuel available to the settlers, the plains could hardly have been settled.

But this criticism of the author's geographic determinism should not prejudice the reader against what is the chief contribution of this important work. It is a definitive and scholarly treatment of one of the most important ethnic elements in the North America population. The extensive series of maps in the atlas, as well as the text itself, shows meticulous regard for detail. The student of American ethnic groups will find this an indispensable reference work on the Swedes.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy.

By J. S. FURNIVALL. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co., 1944. Pp. xxiv + 503. \$4.00.

This is the American edition of a book published in England in 1939. It is unfortunate that circumstances have so delayed its publication here.

The first half of the book gives a history of the development of Dutch colonial administration in Netherlands India. It describes its beginnings in the Dutch East India Company, a straightforward story of exploitation, in which

administration is undertaken solely as an incident of trade. After the fall of the Company at the end of the eighteenth century, there succeeded what the author calls "years of confusion" (1795-1815), followed by "years of uncertainty" (1815-30), in which no consistent administrative or economic policies were adopted. This uncertainty came to an end with the adoption of the "Culture System," the essence of which was that the natives were to pay their taxes in kind instead of cash. Co-ordinate with this was the "Consignment System"; large quantities of produce could be shipped to the Netherlands for sale "to the great profit of the Government and of Dutch merchants." The objectives were to build up production in Java, to control the produce of Java in Dutch interests, and thus to restore the prosperity of the Netherlands. The related administrative objective was to restore order and reduce crime and thereby to "provide the foundations of economic progress." These objectives were realized for a period but became out of date in an expanding economic world.

The transition to liberalism was made in the years 1850-70, and the principles of liberalism were observed in some degree from 1870 to 1900. The stimulus came from the Dutch government at home and was a result of the expansion of capitalism. Commercial expansion was, indeed, secured, and the administrative machinery was revised and improved, but various pressures rather than uncontrolled economic motivation were resorted to in inducing the Javanese to participate in an imposed economic system. Liberalism was also profoundly modified by the continuance of the annual contribution to the Netherlands revenue. Moreover, liberalism remained economic, a doctrine of laissez faire, unaccompanied by any appreciable extension of autonomy or popular government.

Before 1900 the impulse generated by liberalism was dead, even in the economic sphere. It was succeeded by the so-called "Ethical System," a system which explicitly recognizes native interests and aims to promote native welfare. The last half of the book deals with the creation and evolution of policies based on this doctrine in the economic, administrative, welfare, and cultural fields. Native production and expansion of industry were encouraged by planned economy. The administrative framework was revised, and officers were more than encouraged to promote native welfare. The Javanese occupied improved political positions. While self-

government was never quite achieved, more was left to the local administration, and a Council of the People with some Javanese representation, together with a system of subordinate councils, gave expression to native needs and resulted in a limited participation in public affairs by the Javanese. Incidentally, it also resulted in a nationalist movement. In brief, there is a clear description of the system of Dutch colonial administration—an administration which has been remarked as a model of colonial government. Also clearly indicated are its limitations as well as its achievements.

This historical and analytic account is given clearly but succinctly, with enough detail and yet with an admirable economy of words. Equally admirable is the clarity with which the relationships between different spheres of action are shown: between the home government and the colonial government, between economic and administrative policies, and the consequences upon Javanese life and welfare.

The last chapter is more theoretical and deals with certain problems of a plural society: a society, that is, composed of several racial groups with different cultural, economic, and political functions, yet welded into a single state. The parallel situation in America, among other nations, is noted. There is clearly suggested the inherent weakness of such a society and the danger that the inevitable conflict "will be settled by will rather than by reason" but that "it would seem at least advisable to examine how far reason may take us in laying down principles of political and economic science especially applicable to the conditions of a plural society."

For the student of the Far East, or for those interested in the administration of dependencies, this book is probably the best single introduction to the problems and achievements of Netherlands India. For the social scientist it is a significant contribution to the basic facts of that dependency and to the theory of a plural, or caste, society.

G. GORDON BROWN

*War Relocation Authority
Rivers, Arizona.*

Les Colonies françaises: passé et avenir. By JACQUES STERN. New York: Brentano's, 1943. Pp. xix+397. \$2.50.

The recent French colonial conference in Brazzaville and official declarations of General

de Gaulle and of the late Governor Eboué attest to the fact that the present French government knows that a new period of colonial policy must begin. Economic, social, political, and educational reforms have been announced, and actual changes have already taken place. This proves that the provisional government of France realizes that old mistakes in colonial policy cannot be repeated.

The author of this book, a former colonial minister of the French Republic, asks in the Introduction: "Est-ce bien une histoire? N'est-ce pas plutôt une épopée?" The reader will miss critical analysis in this book, and this is partly due to the author's intention of writing an "épopée." This is a pity, because a thorough critical appraisal of French colonial methods by an "insider," as Mr. Stern undoubtedly is, could be most interesting.

The author starts by contradicting Willkie's arguments against imperial policy, saying that what Willkie called imperialism is for France a crusade carried on for eight centuries. He omits showing how, though slowly and incompletely, the great development of individual freedom in the homeland had its repercussions in large sections of the French colonies. Thus he fails to point out one essential element in French colonial policy: the element of change. The first major part, entitled "Le Passé," gives a condensed narration of French colonial history from the Crusaders to the period of the Third Republic. There is much material compressed on these pages, and those who already know French colonial history can use it for a quick review.

The second part, "L'Empire français" deals with the program of the Third Republic, the Islamic world, the African empire of France, and the Far Eastern colonies and protectorates. Again there is a wealth of information with many interesting comments. Unfortunately, it ends too early. The chapter on Indo-China, for instance, ends in 1939 and is without mention of either Decoux or Catroux. The great story of the French colonies and their rallying to the resistance (with the exception, of course, of Indo-China) is not told.

The third part deals with mandates. There is much less information than in the earlier parts. Syria and Lebanon together do not even get four pages, which are filled with an uncorrelated number of financial, economic, and political data. The last chapter, "La France à l'étranger," is again a laborious collection of details, but the subtitles show how much it deals with the past

and how little with the present. Under the subtitles "La France et la Perse," "Les Huguenots au Cap de Bonne Espérance," and "Le Canal de Paname," quite a bit of germane material is assembled.

The book, though dated September, 1943, was not brought up to date. It reads as if it were a compilation of many notes on French colonial history which have not been edited or completed in the light of current events, although a brand-new conclusion has been added.

There are a few crudely copied maps in an appendix, with no source or date references. There is a short bibliography but without dates of publication. There is a collection of statistics without source and practically no date indication, so that one must make rough guesses to ascertain whether the statistics are new or old. The agricultural production figures, the foreign-trade data, and the budgets (with the exception of that for Algeria) are not dated at all. These technical slips make much interesting material useless for any purpose, and the good alphabetical index does not make up for that unfortunate neglect. A look at the Index reveals one of the key weaknesses of the book. Although there is much material on battles and generals, there is little on administrators and reformers. Thus we look in vain for a reference to Eboué or to Varenne, to Long or to Pasquier.

The "Conclusion" refers to very recent matters, to De Gaulle and to Churchill's speeches of 1943; but it is not integrated with the rest of the volume, and the social significance of contemporary events is not explained.

The book is written by a cultured and sincere man, an honest optimist who wishes good and democratic colonial policies. Yet, "tempora mutantur et nos mutamus in illis." Modern methods of research and presentation, modern theories and policies, recent developments and changes, must be taken into account if a modern interpretation is to be achieved.

HENRY SIMON BLOCH

University of Chicago

Costa Rican Life. By JOHN and MAVIS BIESANZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. vii+272. \$3.00.

Mr. and Mrs. Biesanz give an objective and interesting picture of Costa Rica, the more illuminating in that it endeavors to depict the culture not only from the outside looking in but

also from the inside looking out. The authors have been concerned with what people do and with why they think they do it—with what they hope and live for. A homogeneous population of Spanish descent with a small amount of Indian admixture, hard-working tillers of the soil, more or less isolated from the rest of the world, the Costa Ricans developed a pride in their democracy and in the absence of social classes. But the last half-century has brought great changes to this little country, as it has to many other parts of the world. Greatly increased facilities in communication and the development of money crops (coffee, bananas, and cacao) are creating in Costa Rica more and more economic as well as cultural divergencies. Though political democracy is still practiced—elections appear to be one of the principal forms of sport—and there is freedom of speech and of the press, the social distance between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, appears to be growing greater rather than less. It is for this reason, perhaps, that, although Costa Rica is largely a rural country dominated by Catholicism, the Communist party has had some success in organizing resistance to exploitation. On the whole, Costa Rican attitudes seem to represent those of middle-class Latin America and elsewhere. The facts that they cherish the ideal of a democracy which does not always exist, lack the exoticism of Indian customs, and go to the movies oftener on the average than other Latins (in the urban center of San José each person attended, on an average, 3.57 movies per month) should, however, make them more easily comprehensible to the people of the United States than are their neighbors.

MARGARET PARK FIEDFIELD

Chicago, Illinois

La Tendencia criminal en Puerto Rico. By THEOBALDO CASANOVA. ("Universidad de Puerto Rico Publicaciones," Nos. 1 and 2.) Rio Piedras, P.R.: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1944. Pp. 54; 34.

This is a study of criminal tendencies in Puerto Rico during the last thirty years. Dr. Casanova follows, in general, the conventional pattern of crime analysis. He breaks down the figures on crime by stages, from detection to conviction, and into classes of crimes. He then follows them through the period of years that he set for his study.

Being an excellent statistician, Dr. Casanova breaks away from the "raw-figures" approach and proceeds to portray graphically the criminal trends, which are smoothed and refined by the statistical formula that he has invented for the purpose.

Since the author has comparatively no reliable way of determining the amount and type of undetected criminal behavior, he has little evidence at hand, other than crimes reported, on which to draw his conclusions. All he does, essentially—in fact, all he can do—is to take the legalistic figures that are available and reach his conclusion that crime, in general, is on the increase in Puerto Rico. His assumption of an over-all increase in crime is, therefore, based on a "statistical constant" in undetected crime plus the available figures that do show an increase.

The reviewer questions whether the statistical refinements the author uses give added insight into the facts of increase in crime that may be noted by inspection of the raw figures. The students of comparative criminality would be interested in many of the figures which show difference in prevalence of certain types of crimes in Puerto Rico, such as crimes of passion and premeditated crimes, by way of comparison with those in the United States.

CHARLES ROGIER

State University of Iowa

Latin America in the Future World. By GEORGE SOULE, DAVID EFRON, and NORMAN T. HESS. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945. Pp. xiii+372. \$3.50; student edition, \$2.50.

This volume deals with economic and social conditions currently prevailing in Latin America, with the impact of the second World War on the region, and with desirable policies for the immediate postwar period. The "future world" referred to in the title is not heaven! Based upon the best available sources and written after consultation with many Latin Americans, it is one of the most significant books that has appeared on Latin America in ten years or more. Nutrition, housing, health, sanitation, labor, purchasing power, and the general pattern of economic activity are all briefly but carefully surveyed from the viewpoint of a sane liberalism. The policies proposed for the near future are mainly political and administrative, national as well as international.

The work is suggestive rather than exhaustive, as the authors admit; but it deserves to be carefully read by all who desire accurate information regarding the Latin-American peoples. For specialists in the field it will serve as an illuminating introduction stimulating investigation into the onwrehip of the region's resources and public services—the most vital subject in inter-American relations. For others it should function as a salutary corrective. All south of the Rio Grande is not glamour and romance, *siesta* and *fiesta*; for most of the people "freedom from want" is a state still far away, one to be attained, perhaps, in a century or two.

J. FRED RIPPY

University of Chicago

Island Peoples of the Western Pacific, Micronesia and Melanesia. By HERBERT W. KRIEGER. ("War Background Studies," No. 16.) Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1943. Pp. iv+104+2 maps+21 pls.

The peoples of the South Seas have assumed a new importance to us since Pearl Harbor. Here is one of the best available brief guides to the islands through which we have fought the Japanese and the peoples who reside thereon. In earlier times Micronesia and Melanesia formed the stepping-stones for the expanding populations of southeastern Asia as they spread throughout the Pacific. The complexities of physical type, language, and custom give some idea as to the length of time involved in the expansion and the variety of the early peoples.

For both major areas the history, geography, and patterns of culture are briefly reviewed, and then each island group is described in turn. Some excellent illustrations give a visual picture of the people, islands, and customs which supplement the verbal picture. Prospects for the future are briefly reviewed.

Of significance for the social scientist are the contrasts in culture between the coral atolls and the high islands, as well as the major differences between Micronesia and Melanesia. Of significance for the layman is the fact that we are occupying a considerable proportion of these islands and will have to face the hard problem

of what to do with them after the war is ended. The "War Background Studies" of the Smithsonian Institution will be useful as a background for peace as well.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

Labor Problems of Africa. By JOHN A. NOON. ("African Handbooks," No. 6.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. i+144. \$1.50.

The handbook contains two chapters of general introduction, several in which the manpower of the various African dependencies and of the Union of South Africa is tabulated and its distribution among various native and European enterprises described, a brief conclusion, and a bibliography of 103 titles of books, articles, and reports of governments and commissions.

The first chapters are as good a summary statement as can be found of the processes by which people are drawn from native village agricultural and pastoral economies into wage work for European colonial enterprises producing for export markets. The situation in Africa, as described by the author, is as yet far from that in which the European entrepreneurs in either plantation agriculture or in mining would be willing to trust to free movement of labor and competitive wages to bring them a labor supply. In fact, there seems to be no part of the Africa of the Negroes in which the governmental power is not frankly used to control the native labor supply and to keep down wages. One might speculate as to whether the peculiar combination of circumstances which produced a free labor market in Europe and America will ever prevail, although that is not a question raised by the author.

The work is admirable as a handbook. It is compact and probably as accurate as is feasible. The introductory statements are well designed to make the situation understandable. The author seems only to assume that the reader will have a little knowledge of economics and perhaps some of the way in which native village life and economy work.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

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THE AMERICAN PATTERN OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN MICRONESIA*

LIEUTENANT JOHN USEEM

ABSTRACT

The destinies of Micronesian peoples are currently under naval military government, and the United States is now committed to continue control in the postwar period. This report examines our first efforts in the governing of the Micronesian islands, states some of the difficulties, appraises what has been achieved thus far, and suggests a future program of action. It illustrates through the experiences of military government the urgent need to employ sound sociological principles in a governing process involving cross-cultural relations.

The United States now exercises control over peoples in the Pacific whose very existence was unknown to the American public a short while ago. In the past we have been highly critical of colonial governments in the South Seas without having to assume the responsibility for formulating a workable program ourselves. Now under United Nations Conference on International Organization we are committed to govern numerous islands in the Pacific.

During the war a temporary military government administration has been improvised to govern the native populations so as to further the successful prosecution of the war and to fulfil American obligations under international law. Military necessity dictated the establishment of Navy military government in Micronesia. Military expediency alone, however, does not offer the answer to the question of the means to be used or the ultimate ends to be sought.

*The opinions contained in this paper are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the naval service at large.

This report is an attempt to examine our first efforts in the governing of the Micronesian islands so that we may appraise what has been accomplished and ascertain what remains to be done. The writer in the course of the past year visited the Micronesian islands currently under American jurisdiction and in addition served as naval military government officer on one of them.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The exploration of Micronesia by the Western world took place all through the sixteenth century. But, because of their unimpressive size, limited resources, and location outside the main routes of world trade and travel, they seemed to be of slight value to the great powers. In the course of the succeeding century and a half, the expanding empires, having acquired most of the prize territories of the world, began to annex the remaining ones. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, all of Micronesia was under outside control: the Carolines and Marianas became Spanish colonies; the

Marshalls came under German sovereignty; and the Gilberts, Ocean, and Nauru islands were incorporated into the British Empire. Following the Spanish-American War, the defeated nation ceded Guam to the United States and sold the remaining Mariana interests plus the Carolines to the Germans. German-held territories after the first World War were made League of Nations' mandates, the Japanese serving as trustees. Soon after World War II the Japanese occupied American and British territories in Micronesia.

During the past year America displaced the enemy in about half of the three major archipelagos of Micronesia—the Marshalls, the Marianas, and the Carolines. These occupied islands contain approximately 56,600 civilians, of whom 31,000 are natives, 22,000 are Japanese, and 3,600 are Koreans.

BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Military government personnel went ashore on D-Day as part of the assault forces. Their first job was mostly waiting. During the preinvasion bombings the civilians fled from their homes to protective caves behind the Japanese lines. Here they remained during the course of the attack. Comparatively few actively aided the enemy in the defense of the island, and none was of any help to the American armed forces. When the Japanese resistance began to collapse, natives in small groups each night slipped through the enemy lines and surrendered. The first to give themselves up, after receiving food and medical care, offered to return to the caves to persuade the others to come out. Gradually the bulk of the population arrived, but some clung tenaciously to the security of their hiding-places, and there are still unknown numbers on several islands who have yet to surrender.

The displacement of Japanese rule by the Americans was unlike preceding transitions in Micronesia. Never before had fighting on the island accompanied the transfer of control from one nation to another. Even when the Japanese forcibly took Guam at the out-

set of the Pacific war the conflict had been brief and damage to the island had not been extensive. In prior instances the outgoing authorities had aided the incoming ones. Thus the German administrators helped the Japanese officials to establish their colonial government. In contrast, when the Americans arrived, there was a complete break with life and security of the past. Native villages were uninhabitable. During the stay in the caves the population was without adequate food, water, clothing, or medical care. Many were sick or wounded. The changes made on the islands by American engineers were so great that the natives could not even locate the exact sites where their homes once stood.

The provision of disaster relief constituted the focal point of all initial activities. Salvaged debris, captured Japanese food and medical supplies, and supplemental matériel procured from the armed forces were used to care for the population. Temporary camps were hastily constructed, and crude sanitary expedients were invoked. As many as twenty people were housed in pyramid tents which were originally designed for eight, and two hundred persons occupied shacks, twenty by forty feet in size. Despite the efforts of the medical staff, the death rate was high. Military government officers and men worked sixteen to eighteen hours a day and subjected themselves to numerous military risks in order to obtain needed materials located in the zones where the fighting still continued. This critical period did not last long, and, with the arrival of additional civilian supplies and military government personnel, living conditions improved.

Building a village literally from the ground up is an exceedingly difficult enterprise. This is particularly true when much of the available equipment used consists of material damaged by war. Only a few civilians possess the skills required, and there is a constant drain on this labor supply for outside activities. At present no community is as yet a completed project, but all are in progress.

The reconstruction of native society

proved to be a more formidable enterprise. There was disagreement among the natives over what should be revived. There was little consensus over the exact nature of ancestral ways: individuals *live* rather than intellectually comprehend their social pattern. Some of the former patterns could not be integrated with the recently acquired ones. It was not easy to find substitutes for Japanese introductions, and some of the Japanese innovations were not entirely undesirable. A choice had to be made between recognizing native leaders who worked for the Japanese or finding a new leadership. Most administrations preferred the old leaders, but in some instances they were so demoralized as to be useless. Community councils were formed and, when given the chance, functioned effectively. Direct rule by military government gave way to indirect rule with the restoration of partial self-government.

THE PROCESS OF GOVERNING

Interaction between a governing body and a governed population, especially when they stem from different cultural backgrounds, generates misunderstandings even when the ends sought are in accord. Fairly typical were the experiences of the medical staff on one island. Some civilians felt that frequent change of their dressings would hasten recovery and so at intervals would remove their bandages and ask for new ones. Japanese medical practitioners had inculcated faith in the curative properties of "shots"; as a result, requests for these were far in excess of need. "Seconds" in pills were also requested. Attempts to check the fly, the carrier of dysentery, which was a serious menace to both civilians and armed forces, met with unexpected opposition. The natives had been taught by the Japanese that flies were useful to the sugar cane. Hence American fly traps were surreptitiously opened and the flies released. When the public health officer built a large model fly to show the fly's disease-carrying properties, the natives gravely examined the specimen. They then counseled the officer not to be alarmed. It was understandable why in

America, where such big flies existed, there would be a serious problem; but there were no flies of that dimension on the island. When the size of the sample fly was explained and the speaker proceeded to discuss the microscopic bacteria which could not be seen, the response was that such belief in evil unseen spirits had been held prior to acceptance of Christianity and that there was no need to use fairy tales in talking with the islanders. The government census-takers and statisticians were baffled in their efforts to reduce native categories to American equivalents. Such basic items as marital status, family affiliation, age, name, and race were defined one way by the Navy officers and several other ways by the Micronesians.

Governors may try to eliminate differences by superimposition of their preferences either by coercion or by persuasion. The governed can attempt to offset the power group by overt opposition or covert resistance. Both groups might seek to resolve the issue through compromise or either can acquiesce in the wishes of the other. This adjustment process, in any case, will affect the entire relationship. Thus the Micronesians today evaluate past administrations as much in terms of how they handled controversies as by what they achieved. Similarly civil affairs administrators are more inclined to judge native peoples with reference to their responses to proposals rather than with regard to their inherent qualities. The naval officers directing Micronesian communities possessed the unlimited authority intrinsic to a military force. But they found it more effective to reach a common understanding than to fall back on the ordering-forbidding technique. Natives were universally anxious to co-operate and eager to facilitate rather than to hamper proposed programs.

A co-operative relationship, however amicable, nevertheless encounters critical problems which good will alone will not dissolve. Native class structure with its preferential treatment of elite runs counter to American ideas of democratic equality.

Thus, in establishing the pay rates on an island, the community was disturbed when the same wage was given to all persons performing the same task regardless of social position. The military government officers were unwilling to accept the local racial stratifications. The disciplining of offenders also made apparent fundamental differences in outlook. For example, native customs called for the male head of the household to beat his wife when she displeased him, and mothers would punish a disobedient child by forcing it to stand with arms overhead in the sun for hours at a time. These harsh measures upset Americans raised on a chivalrous code. In the case of a native who ran amuck, wounding two members of his own family and a soldier and killing an M.P., the island's traditional way of handling cases of this nature was to destroy the entire family of the criminal and burn all their personal belongings. American norms in such instances overrode native customs even though in theory the emphasis was upon the preservation of native mores.

A more persistent though less dramatic problem was that of securing joint decisions that truly reflected the interests of both the governing and the governed. The Micronesians have so long played the role of subordinates that they have developed fixed habit patterns for this status. Hence when called upon to assume a role in policy-making, heretofore denied them, they make decisions which would call forth in themselves previously established emotional responses of subordinates. Intellectually they could assume co-ordinate status, but habitual anticipatory behavior led them to act as superordinates to themselves. Often the course of action they suggested was more demanding on themselves than any native traditions or American standards warranted. It was very difficult to ascertain how the islanders felt on controversial subjects, for they would never object outwardly to any proposal, regardless of its inherent demerits. They would not express their wishes unless specifically asked to do so, and then the usual response was to do whatever the governors

wished them to do. The latter would then state that they would like to do what the people desired. After some hesitation a definite preference would be forthcoming with many apologies. It was not always easy for an official who was working under pressure, confronted by numerous problems requiring immediate action, to operate at this slow pace. That the democratic process was put into operation at all reflects the spirit which permeated the entire relationship.

The formal policies of an organization define its frame of reference, but the personality makeup of its key personnel determines what it *does*. This is especially true in a primary group. A small homogeneous population can be influenced in any given direction by its leaders far more completely than a larger society. Civil affairs officers operated within such a framework. Military government included men with a wide variety of backgrounds who held equally divergent views. There are several ordinary organizational restrictions on individual deviation from group norms: an established routine, a fixed set of operating procedures, the supervision of higher authority, and the reactions of the governed. These checks were inapplicable to civil affairs administration. The military government organization is too young to have developed any extensive set of rules, the constant occurrence of emergencies precluded the establishment of fixed procedures, the distance from higher command meant there was little control over local decisions, and the submissive-subservient attitudes of the natives prevented them from exercising any strong check. Hence, civil affairs officers in immediate command of an island were fairly free to act as they saw fit. At one extreme were those who regarded the native population as enemy nationals who were to be given the minimum aid necessary for survival. Civilians were confined to camps where they were heavily guarded. Law and order were the criteria of good government. Fraternization between the military and civilians was discouraged. No rehabilitation was attempted; civilians were expendable in any way con-

venient to the armed forces. At the other end of the continuum were officers who viewed the islanders as friendly neutrals who should be restored as soon as possible to a working society. They gave native leadership a free hand in running their own society. As soon as possible the refugee camps were replaced by new native villages. All efforts were made to move from emergency relief to economic self-dependency. The revival of the indigenous social systems was encouraged. As is so often true in ideological conflicts, most of the civil affairs personnel tended to hold a middle position. Where officers on the same military government staff firmly held divergent views, the program moved in several different directions at the same time. No two islands are being administered in the same way.

The administration of civilian affairs cannot be reduced to a problem in logic. The cult of intellectuality is a basic American trait: no one is willing to concede that his behavior is motivated by other than scientific-rational principles. Yet in the uncomfortable, insecure, and confused conditions of war there are many frustrations which are expressed in nonrational actions. The needless destruction of captured food stock piles by the armed forces occurred on every island. Similarly, the fetish of souvenir-gathering led troops, including generals as well as G.I.'s, to acquire civilian goods in great quantities which after a short while they discarded as useless, scattering them all over the countryside. Native stores were looted, and those items not taken were demolished. Bulldozer operators have a psychology all their own. In clearing an area, any obstacle in the neighborhood is a challenge and must be knocked down. Native buildings not destroyed in the fighting suddenly disappeared. These practices were rationalized on the grounds that "it's all Jap stuff anyway." No appeal by the military government officers to the combat forces that such activities were unwarranted had any effect.

The operation of military government itself displays what to the outsider would

seem to be peculiar actions and yet to the insider appeared to be rational acts in terms of the definition of the situation. Any social organization generates patterns in response to its in-group processes of interaction which are not necessarily connected with its primary functions. Within the institutional hierarchy there is usually a hiatus between policy-makers and technical administrators. The two groups view the same issue from divergent perspectives. This schism was heightened in the case of military government by the fact that the policy-makers were professional military men and that the administrators were drawn from civilian professions. The former have the power to issue commands, but the latter, through their interpretations and execution of the orders, determine what is actually done. Both felt their reasoning to be unsailable, and in some instances the clash of opinions was sharp. Such a conflict occurred when a medical officer decided that the civilians were too ill to work and that employment might be fatal. To this the Army colonel in command replied, "What difference does it make if they die? Put them to work at once." In another case a Navy captain's declaration that Micronesians were nothing but a "bunch of niggers like those in the South and should be used as servants" provoked a spirited reaction from his staff, who maintained that not only was his physical anthropology faulty but also that the natives should devote their efforts to rebuilding their own communities rather than merely serving officers of high rank. Island garrison commanders having limited supplies are harassed by the incessant requests for goods for civilians and annoyed by the way civil affairs officers concern themselves with native customs even when they discommode projected plans. The story of *The Bell for Adano* had its counterparts in the Pacific. But more often some type of compromise was worked out.

Similarly within any institution, individuals will vie for status. An officer's need for ego gratification would find expression in maneuvering for power within the organiza-

tion at the expense of the program itself. So, too, in order to gain its immediate goals, departments competed with one another and countermanded one another's orders. The division of labor which departmentalization represents is vitally necessary. But without strong leadership "topside," there is no integration at the lower levels. These actions cannot be justified on ground of logic, but they are nevertheless a part of social reality and therefore cannot be ignored. It was hard for any individual to retain a full perspective. In no case, however, have these divisive elements disrupted the whole or reduced the larger programs to impotency. The balancing force under these circumstances was the undivided desire of all for finding some solution to the common problems.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

The value systems of the various ethnic groups and of the American administrators profoundly affected their interrelationships. They influenced not only formal relationships but also the personal-social aspects of interaction.

The differences in thought-processes between the Americans and Micronesians constantly require conciliation. Americans by upbringing are relatively uninhibited. They have few doubts about their ability to accomplish anything desired and freely express their views. They have little insight into exotic mores, regarding them as curious rather than as cultural compulsives. They are direct in manner of approach and impatient with delays and imbued with middle-class respectability and ideals of personal cleanliness, industry, marital fidelity, and group loyalty. Americans assume that anyone holding points of view different from the ones they expound will make them known, and they are not flattered by being obsequiously deferred to as masters. In contrast, the Micronesians are humble. Having been subdued for so long, they are hesitant about expressing their views, and they approach their goals by indirection. Their values are those of Oceanic peasantry; there is no pre-

mium placed on the display of cleanliness nor anything to be gained by a reputation as a hard worker. Native definitions of personal morality do not correspond to Western standards. The structure of Micronesian social institutions differs in many basic ways from American patterns, and so each proposed governmental action required reinterpretation in terms of native social organizations. Similarly, Micronesian mores constantly had to be explained to the Americans in order to clarify what was being done by the community.

Because neither Americans nor Micronesians possess a single, integrated mode of behavior, there is confusion in the minds of each group about the other. The Americans were ambivalent in their attitudes toward many fundamental issues. Sometimes they were extremely generous in the provision of goods to the natives and at other times denied them essentials on the basis that it was needless coddling. Americans think of themselves as democratic and yet regard the Micronesians as inferior. They speak of liberation and concomitantly impose rigorous control over native affairs. They insist that they are motivated only by an objective interest in getting the natives out of the way of the armed forces and simultaneously are extremely anxious that the natives like them. They declare that only voluntary workers are used, but, when individuals choose not to work, coercion is employed. They proclaim a desire to preserve the indigenous culture and are pleased when the natives emulate American ways. The Micronesians, too, as a result of acculturation processes, are divided among themselves on many issues. Older and younger generations differ as much as do the two age levels in the United States. When confronted with a decision, the older folks think in terms of ancestral modes of action, and the younger age groups are guided in their responses by "modern" ways learned from the Japanese. Even within the same individual, the traditional and newer modes exist side by side, resulting in mixed emotions and contradictory behavior patterns.

There are no short cuts to the adjusting process. In general, the Micronesians yielded more often than the Americans. The latter were not, however, unbending, and they made great efforts to discover procedures that would be meaningful to the natives. Each group was anxious to understand the other. The first barrier which had to be surmounted was one of communication. Few Americans knew the local language and equally few islanders were adept in the use of English. The lingua franca became Japanese. Even this medium had limitations: only some of the officers and chiefly the younger natives spoke Japanese with any degree of fluency. This trying situation was partially overcome by improvising a modified pidgin created on the spot. Interpreters came to the rescue when the question under discussion involved more subtle or abstract concepts. A second impediment concerned the preconceptions of each other. American notions of South Seas society as primitive did not make sense. Remnants of pre-war material goods such as sewing machines, electric lights, radios, moving pictures, and high-heeled shoes helped to dispel the American stereotypes of the South Seas. Perhaps the major factor which changed the Americans' oversimplified picture of the "aboriginal society" was the discovery that natives displayed a range of personalities comparable in spread to that of an average rural town in America.

Likewise the islanders began to understand the Americans. Military government personnel had the feeling that they were constantly watched, not in a suspicious manner, but out of curiosity. Newspapers, magazines, and moving pictures from the States were studied avidly to see how Americans lived at home. Everyone tried to learn English. Native women asked innumerable questions about American women. Men and boys crowded around bulldozers, jeeps, and airplanes at every opportunity to examine and admire American ingenuity. The unpredictability of Americans at first confused them, but they gradually learned how to deal with their governors. The first step in

that direction was the recognition of the differences between Americans. The second was the learning of the symbols which elicit favorable responses. Old hands at playing the role of subordinates, the Micronesians quickly developed the necessary techniques for getting along with their rulers. Gradually mutual understanding and respect developed.

Relationships with the Japanese and Korean civilians were complicated by their political status. The former were enemy nationals, and the latter were potential allies. Hence theoretically the Japanese were to be dealt with more severely and Koreans with greater consideration. Actually, this did not occur. All groups were placed under the same security restrictions. The pathetic state of the Japanese soon elicited American sympathies so that they were given as much aid as other groups. No preferential treatment was accorded to the Koreans; they were found to be no more friendly and often were more difficult to deal with than other groups.

The Japanese, during early contacts, were intensely afraid of the Americans. When this anxiety subsided, they resigned themselves to a stolid acceptance of the inevitable. They passively submitted to all edicts and were apathetic and nonco-operative. American ways of doing things were incomprehensible, and the contradictory orders issued confirmed their convictions that Americans were queer people. To Koreans the upheaval was just one more chapter in a lifetime of oppression. Having been exploited for generations, they expected nothing else. Declarations of liberation were meaningless, for there was nothing in their background to indicate what it meant. The Koreans were suspicious of Americans but not hostile. They were a defeated people, prepared to accept and conform to whatever their new masters ordered. In the succeeding months of daily contact, these attitudes changed. With the continued evidence of fair play, the rendering of medical care for the sick, and the provision of food, clothing, and shelter, they grew more friendly.

Still this did not wipe out the cultural gaps. Americans were indignant over the refusal of the Japanese to care for orphan children who belonged to no surviving family and over the numerous spurious excuses the Koreans gave for being unable to work. They resented the careless sanitary practices of both groups. The term "gooks" summarized their feelings toward these Orientals. The Japanese, in turn, have not been won over to a deep and abiding love of all things American. They are not reconciled to defeat and assume that the Japanese armed forces will some day restore them to their earlier status. Japanese and Koreans feel uneasy under American rule: they would rather be told what to do than be asked to share in the making of democratic decisions. They seek certitude and so are upset by the present instability; one day they are invited to express their views and the next they are penalized for doing so. Sometimes salvage collection for personal use is encouraged and other times it is forbidden. The kind of clothing that may be worn has changed several times. Intermittently security restrictions are relaxed, and then suddenly, without any apparent cause, elaborate controls are once more placed on them.

It was only natural for the civilians to compare current conditions with those of the past. In objective terms, the welfare of the population is much poorer now. The quality of the Japanese administration of the mandates has been underestimated by Americans. Emotional reactions to all things Japanese has produced a tendency to assume that all the enemy's actions were malevolent. This attitude is not only contrary to reality but also prevents a realistic comprehension of the situation. The Japanese may have been motivated by purely selfish reasons, but they nevertheless provided a high material standard of living and security. Their South Seas Bureau administered the mandates in a manner not unlike other colonial governments elsewhere. Modern sanitation facilities were introduced, hospitals were built, and medical care was

free. Carpenters and masons from Japan were brought to the islands to build wooden and concrete homes to replace the less healthful grass shacks. Aged workers were pensioned, labor contracts were honored, and labor relations were amicable. There are few reports of brutality. Wages were relatively high—in some cases higher than either those currently being paid or the scale of other Pacific colonial areas. The armed forces were prohibited from molesting native women. Schools, roads, and other public facilities were built at the expense of the Japanese South Seas Bureau. Taxes were nominal, and before the war the restrictions on the natives were not regarded by them as odious.

The Micronesians do not regard the Americans as liberators who saved them from an awful fate; they know that, had the invasion not taken place, their lives would not now be so disorganized. But there is no resentment against Americans for having come and destroyed their way of living. The war is accepted as given and the accompanying chaos as inevitable. The natives are deeply impressed by the kindness and generosity of Americans. That an army would take time and use precious supplies to care for the islanders in the midst of hard fighting could not be reconciled with Japanese tales of how Americans act. In some respects the Americans are viewed more favorably than the Japanese. The former rulers had placed a ceiling on opportunity, and this was deeply resented. Micronesians were not permitted to attend the higher schools; nor were they eligible for any of the responsible positions in government. The direct intervention of the Japanese in native affairs caused social turmoil; it disturbed the established relationships between the chiefs and the people and upset the functioning of native organizations. The caste system in which the Japanese were deemed inherently superior to Micronesians was unacceptable to these proud, sensitive people. The Japanese South Seas Bureau's program of modernization weakened native institutions without providing adequate

substitutes. Thus the shift from collective to individual enterprise, the curtailment of the gift exchange system, the liquidation of clan-held lands, the revision of the matrilineal family organization—all confused the mores on the rights and duties of the members of the group. Today the Micronesians feel that Americans have their interests at heart and that these objectional practices will not occur again.

PROSPECTUS

Through its Navy military government in Micronesia, America is now directing the destinies of Pacific peoples. The initial efforts, in view of the lack of prior experience and the multiple problems facing the organization, have been eminently successful. Its achievements can be measured partly in terms of the universal desire of the Micronesians to remain permanently under American jurisdiction. It is evidenced in the aid the natives are giving voluntarily to the war effort. It is discernible in the improvements in living and health conditions since the beginning of American rule. Present well-being, however, does not obscure the widespread anxiety over the future. What will happen after the war is over is the subject of the deepest concern among the peoples of Micronesia. It is apparent to all that the islands are not economically self-dependent or capable of operating politically as an independent state.

We have much to gain by a sound administration of Micronesia and equally much to lose if we fail. Not only is our future security involved but also our status in the world community. In terms of world society, Micronesia is inconsequential in size. Yet how we act in the Pacific will indicate to the peoples elsewhere how we regard subordinate populations. In the past America as a nation has been the symbol of political liberty: whether as a trustee we can represent internationally the high moral principles that we proclaim remains to be demonstrated in practice.

Fortunately, there is no fundamental conflict in Micronesia between native and

American interests. By the establishment of an enlightened program, we can maintain both our own security and the well-being of the Micronesians. The means for achieving this goal cannot be reduced to any simple formula. Still the problems are not so complex as to be beyond effective control. The prerequisite is a coherent, positive national policy backed by an informed public opinion. Neither of these now exists. Perhaps the first step toward that end would be the dissemination of accurate, realistic information. Thus far the press has limited its reports to the more bizarre aspects of native life, and the debates which are now taking place in "study clubs" reveal a complete absence of the basic facts. The average American's knowledge of the South Seas is fantastic; there is a vast educational job to be done. The second step is the development of a responsible, permanent administration. Military government is an emergency war measure, and, with the coming of peace, a new organization based on the principles of the San Francisco Conference is needed. Perhaps an assistant secretary of the Navy directing a civilian staff would enable the armed forces to exercise a voice in Micronesian affairs and yet free it of a type of activity not inherent in a military structure. Civil service by offering rewards commensurate with professional training and ability might attract men who now gladly serve at low incomes for patriotic motives. Unlike other colonial nations, we lack a tradition of careers in foreign service. Our men now think of foreign duty largely in terms of the duration of the war. If proper inducements were forthcoming, the high quality of personnel so urgently needed may be procured. The alternative proposal—to continue the Micronesian islands under a mandate system with several nations participating in their control—will face the same basic issues, namely, the establishment of a sound administrative policy.

The bases for a sound administration of Micronesia can be stated in three general propositions. First, indirect rule. The natives are fully capable of running their own

internal affairs, and we know too little about native society to intervene effectively. By working with native leaders and the indigenous native organizations, the existing social order will be strengthened. Moreover, it would remove one of the major objections the Micronesians had to the Japanese practice of direct rule—absence of a sense of control over their own destiny. All that the islanders require is technical aid, guidance in dealing with out-groups, and the opportunity to reconstruct their own community.

Second, economic rehabilitation. We have a moral obligation as well as a legal one under international law to help the natives back to economic self-dependency. Furthermore, it would be to our own benefit to replace the present costly relief program with one in which the islanders could provide for their own needs. This initially entails the provision of supplies for rebuilding homes, native industries, farming, and fishing. It also means re-establishing a balanced money economy—unfreezing funds so that local capital is available, paying a higher wage to provide greater purchasing power, selling manufactured goods at a reasonable price, and compensating for lands confiscated and property destroyed. (The last might be made one of the reparation costs to be charged against Japan in the peace treaty.) The Micronesians probably will never be economically self-sufficient, but, with tan-

gible aid, the natives may contribute a greater share of their own upkeep.

Third, acculturation. The Micronesians are intelligent, able peoples. The Japanese limited their educational opportunities. An adequate school system would help the natives adjust to living in a world society. Acculturation has been under way for over a century and is now taking place under American control. It cannot be stopped, nor do the natives wish to return to their ancient ways of living. The task is therefore one of easing the adjustment and insuring that the best features of Western civilization are disseminated without disrupting local social organization.

In any event the nation is committed to assume some responsibility for the administration of Micronesia. The principle of trusteeship incorporated in the San Francisco Conference provides the framework within which these islands will be administered. By these provisions the United States will continue to play an active role in the direction of civil affairs in Micronesia. We have barely begun the difficult job of developing governing techniques, and we have yet to formulate clearly our goals in the Pacific. The art of governing deserves our best thought and effort, for our future is inextricably tied up with it.

UNITED STATES NAVAL RESERVE

SOCIAL STATUS AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR¹

GERHART H. SAENGER

ABSTRACT

Social status, as described by income and religion, largely determines a person's vote and other aspects of his political behavior. The voting trend in New York City over a long period appears to be a function of social status. Group membership is more important than party platforms or exposure to propaganda in determining the voter's choice. Where the voter's opinion conflicts with the established party line, the party program is interpreted in terms of the individual's own desires and beliefs. Those least aware of differences between the parties and least convinced that the outcome of the election will affect them personally are most likely to change parties.

All recent studies in the field of public opinion stress the high correlation between the voter's socioeconomic status and his voting tendency. The importance of the voter's economic status and his party preference is not necessarily known. The recent study by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, *The People's Choice*, established the significance of religion and residence as well as economic status in predicting a person's vote.

The present study is an endeavor to find whether the same factors operating in mid-western Erie County, with its half-rural, half-small-town population, are effective in a large metropolitan community.² It in-

¹ The study was planned and supervised by the staff of the Social Research Laboratory of the Department of Sociology, City College. The interviewing and the coding of the schedules were undertaken by students from the departments of sociology or psychology in Barnard College (11 students), Brooklyn College (33), City College (12), Hunter College (50), and Queens College (13). The author is indebted to Professors Agnes Byrnes, Daniel Katz, S. Stanfield Sargent, Herbert Stroup, and Kimball Young for their assistance in obtaining the co-operation of the students in the above-named colleges; and to Professor Samuel Joseph, director of the Laboratory, for his kind permission to use the facilities of the Laboratory for the execution of this study.

² The study is based on a representative sample of five hundred New Yorkers, chosen by residence within the city, rent, religion, sex, and age. According to recent estimates, the city is about equally divided among the three major faiths, with a slightly higher proportion of Catholics. The three religious groups differ with regard to education and economic status. The Protestants, with the highest average income, also include the largest proportion of per-

quires into the influence of socioeconomic factors on political awareness and political action as well as the relative importance of party programs and the voters' opinions with regard to the main national and international issues on the decisions of New Yorkers. Finally, the relationship between voting trends in the last three presidential elections and socioeconomic factors is analyzed.

I. POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL ACTION

*Political awareness.*³—Political activity among different groups of the population may be assumed to be related to the significance its members ascribe to political events such as elections. The analysis of voting behavior in different socioeconomic groups is, therefore, preceded by a study of the relative importance different groups attributed to the 1944 presidential election.

Not all New Yorkers considered the election to be of real importance for the nation or themselves. Approximately seven out of every ten thought that it would "make a real difference who wins in the

sons who completed high school or attended college. On the other extreme we find the Catholics, who furnish the majority of persons in the lowest-income groups and whose educational level is the lowest of all three groups.

³ "Political awareness" has been defined for purposes of this study in terms of the respondent's beliefs concerning the importance of the election generally and for him personally.

present election." Only three out of ten believed that the "outcome of the election would affect them personally" (see Table 1).

As would be expected, the amount of education is related to the extent of political awareness. However, differences in religion were far more important than educational differences in determining the extent of a person's political awareness. On each educational level the Catholics were least impressed by the significance of the election, and the Jews the most convinced that the

tion in political action in the steadily declining proportion of nonvoters.

The increase in the proportion of voters between 1936 and 1944 was greatest among Jews of low and medium income,⁴ followed by Catholics of middle and upper income groups. Only Protestants with low incomes fail to show an increase in the proportion of voters.

The nature of this trend becomes even more apparent if we disregard differences in economic status. In 1936 the Protestants were the most frequent voters, but in 1944

TABLE 1*
POLITICAL AWARENESS, BY RELIGION AND BY EDUCATION

RELIGION	PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS STATING THAT OUTCOME OF ELECTION MAKES A DIFFERENCE			PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS STATING THAT OUTCOME OF ELECTION AFFECTS THEM PERSONALLY		
	Grammar School	High and College	Total	Grammar School	High and College	Total
All religions.....	67	77	72	23	34	30
Catholic.....	51	70	61	15	24	20
Protestant.....	77	72	73	20	34	30
Jewish.....	95	89	91	37	43	41
No. of cases.....	184	306	490	184	302	490

*This table gives only the percentage of persons in each group who believe that the outcome of the election makes a difference. The figure in the grammar-school column for Catholics means that 51 per cent of the total group think that it makes a difference who wins, while the 49 per cent who did not think so are omitted from the table. The same procedures have been used for Tables 2 and 3.

outcome of the election was of importance to the nation and to themselves.

Political activity.—The extent to which any group becomes politically active is determined not only by political awareness but also by the amount of time and energy specific activities require. While 84 per cent of all New Yorkers interviewed voted in the last presidential election, only 15 per cent had "ever written letters to their congressmen" and a mere 10 per cent were "members of any political club or organization."

The present study does not indicate whether participation in terms of letter-writing or membership in political organization has risen among various social groups during the last decade. However, there is evidence of an increased participa-

tion in political action in the steadily declining proportion of nonvoters. A partial explanation may be the impact of the war on both religious minorities. Jews and Catholics in New York City are first- or second-generation Americans. As such, they are more closely identified with the population of their home countries and may be more aware of the effect of recent political events abroad and at home.

The Jews, particularly, became extremely conscious of the Fascist danger. Among the Catholics, foreign events appear to have had a more indirect influence. In compari-

⁴ The term "low income" refers to all families which earned less than \$2,500 annually; "medium income," to families which earned between \$2,500 and \$5,000 annually; "high income," to families which earned more than \$5,000.

son with the Jews they show a low level of political awareness. The proportion of Catholics who thought the outcome of the election in 1944 was important was smaller than that of the two other religious groups. Moreover, many of the "new Catholic voters"⁵ did not think that the outcome of the election made any difference. There-

the greater proportion of "letter-writers" among Jews and Catholics. While there are practically no differences in the proportion of lower- and upper-class New Yorkers writing letters to their congressmen, it is interesting to note the absence of letter-writers among Protestants of low income as well as the fact that only Republican voters

TABLE 2
PROPORTION OF NEW YORKERS WRITING LETTERS TO THEIR
CONGRESSMEN, BY VOTE AND RELIGION

ECONOMIC STATUS	RELIGION			PERSONS VOTING FOR:		TOTAL
	Catholics	Jews	Protestants	Roosevelt	Dewey	
All income groups...	12	20	8	18	10	15
Low.....	10	23	0	18	2	14
Medium or high....	13	17	19	16	16	16
Number	166	141	88	260	125	385

TABLE 3
PROPORTION OF VOTERS IN SIX STATUS GROUPS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF
POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY ROOSEVELT AND DEWEY VOTERS

VOTERS	LOW INCOME			MEDIUM AND HIGH INCOME		
	Catholics	Jews	Protestants	Catholics	Jews	Protestants
Percentage of members.....	12	8	0	11	3	19
Roosevelt voters.....	10	8	0	11	3	7
Dewey voters.....	2	0	0	0	0	12
No. of voters reporting.....	106	50	32	57	88	57

fore, the increase in political activity among Catholics can hardly be attributed to the direct impact of foreign events. Foreign events, however, could still have had an indirect effect on the Catholic group, perhaps through the personal solicitation of politically conscious leaders among them.

The greater interest in voting among religious minorities in 1944 is paralleled by

⁵ New voters are defined here as persons who voted in 1944 for the first time. Most of them were above thirty years of age and could have voted in 1936 or 1940 but failed to do so.

with higher incomes write to their congressmen (Table 2).

Membership in the major party organizations in New York City is also definitely aligned along the lines of social status. Most members of the Republican party organizations supporting Dewey enjoy the highest social status, the middle- and lower-class Protestants. None of the lower-class Protestants or middle- and upper-class Catholics reported membership in political organizations. (Table 3)

Among the Roosevelt voters who be-

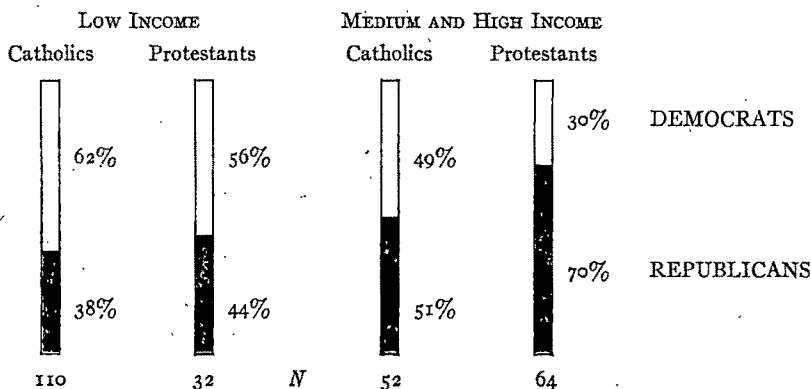
longed to a political organization, Catholics formed the majority, particularly in the group with lower incomes. In the groups of middle and upper income participation exists on a somewhat broader basis, although Catholics again constitute the majority of club members. The Jews, in spite of their high level of political awareness or political interest, are less organized than either Catholics or Protestants. Relatively very few Jews belong to political organizations.

The distribution of club members no longer parallels the distribution of the Democratic and Republican vote in the city.

II. SOCIAL STATUS AND THE VOTE

The vote follows status lines.—Social status, defined by income and religion, also determines voting behavior. Lazarsfeld and his associates state that "social characteristics determine political preference." Party preferences of the 1940 Erie County voter were determined to a large extent by religion and income. Low income predisposed a person to vote Democratic; high income, to vote Republican. Catholics tended to vote the Democratic ticket more often than Protestants. A Catholic of low income, therefore, would be more strongly predis-

CHART I
PROPORTION OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN VOTES IN NEW YORK CITY
BY INCOME AND BY RELIGION, 1944



Since voting along class or status lines was more distinct in 1936 and 1940 than in 1944, club membership in former years conformed more to the actual vote distribution than today. Perhaps the failure of the voters among Republicans of low status to become members of Republican organizations or to write letters to their congressmen represents but another example of cultural lag. Perhaps political control is more stable than fluctuations of the vote. Whatever the reason, we find that social status is definitely related to political activities. Among the Republicans those of highest status, the wealthier Protestants, were found to be most active. Catholics and Jews of low income were more active among the Democratic voters.

posed to vote Democratic than a Catholic of high income. The latter, in Lazarsfeld's words, would be exposed to "cross pressures." As a Catholic he would be inclined to vote Democratic; as a member of the group with high income, to vote Republican.

The same factors operating in midwestern Erie County, with its half-rural, half-small-town population, were found to operate in metropolitan New York. In the last three presidential elections Catholics tended to vote Democratic more often than Protestants. Voters of low income were more likely to vote for Roosevelt than for his opponent (see Chart I).⁶

⁶ For purposes of comparison with the Lazarsfeld study and because the Jewish group showed smaller fluctuations in voting behavior than the other

The changing vote and socioeconomic factors.—Gallup believes that the pronounced differences in the class composition of Republican and Democratic voters, conspicuous in 1936, are slowly disappearing. To discover whether this is true of New York City, the election returns of the last three presidential campaigns were compared (see Chart II).

pronounced in the middle-income group (Table 4).

Income and the changing vote.—The fact that the greatest increase in Republican votes appeared in the medium-income group is consistent with the hypothesis that the tendency to vote Republican increases with rising income. The predisposition toward the Democratic party is greater among the

CHART II

PROPORTION OF REPUBLICAN VOTERS IN THE LAST THREE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
BY INCOME AND BY RELIGION

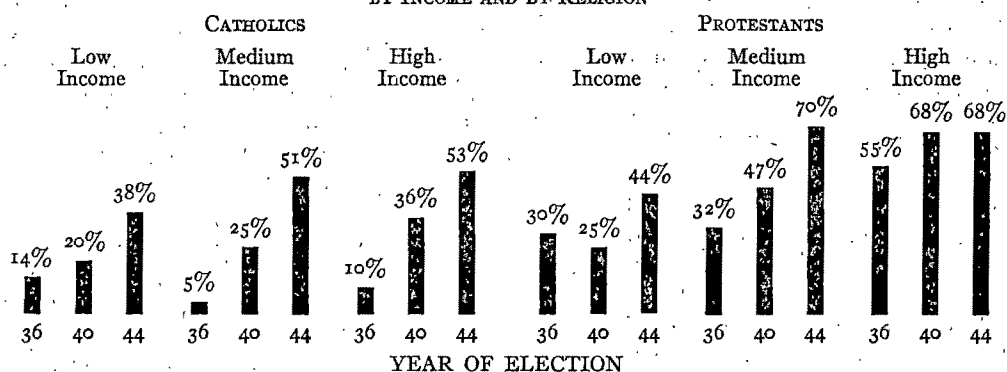


TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE AND RATIO OF INCREASE OF REPUBLICAN VOTES BETWEEN
1936 AND 1944, BY RELIGION AND BY INCOME

RELIGION	PERCENTAGE INCREASE			RATIO OF INCREASE		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Catholic.....	24	26	43	1:2.7	1:10.0	1:5.3
Protestant.....	14	38	13	1:1.5	1:2.3	1:1.3

During the last decade the proportion of Republican voters climbed steadily in New York City, as in the rest of the nation. Yet not all groups changed to the same extent. The ratio of increase in the proportion of Republican votes in the period between 1936 and 1944 was twice as high among Catholics as among Protestants. Within both religious groups changes were most

group with low income than among those with middle incomes; the former group is more resistant to change.

The group with middle incomes tends to identify itself with that with lower incomes more during periods of depression such as existed before the 1936 election. In 1936 the Democratic party had just completed its unprecedented relief and public works program. It had offered assistance to those who needed help, mainly members of the low and middle groups.

groups, further analysis is restricted to Catholics and Protestants only.

During periods of relative economic security, however, the group with middle incomes tends to identify itself more with the wealthier. During the last two presidential elections the war boom had brought prosperity. The depression had largely been forgotten, and, by and large, people were optimistic about the postwar world. Therefore, the customary identification of the middle class with the upper class, which tends to vote Republican, could become effective.

Religion and the changing vote.—Catholics showed a greater tendency toward change than Protestants. The Catholics are most heavily represented in the low and middle incomes. Therefore, a shift in the Catholic vote toward the Republican party suggests a greater similarity in the composition of the two major parties. An increase of Catholics in the Republican party in New York City means an increase in the number of Republicans with low and medium incomes.

How long this tendency to similarity between the two parties will continue depends upon two circumstances. In conformity with their economic status, poorer Catholics are inclined to vote Democratic. Catholics as a whole now tend toward the Republican party. The question will be whether the relative influence of economic status or the relative influence of religious affiliation (membership in the Catholic group) is stronger in the long run. The answer to this question depends on the proportion of unemployed during the postwar reconversion period. Much will depend upon the relative prosperity of the country as well as upon the leaders and molders of opinion among closely knit religious groups.

There is so far no ready explanation for the greater increase in the proportion of Republican votes among Catholics generally, particularly in view of the low level of political awareness. To shed further light on the question of vote changes, we proceed next to examine the party platforms as related to the attitudes of the voters with regard to the major international and domestic issues of our time.

III. THE MAIN ISSUES OF THE ELECTION

The party platforms.—The most conspicuous element in the last presidential election was the relative absence of any outspoken difference in the campaign propaganda of both major parties. Republicans as well as Democrats advocated far-reaching international co-operation and a continuation, if not extension, of our social security system. The Democrats emphasized their past record both in domestic and in foreign affairs. The Republicans emphasized the "need for a new man," for a change, and accused the administration of bungling and waste. The Democratic party stressed the "necessity to continue an experienced man in office during the critical period of the war"—a man "who enjoyed confidence" and "would be able to make a good peace." The Republican party claimed that a Republican administration would have the "confidence of business" and "insure prosperity after the war."

The propagandistic difficulties facing the Republican party as a result of the administration's war record were emphasized in the 1944 *Fortune* poll. Of the two-thirds of the population who expressed a definite opinion, a large majority believed that the Democrats would make a better peace and be more capable of preventing unemployment after the war. Thus, a considerable proportion of Republican voters either had more confidence in the Democratic party or was at least uncertain which party would best be able to solve the major problems of war and peace.

These results suggest that other factors than the problems of an enduring peace or full postwar employment were instrumental in causing many voters to change toward the Republican party, because there is little doubt that the voters of both parties agreed as far as these major issues are concerned.

Public desire for international co-operation.—Both Democrats and Republicans expressed themselves in favor of international co-operation and, therefore, followed

the public will when they came out for international co-operation in the 1944 election.

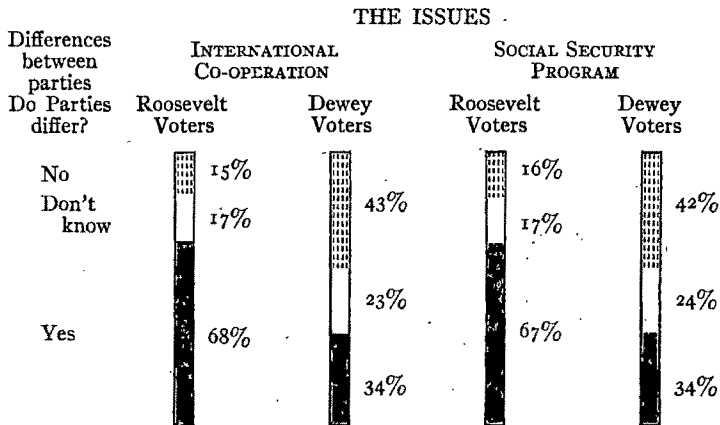
However, until recently, the Republican party in Congress had pursued a more isolationist policy than the Democrats. How did the Republican voter reconcile his vote intention with his knowledge of the party's past record? One may argue that people do not pay much attention to congressional action or manage to forget it soon. Actually, the Democratic voters in New York City recognized a difference between the two

the parties differ on questions of vital importance to him and then make up his mind on the basis of his conclusion? Or is his opinion a mere rationalization in support of an already-made decision? The Republican voter who genuinely favors international co-operation has to believe that his party, too, favors co-operation; otherwise he would be plunged into a serious mental conflict.

The issues of social security and government planning.—An appraisal of voters'

CHART III

RECOGNITION OF PARTY DIFFERENCES ON QUESTIONS OF "INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION" AND "SOCIAL SECURITY," BY PROPORTION OF ROOSEVELT AND DEWEY VOTERS
RECOGNIZING OR FAILING TO RECOGNIZE A DIFFERENCE



parties on that score, while the Republican voters concluded that the difference between the two parties had disappeared. It is improbable that the Republican voters forgot their party's past record while the Democrats remembered it. This is particularly unlikely in the light of the results of the *Fortune* poll. The Republican voters simply decided that the difference between the two parties had disappeared, while Democratic voters, confronted with the same evidence (most Democrats and Republicans read the same newspapers), had come to the opposite conclusion (see Chart III).

One may well ask whether the argument precedes or follows a person's decision in voting. Does the voter first decide whether

opinions on social security and full employment after the war leads to the same hypothesis. Although differences between both parties were more pronounced than on the question of foreign policy, a majority of Democrats (92 per cent) as well as of Republicans (64 per cent) believed that the "government should provide jobs through public works programs for the unemployed" after the war. The prevalence of a so-called "New Deal" philosophy among the followers of both parties became even more apparent when the respondents were asked: "What could be done to prevent unemployment after the war?"⁷ A majority of Republi-

⁷ To avoid the influence of suggestion, a free-answer question was used.

cans (52 per cent) as well as of Democrats (62 per cent) recommended "government planning," a "public works program," an "extension of the social security system," and "government-sponsored housing," to prevent future unemployment. A small minority, mostly Republicans of medium and upper income, stated that unemployment could be prevented only if "government left business alone." Only among upper-class Republicans would a majority (55 per cent) rely on business rather than on government help for the postwar period.

cepted the New Deal philosophy in fact though perhaps not in name.⁸ To be consistent, they chose to believe that the two parties had the same outlook on questions of social security. The Democrats, on the other hand, in spite of the similarity of the party platforms, refused to accept Republican claims. They argued that the two parties differed fundamentally on these issues. The voter's previous decision to vote for his candidate or party again appears to have determined his belief concerning the presence or absence of a genuine difference be-

TABLE 5

SUGGESTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN VOTERS FOR THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR, BY ECONOMIC STATUS IN PERCENTAGES

HOW CAN UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR BE PREVENTED?	DEMOCRATS			REPUBLICANS		
	Low	Medium and High	Total	Low	Medium and High	Total
Change system, take over plants.....	13	1	9	0	7	3
New Deal measures, government help, public works, planning, government-sponsored housing.....	59	69	62	65	38	52
Government co-operate with business and help business.....	17	8	13	5	11	7
New markets, domestic and foreign.....	11	21	15	26	25	26
Government must leave business alone and lift restrictions.....	0	1	1	4	19	12
No. of suggestions.....	90	56	146	60	65	125

However, the majority of all Republicans spontaneously approved of "New Deal" measures (Table 5).

The wishes of the large majority of Republicans again are at odds with the actions of Republican congressmen. The discrepancy between the voters' opinions and congressional action in the field of foreign policy is apparent also with regard to domestic issues. The majority of Republican representatives has consistently voted against New Deal measures favored by their constituents.

Republican voters, particularly those in the lower-income brackets, would have voted against their convictions, unless they believed that the Republicans, too, had ac-

cepted the New Deal philosophy in fact though perhaps not in name.

The voter's arguments.—If voting behavior could be traced to the voter's deliberations rather than to group membership, direct questioning might furnish a clue to the real motives behind his decision. We have seen that the decision how to vote can hardly be attributed to differences on major questions

⁸ The discussion is concerned here only with the basic principles of the New Deal, not its name. It is obviously impossible to accept the ideas and, at the same time, be opposed to the stereotyped name "New Deal." In the minds of many voters the "New Deal" may stand for different factors from those implied here, e.g., bureaucracy, waste, bungling, etc., rather than for the social and economic measures introduced by it.

of foreign and domestic policy between the parties. One cannot be surprised, therefore, to find that the overwhelming majority of arguments centered around the personal qualities of the candidates. As could be expected from the way the campaign was conducted, most of these personal arguments were concerned with Roosevelt rather than with Dewey. Democrats were pro-Roosevelt rather than anti-Dewey; Republicans, anti-Roosevelt rather than pro-Dewey (Table 6).

Of particular interest was the relatively large number of arguments of a "neutral" character among the Republicans. Many simply stated that we "need a change" or a "new man," that "Roosevelt was too old." There may be some people who voted Republican for no other reason than a belief in periodic change or in the prerequisite of youth for political efficiency. It seems somewhat more likely that in the majority of cases this argument constitutes but another rationalization for a decision already made and does not explain why the person actually voted Republican.

The arguments of most Democratic voters in support of their candidate centered around "Roosevelt's greater experience." He was considered "indispensable for the winning of the war" or the "making of a good peace." These arguments were expressed relatively more frequently by Democrats with higher incomes. Among the other Democrats one finds a substantial minority arguing in terms of class differences: "Roosevelt is good for labor" and "minorities"; Dewey, "too much under the influence of business" or "capitalists." These arguments again point to the strong influence of income in determining voting. Traditionally low-income and minority groups tend to vote the Democratic ticket. Predisposition seems to be less effective among the wealthier Democrats. More predisposed toward the Republican party, they argued almost exclusively in terms of Roosevelt's greater experience.

The influence of predisposition was clearly discernible also among a considerable

proportion of the Republicans with middle and upper incomes, who were quite conscious of their class interests. They stated that "Roosevelt was bad for business," while "Dewey favors business" and would "guarantee full employment" and a "prosperous economy."

The Republicans of low income, persons ordinarily inclined to vote Democratic, either argued almost exclusively in terms of the "need for a new man" or stated that "Roosevelt craved for power," "would become a dictator," and "favored the Communists." While the first argument proba-

TABLE 6
PROPORTION OF ARGUMENTS FOR OR AGAINST
ROOSEVELT OR DEWEY AMONG ROOSE-
VELT AND DEWEY VOTERS

Type of Argument	Roosevelt Voters	Dewey Voters
Pro-Roosevelt.....	61	6
Pro-Dewey.....	3	24
Neutral (need change, new man).....		16
Anti-Roosevelt.....	3	45
Anti-Dewey.....	33	9
No. of arguments.....	180	133

bly does not indicate the real motivating factor, the fear of "dictatorship" or of "communistic influences"—expressed by one-third of this group—deserves serious consideration.⁹ It is possible that this fear caused many persons, usually predisposed to vote Democratic, to vote against Roosevelt.

The readers of Democratic and Republican papers.—The overwhelming majority of both Democrats and Republicans were exposed almost exclusively to Republican press propaganda. Four times as many Democrats read strongly Republican papers as strongly Democratic papers. This ratio was even larger among the group with low

⁹ In many European countries fear of communism has influenced the lower-middle classes toward the right.

incomes, which does not usually listen to the more evenly distributed campaign propaganda of the radio.

Both Democrats and Republicans were thus exposed to propaganda calling Roosevelt a "dictator," "power-crazy," and "under Communist influence" and, for years, attacking his domestic and foreign policy. Yet, in 1944, about one-half of the Catholic and Protestant voters who were exposed to the strongly anti-Democratic *News, Mirror*, and *Journal* voted for Roosevelt. Those who had decided to vote Democratic simply failed to accept their arguments. Even

the consistent voters (see Table 7) indicates that the changers were politically the least alert and least interested of all voters. Only one-half of all changers believed that the outcome of the election was at all important, as compared with two-thirds of the total number of voters studied. Only 14 per cent of them thought that the outcome of the election would affect them personally, as compared with 25 per cent of the two religious groups in which most changes occurred.

Less than one-third of all voters who changed their party affiliation in the past

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF "CHANGERS," "NEW VOTERS," AND "CONSISTENT VOTERS" BELIEVING THE TWO PARTIES DIFFER WITH REGARD TO THEIR DOMESTIC PROGRAM

DO PARTIES DIFFER?	CHANGERS	NEW VOTERS		CONSISTENT VOTERS	
	Democrats as of 1940 Who Voted Republican in 1944	Nonvoter Democrat	Nonvoter Republican	Democrat, 1940 Democrat, 1944	Republican, 1940 Republican, 1944
Yes.....	32	49	32	67	44
No.....	47	6	27	15	32
Don't know.....	21	45	41	18	24
No. of voters.....	43	33	34	99	57

among Republicans only a small proportion quoted the arguments handed out by their favorite papers as main reasons for their decision. Therefore, it is very unlikely that voting in general and the recent shift in particular can be attributed to newspaper propaganda.

IV. SOCIAL STATUS AND THE VOTING TREND

The "changers."—The most significant evidence supporting the hypotheses that neither specific objective arguments nor the belief that one would fare better under a new President were responsible for the shift in the New York vote is furnished by those who changed parties between 1940 and 1944. A comparison between the "changers" and

four years believed that the two parties differed with regard to their foreign program. The "changers" also included the smallest proportion of voters who thought that the two parties differed with regard "to their attitude toward a public works and social security program." They are followed closely by the "New Voters," most of them persons who could have voted in 1940 had they so desired. The decision to change parties or to vote for the first time is obviously not the result of an awareness of the difference between the two parties.

Social status and the voting trend.—One must, therefore, conclude that the trend in voting is not related to differences in party programs or differences in the opinions of the voters concerning the intentions of the

presidential candidate. Instead, the trend depends on factors such as religion and income and is a function of status or group affiliation. It is most outspoken among groups who, in Lazarsfeld's words, were exposed to "cross pressures." If the poor traditionally tend to vote Democratic and if there is now a tendency among Catholics to shift toward the Republican party, richer Catholics would obviously be more likely to shift than poorer Catholics.

Some tentative hypotheses.—Although an explanation of this trend in voting cannot be given within the framework of the study, some tentative hypotheses for further investigation may be offered. The failure of the respondents to recognize any difference between the parties, together with their appreciation of the Administration's accomplishments during the war, points to the working of personal influences within closely knit groups rather than to exposure to parties and propaganda. It is likely, therefore, that a shift in opinion among the leaders of any group would be followed by a similar trend in voting among the group

members, the more so if they do not comprehend its significance. This mechanism is most likely to work among groups under "cross pressure," which means groups predisposed toward both parties. Group resistance toward change is likely to be greater where several factors combine to predispose a person in favor of one party.

The slow disappearance of distinct status lines in the composition of the two major parties in New York City may be a passing phenomenon due to the operation of specific historic factors. In a depression the identification of the Democratic party with social reform will be more impressed upon the public than in times of prosperity, when the public is likely to forget past hardship. Another depression, therefore, may lead again to a sharper crystallization of class lines in terms of party preference, unless the propaganda and actions of both parties with regard to the issue of social security and a public works program remain alike.

CITY COLLEGE
NEW YORK CITY

COURTSHIP IN A GROUP OF MINNESOTA STUDENTS

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK AND THEODORE CAPLOW

ABSTRACT

A questionnaire sent to college students asked for data on (1) courtship difficulties, (2) growth patterns in courtship experience, (3) conflict and confusion in love affairs, and (4) the breaking of love affairs as a bereavement experience. In general, mothers approved the beginning of dating more than fathers. Students revealed difficulty in establishing friendships with the opposite sex. Later affairs are increasingly significant for males who feel the double burden of mate-finding and mate-supporting. Some evidence of conflict and confusion appears. Girls showed a marked tendency to report themselves in the conventional role of being sought after. In about half the cases little or no heartache followed breaking off the affair.

This article reports an investigation made among students at the University of Minnesota inquiring into (1) courtship difficulties, (2) growth patterns in courtship experience, (3) conflict and confusion in student love affairs, and (4) the breaking of love affairs as a bereavement experience.¹

Our sample, like those utilized by most investigators in the study of the family, is by no means representative. The individ-

314 affairs. There were 258 questionnaires filled out by women reporting 582 affairs. Of the serious affairs reported by men, 73.0 per cent had been broken up; and, of those reported by women, 71.0 per cent.

The mean age of the men was 22.0 years and that of the women 21.9 years. Both men and women had completed an average of 2.8 years of college work. Distribution by affairs is indicated in Table 1.

The rather elaborate and lengthy questionnaire was so prepared that responses could be indicated by writing of simple numbers or by checking appropriate items. The following presentation is a condensed statement of the findings.

COURTSHIP DIFFICULTIES

Sociologists are increasingly interested in the conception of family life as a continuous ongoing pattern of social interaction, with causative factors operating from generation to generation. The family group provides both incentives and obstacles to its own self-perpetuation through courtship, marriage, and reproduction. More specifically, two hypotheses may be presented to which our data are relevant: (1) There is reason to think that complex and ambivalent emotional patterns within the family both facilitate and hamper the difficult transition from intrafamily interaction to the more mature interaction involved in courtship. (2) Many adolescents feel inadequate and isolated in venturing into the courtship market. The difficulties may be due to the mere fact of adolescence, to ties

TABLE 1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULES
BY SEX

Affair	Male	Female	Total
First.....	135	251	386
Second.....	105	195	300
Third.....	56	106	162
Fourth.....	18	30	48
Total.....	314	582	896

uals, investigated in 1940, were not necessarily typical students, being drawn exclusively from sociology courses on the elementary or intermediate level. Co-operation on the part of the subjects was excellent; only three students refused to fill out a questionnaire in whole or in part. The study is based upon 399 questionnaires, reporting 896 serious love affairs. There were 141 questionnaires filled out by men reporting

¹ Financial assistance in this study was received from the research funds of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota and in the form of a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council.

and complexes acquired in the family group, to personal defects, or to external difficulties in the larger impersonal environment.

Certain of the findings bear upon the first hypothesis. The response of students to a question concerning their father's attitude toward first dating is indicated in Table 2. There is a bare suggestion in these figures that fathers, as the Freudian theory maintains, are more inclined to resist the threatened emotional loss of their daughters than of their sons. The difference of resistant fathers of daughters as compared with resistant fathers of sons is 9.5 per cent (18.0 — 8.5), and the corresponding critical ratio is 2.72. The corresponding responses in regard to mothers' attitudes are indicated in Table 3.

The most significant finding is a difference of 15.8 per cent (50.9 — 35.1) between the proportions of girls and boys who were encouraged by their mothers in initial courtship experience. The critical ratio is 3.0. There is a suggestion here—in accordance with Freudian theory—of a willingness on the part of mothers to eliminate potential rivals from the family group. But since mothers were more inclined than fathers to encourage the dating of sons as well, a Freudian hypothesis must be qualified by the recognition that mothers may simply be more interested than fathers in the mating process; they perhaps acquire vicarious experience through identification. The percentage difference between mothers and fathers in the encouragement of sons—14.3 (35.1 — 20.8)—has a critical ratio of 3.0.

As to the second hypothesis—that of inadequacy and isolation in early courtship experience—two types of evidence might be cited, the first having to do with reported overt behavior, the second with evaluations. Only 5.7 per cent of the 141 men replying reported no dating. The corresponding percentage for 251 girls ($N = 258$) is 2.7. The mean number of individuals dated more than once by men was 10.3. In the case of girls, only 3 reported no repeated dating, but a rather suspicious number—56—left the question unanswered. For the 202 girls

replying, the mean of individuals dated more than once was reported as 11.7.

Obviously, dating relationships vary tremendously in intimacy and significance. Out of the male sample ($N = 141$), 135 reported at least one important love affair, as defined

TABLE 2
ATTITUDES OF FATHER TOWARD
FIRST DATING

ATTITUDE OF FATHER AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Prohibited or disapproved	.....	8.5	.....	18.0
Indifferent	.....	70.7	.....	62.3
Encouraged	.....	20.8	.....	19.7
Replying	130	.....	239	.....
Blank	11	.....	19	.....
Total	141	100.0	258	100.0

TABLE 3
ATTITUDES OF MOTHER TOWARD
FIRST DATING

ATTITUDE OF MOTHER AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Prohibited or disapproved	.....	7.3	.....	9.5
Indifferent	.....	57.6	.....	39.6
Encouraged	.....	35.1	.....	50.9
Replying	137	.....	240	.....
Blank	4	.....	18	.....
Total	141	100.0	258	100.0

in terms of "going steady, long duration, closeness to marriage, and emotional attachment." Of the female sample ($N = 258$), 251 reported at least one important love affair. The average number of important affairs reported for men is 2.23. The average number of important affairs reported for women is 2.26. It can only be speculated as to whether a given affair is really important

or merely seems important to the student against a background of limited experience.

Indirect objective evidence concerning the adequacy of courtship opportunity may be obtained from "endogamous" courtship

first three affairs combined are found in Table 4. The critical ratio of the difference in endogamy between male Catholics and male Protestants (79.5 - 58.5) is 2.8. The most striking difference, however, is that between female Catholics and female Protestants (80.8 - 38.0), which has a critical ratio of 7.0.

These rather surprising findings might conceivably be due to a greater tolerance by Catholics of premarital courtship relationships. More probably Catholics, particularly Catholic girls, are handicapped as a minority group in the courtship market and, rather than be left out, seek or accept relationships with persons of another religion. It might be argued that this latter hypothesis is refuted by the endogamy of the Jewish group. In this case, however, a stronger endogamous tradition with reference to Jew and Gentile may prevail over the willingness of a numerically smaller religious group to seek courtship partners outside their own religious circle.

Taking up the student's own evaluation of the adequacy of his courtship experience, certain findings are presented in Table 5. It would seem that over a third of the college students in the sample did feel that they had difficulty in initial participation in the courtship market.

That the students are not merely indulging in gloomy recollections concerning past difficulties is suggested by evidence in Table 6. This evidence that a surprising proportion of students in even a coeducational college lack opportunity to meet persons of the opposite sex is borne out by an extensive survey made at the University of Minnesota in 1934.²

Student reactions to their present opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex are fairly well indicated in Table 7. The reasons alleged for such inadequacy as given by the 35.1 per cent of the men and the 40.6 per cent of the women who checked "inade-

TABLE 4

AFFAIRS "ENDOGAMOUS" BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (FIRST THREE AFFAIRS)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	MALES		FEMALES	
	No.	Per Cent "Endogamous"	No.	Per Cent "Endogamous"
Protestant.....	176	79.5	391	80.8
Catholic.....	53	58.5	71	38.0
Jewish.....	29	72.4	52	84.9
No preference or incomplete.....	38	.....	38	.....
Total.....	296	.....	552	.....

TABLE 5

DIFFICULTY IN MAKING THE ACQUAINTANCE OF MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes.....	.....	10.7	.....	13.7
No.....	.....	53.6	.....	48.0
To some extent.....	.....	35.7	.....	38.3
Replying.....	140	.....	256	.....
Blank.....	1	.....	2	.....
Total.....	141	100.0	258	.....

behavior of members of various religious groups. It might be expected that members of minority religious groups would have to accept "exogamous" affairs, that is to say, affairs with members of different religious groups.

A comparison of the religious groups in the

² Clara Brown, Anne Fenlason, *et al.*, "Student Social Life at the University of Minnesota," 1 (February 2, 1935), 38, 45, and 57. (Mimeographed.)

quate" are presented in Table 8. It would seem fair to conclude that, from one cause or another, at least a third of the sample of Minnesota students find their opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex inadequate.

Does such a situation described above imply frustrated romantic longing or is there a practical eagerness to find realistic adjustments? Subjects were asked whether they would patronize a dating bureau established by a respectable agency. To this "yes-or-no" question, of the 136 men reply-

TABLE 6
PARTICIPATION IN PRESENT FORMAL
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Extensive.....	.....	4.2	.....	3.1
Considerable.....	.....	14.2	.....	21.5
Average.....	.....	36.9	.....	41.4
Little.....	.....	36.9	.....	30.5
None.....	.....	7.8	.....	3.5
Replying.....	141	.....	256	.....
Blank.....	0	.....	2	.....
Total.....	141	100.0	258	100.0

ing ($N = 141$), 79.4 per cent said "No"; of the 250 girls answering ($N = 258$), 84.4 per cent replied in the negative. The coefficient of mean-square contingency between willingness to patronize a dating bureau and the adequacy of present social opportunities was found to be .00. Perhaps it is not just dates that students want but also success in competition for dates.

For the 139 men ($N = 141$) who replied concerning both adequacy of courtship opportunity and degrees of personal happiness, the coefficient of mean-square contingency is .37. The corresponding measure for 254 girls ($N = 258$) is .38. If happiness is good, then the courtship situation is bad for some Minnesota students.

GROWTH PATTERNS IN COURTSHIP

Quite aside from a possible trend toward increasing likeness in status, there is the possibility of growth trends, that is, that some developments are due to either biological or social maturation. They may im-

TABLE 7
PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES TO MEET MEMBERS
OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Adequate.....	.....	64.9	.....	59.4
Inadequate.....	.....	35.1	.....	40.6
Replying.....	139	.....	255	.....
Blank.....	2	.....	3	.....
Total.....	141	100.0	258	100.0

TABLE 8
REASONS FOR INADEQUACY OF PRESENT OPPOR-
TUNITIES TO MEET MEMBERS OF
THE OPPOSITE SEX*

Response	Male ($N = 141$)	Female ($N = 258$)
No time.....	42.9	36.9
No money.....	61.2	11.7
Meet wrong kind.....	72.2	13.6
Personality limitations.....	10.2	11.7
Lack social contacts.....	21.1	48.5
No fraternity (or sorority).....	18.4	19.4
Other reasons.....	12.2	14.6

* These percentages are based on a check list, hence responses may be incomplete or overlapping due to the wording of the question. The sum of percentages should not be expected to total 100.

ply progressively *either* greater or lesser similarity between the sexes. A number of hypotheses present themselves, none of which, to our knowledge, has ever been adequately tested.

1. It would be plausible to set forth the hypothesis that exclusiveness as an index of affair significance would increase with later affairs. The schedule called for an estimate

as to what proportion of the relationship involved "going steady" (exclusively) with the affair partner. The exclusiveness continuum involved the following categories: "All the time; Three-fourths of the time; One-half of the time; One-fourth of the time; Less than one-fourth of the time; Not at all." Considering only the first three affairs—those involving an adequate number of cases—a trend toward exclusiveness would be indicated by a coefficient of mean-square contingency exceeding 0. This assumes that the flow of the scatter diagram is in the direction both of later affairs and of categories implying greater exclusiveness. There were altogether 296 first, second, and third affairs reported by men. For 295 of these, informa-

TABLE 9
MEAN EXCLUSIVENESS RATIOS
BY SEX AND AFFAIR

Affair	Male	Female
First.....	.876	.638
Second.....	1.080	.807
Third.....	1.870	1.021

tion was given concerning exclusiveness. The coefficient of mean-square contingency based on this sample of 295 cases was .35. There is evidence, therefore, of only a slight trend toward exclusiveness in later affairs reported by males. In the case of 541 of the 552 first three female affairs reported, information was given concerning exclusiveness. The corresponding coefficient was .16. In the case of female students, therefore, there is only an insignificant trend toward greater exclusiveness in later love affairs.

A rough index of exclusiveness would be a ratio of the proportion of students going more than half of the time exclusively with their partners to the proportion of students going exclusively less than half of the time. The mean exclusiveness ratios are shown in Table 9. The evidence is in line with the coefficients of contingency and suggests a sex difference.

2. A closely related hypothesis is that

later relationships would be regarded as relatively more important. Response categories to the question, "Did you feel that the relationship was the most important thing in your life?" were "Often," "Occasionally," and "Never." There were 294 schedules ($N = 296$) reporting first, second, and third affairs of men which also gave information upon importance. The relationship between categories of importance and order of affair may be expressed concisely by a coefficient of mean-square contingency. The coefficient in this case is .45. There were 549 schedules ($N = 552$) concerning first, second, and third love affairs of female students which also gave information on importance. The contingency coefficient relating categories of importance to order of affair proved to be .12. By this criterion, there is some slight evidence of increasing significance of later affairs for males.

Another question in the schedule consisted of a check list of twenty-five emotional states. The proportion of men checking the item "Love" was: first affair, 56.3; second affair, 69.5; and third affair, 78.6. The difference between the first-affair percentage and the third-affair percentage ($78.6 - 56.3$) has a critical ratio of 3.0. In the case of girls there is likewise a tendency toward increasing expression of "love" from affair to affair. The percentages are: first affair, 46.6; second affair, 63.1; and third affair, 70.8. The critical ratio of the difference between the first and the third affairs on this item ($70.8 - 46.6$) is 4.3.

3. A final hypothesis concerning possible growth patterns in courtship might posit a progressive sex differentiation. In other words, beyond a certain point, unfolding courtship experience might follow one path in the case of men and another with women. Thus Professor Waller assumes that a basic factor in biosocial sex differentiation in courtship would be differential maturity with reference to matrimony. Waller implies that men go through a period of dalliance in which there is an exploiting attitude toward women and an avoidance of

entanglements which might lead to premature marriage.³ In our culture, women tend to marry at a somewhat earlier age than men and are as yet less burdened with the problem of financial adequacy for marriage. The outstanding problem for girls is to find a mate. Men have to find both the mate and the means.

A more specific version of the hypothesis would then be that there is increasing conflict, sex frustration, and unhappiness for males as economic forces separate young men from girls in their own age group. Obviously, this aspect of the courtship drama will depend much upon sex ratios, relative economic status, and range of social participation.

That the alleged "period of dalliance" is not altogether associated with superficial emotion on the part of men is suggested by our data concerning love. It will be recalled that the proportion of men reporting love increased with later affairs. The percentages tend to be higher than the corresponding percentages for girls, combining all schedules. The proportion of the 314 male schedules reporting love was 65.3; the corresponding proportion of the 582 female schedules was 57.9. This difference has a critical ratio of 2.2.

Again, we find by combining affairs that the proportion of men's schedules reporting melancholy is 19.4; the corresponding proportion of women's schedules is 8.9. The difference has a critical ratio of 4.2.

Another question on the schedule was: "Which, if any, of the following were causes of conflict between you?" The average number of sources of conflict reported by males and females is indicated in Table 10. The differences here are not significant, but they suggest that life does not become simpler for men with later affairs.

More conclusive evidence of increasing difficulty of adjustment for men struggling with a double problem of mate-finding and mate-supporting is found in the reports concerning emotions experienced in the affairs.

³ Willard Waller, *The Family* (New York: Dryden Press, 1938), esp. pp. 223-25.

For purposes of condensation, the twenty-five emotional states in the check list were arbitrarily classified as "Pleasant," "Unpleasant," and "Ambiguous." Three observers agreed independently upon the classification of all items, with the exception of one minor item ("Apathy"), listed as unpleasant rather than ambiguous by a two-thirds vote. The ratio of the number of pleasant emotions to the number of unpleasant emotions checked was calculated for each sex and affair group. The results are presented in Table 11.

TABLE 10
CAUSES OF CONFLICT

Affair	Male (N = 296)	Female (N = 552)
First.....	1.8	2.0
Second.....	2.5	2.5
Third.....	2.7	2.0

TABLE 11
RATIOS OF PLEASANT TO UN-
PLEASANT EMOTIONS

Affair	Male (N = 296)	Female (N = 552)
First.....	1.83	1.29
Second.....	1.57	1.56
Third.....	1.40	1.78

There is some evidence that men undergo increasing relative maladjustment because of their double burden of mate-finding and mate-supporting. On the other hand, there is little evidence in these data that young men protect themselves during social and economic immaturity by a casual attitude toward love relationships.

CONFLICT AND CONFUSION

The so-called "older generation" has only a very hazy idea about the amount of conflict and confusion involved in the courtship of college students. All students of the family must seriously consider the brilliant

analysis of ego-rivalries in courtship as made by Waller. His principle of least interest,⁴ somewhat anticipated by E. A. Ross,⁵ is a challenging one. Unfortunately, our own data do not bear too directly upon this principle. The students were asked, "Did you worry about being more deeply involved

TABLE 12
WORRY ABOUT INVOLVEMENT

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Often.....		10.5		10.0
Occasionally.....		35.5		26.7
Never.....		54.0		63.3
Replying.....	313		577	
Blank.....	1		5	
Total.....	314	100.0	582	100.0

TABLE 13
PERCENTAGES OF VARIOUS ITEMS CHECKED
ON COMBINED SCHEDULES

Conflict Item	Males (N=314)	Females (N=532)
Jealousy.....	28.0	23.2
Possessiveness.....	22.0	23.7
Criticism.....	21.0	17.9
Irritability arising from emotional tension.....	19.4	15.3
Dislike of friends.....	19.1	13.4
Accusations of loss of interest.....	15.3	14.1
Disagreement about the future.....	13.1	17.3
Dominance.....	9.6	8.9
Dependence.....	3.2	4.3
Exploitation.....	1.4	3.5

than he or she?" Since there was no pronounced trend, the four affair categories have been combined. The results are given in Table 12.

There is a slight tendency, perhaps over-compensatory, on the part of the girls to insist that they did not worry about depth of

⁴ *Ibid.*, chaps. x and xi.

⁵ *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Century Co., 1921), p. 136; cf. Waller, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

involvement. The critical ratio of the difference in percentages (63.3 — 54.0) is 2.7. Whether in these percentages evidence is found of a clash between love and pride depends merely upon the amount of conflict of this kind which is expected. The figures tell nothing, of course, about the actual dominance and subordination in the relationships.

The schedule used in this study included a check list of possible causes of conflict in the relationship. The percentages of the combined schedules on which various items were checked are indicated in Table 13.

Aside from causes of conflict, a specific question was asked concerning the incidence

TABLE 14
JEALOUSY

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Often.....		16.4		10.5
Occasionally.....		55.1		49.5
Never.....		28.5		40.0
Replying.....	312		580	
Blank.....	2		2	
Total.....	314	100.0	582	100.0

of jealousy. The evidence is presented in Table 14. The difference between the proportion of males and females replying "Often" (16.4 — 10.5) has a critical ratio of 2.4. The difference between the proportions of males and females replying "Never" (40.0 — 28.5) has a critical ratio of 3.5. The evidence of ego clash is not striking; but, considering the data on accusations of loss of interest, possessiveness, and jealousy, there is an implication that ego manifestations play a part in the courtship of college students.

There is the implication in Waller's discussion of "Rating and Dating" that under certain conditions, particularly when males are scarce, girls are forced to compromise in matters of sex morality in order to avoid

the breaking of relationships by dominant males who are making the most of their period of dalliance. In view of our policy of avoiding questions concerned with sex, which might reduce student co-operation, we do not have data which bear specifically upon this hypothesis. The students were asked concerning their affairs, "Did you give in on important theoretical or moral issues for fear of losing him or her?" The replies are indicated in Table 15, which shows that there is a striking tendency for women to deny giving in. The critical ratio of the difference between percentages responding "Never" (80.7 - 66.8) is 4.3.

It is unfortunate that definite general conclusions cannot be drawn. There is evidence of ego clash, which may or may not exceed expectations. The Ross-Waller principle of least interest is not verified by the present data—but neither is it refuted.

Pending the advent of a social engineer who can guide young people directly to their ideal mates, a more or less painful process of selection and rejection—of making and breaking courtships—must take place. Within certain limits, a willingness to look further implies the finding of straighter sticks. There is some danger that an individual may lag in his search through inertia, lack of confidence, guilt feelings, or excessive sympathy. Sometimes there is the feeling that too much has been invested in even an unsatisfactory relationship to justify its rupture. One gambles, as it were, on the possibility of success in the old relationship because of one's share in the "jackpot." To test the general hypothesis of inertia, subjects were asked, "Did you have a feeling of being trapped in the relationship?" All affair schedules are combined in Table 16.

The difference between the percentages of men and women replying "Often" (7.1 - 5.4) has a critical ratio of only 1.0. On the other hand, the difference between the percentage of men replying "Never" and the percentage of women so replying (79.4 - 69.8) has a critical ratio of 3.1. Stating the matter in positive terms, the difference between the percentages of males and females

replying "Often" or "Occasionally" (30.2 - 20.6) has a critical ratio of 3.1. This evidence corroborates the prior statement of sex differentiation in courtship patterns and may reflect the vague perception by the men of the double burden of finding and supporting a mate.

TABLE 15
"GIVING IN"

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Often.....	.....	4.5	.....	3.9
Occasionally.....	.....	28.7	.....	16.3
Never.....	.....	66.8	.....	80.7
Replying.....	310	.....	569	.....
Blank.....	4	.....	13	.....
Total.....	314	100.0	582	100.0

TABLE 16
"FEELING TRAPPED"

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Often.....	.....	7.1	.....	5.4
Occasionally.....	.....	23.1	.....	15.2
Never.....	.....	69.8	.....	79.4
Replying.....	312	.....	574	.....
Blank.....	2	.....	8	.....
Total.....	314	.....	582	.....

As a question bearing more specifically upon the question of inertia, the subjects were asked, "Did you continue the relationship after it had ceased to be satisfactory?" Apparently because the question did not seem quite applicable to students having continuing affairs, and because it did not contain a "Don't Know" category, it often remained unanswered. The percentage distribution of these responses is found in Table 17.

The difference between the proportions of men and women responding "Yes" has a critical ratio of 1.7. There is a bare suggestion in the figures that males may be more inclined to feel caught in relationships which they can neither readily break nor carry through to marriage.

TABLE 17
UNSATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIPS

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes.....	.....	38.2	.....	31.3
No.....	.....	61.8	.....	68.7
Replying.....	251	.....	466	.....
Blank.....	63	.....	116	.....
Total.....	314	100.0	582	100.0

TABLE 18
DATING EXPENSES

RESPONSE	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
All.....	.....	61.0	.....	77.9
Most.....	.....	35.0	.....	19.6
Half.....	.....	2.9	.....	1.7
Less than half.....	.....	0.7	.....	0.3
None.....	.....	0.4	.....	0.5
Replying.....	277	.....	572	.....
Blank.....	37	.....	10	.....
Total.....	314	100.0	582	100.0

A rich source of conflict and confusion in the courtship of young people might well be the vagueness which apparently now exists in the definition of courtship roles. Subjects were asked, "Did the men pay all the expenses incurred in common?" and were presented with various exclusive categories to be checked. Results from the question are given in Table 18.

The significant finding expressed in these

figures is the tendency of females to insist that all expenses were paid by their courtship partners, while males are more inclined to substitute "Most" for "All." The critical ratio of the difference between the proportions of males and females responding "All" ($77.9 - 61.0$) is 4.9. Many men, however, failed to reply. There is nothing necessarily illogical or mendacious in this discrepancy, since the girls responding were not necessarily the courtship partners of the boys responding. One is impelled, however, to suspect that women strain a little to report

TABLE 19
INITIATIVE-IN-DATING

RESPONSES	MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Never.....	.....	29.4	.....	56.5
Occasionally.....	.....	54.8	.....	39.5
Often.....	.....	11.3	.....	3.6
Very often.....	.....	4.5	.....	0.4
Always.....	.....	0.0	.....	0.0
Replying.....	313	.....	564	.....
Blank.....	1	.....	18	.....
Total.....	314	100.0	582	100.0

themselves in a traditional feminine courtship role.

Another item diagnostic of confusion in roles was the question, "Did the girl take the initiative in telephoning, visiting, and so forth?" The findings are given in Table 19.

All the sex differences appear to be statistically significant. The critical ratios of the differences in percentage responses are: "Never," 8.1; "Occasionally," 4.3; "Often," 3.9; and "Very often," 3.4. There is, again, no absolute proof of confusion of roles in view of the fact that the girls in the sample were not necessarily courtship partners of the boys questioned. One does, however, conclude that there is no longer close conformity to standardized courtship roles and that there is probably a sex difference in the interpretation of whatever actually does take

place in the initiating and financing of courtship activities. This second conclusion is, of course, less well founded than the first. In view of prior evidence concerning worry about involvement, initiative in courtship, and moral issues, one feels that the women in the sample like to present themselves in a conventional, respectable, and sought-after role.

THE BREAKING OF LOVE AFFAIRS

Courtship selection as it now operates involves the making and breaking of love affairs. Much trouble might be spared the human race if first love were the right love, but such is not yet the case. The evidence concerning the status of affairs at the time of filling in the schedules is given in Table 20. There was a slight tendency for girls to claim more engagement in later affairs. In general, however, the decreased proportion of later affairs reported broken merely indicated that they had not yet completed their cycle. There were 227 broken affairs reported by males, but since in 3 schedules the status of an affair was not reported, the true number of broken affairs for males could have been 230. The number of broken affairs for women could have been 414 rather than the 412 reported. From the evidence obtained from other questions, it seemed best to estimate the true number of broken affairs for men as 230 and for women as 414.

We gain some insight into the actual or pretended roles played by women as compared with men when causes responsible for the breakup are considered. The students were asked, "Who or what was responsible for the breakup?" Since more than one category or response could be checked, it is most meaningful to consider the percentages of total checking responses directed toward particular causes. A total of 192 specific responses were checked by men and 326 responses specifying causes of breakup were checked by women. Presumably these were all from students having broken affairs. More than one response could be checked. The relative emphasis on specific causes included in the check list is indicated in Table

21. In 73 male schedules and 121 female schedules the vague category "Other" causes was checked. Such responses are not included in the process of establishing a base for percentages given in Table 21.

It is clear from the figures that the happy circumstance of mutual loss of interest is the one most commonly mentioned, yet differential loss of interest—the chief source of heartache—is implied in nearly half of the

TABLE 20
AFFAIR STATUS

Response	Male (<i>N</i> = 314)	Females (<i>N</i> = 382)
Married.....	2.9	1.6
Engaged.....	2.9	4.8
Continuing, but not married or engaged.....	21.2	22.6
Broken off.....	73.0	71.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0

TABLE 21
CAUSE OF BREAKUP CHECKED BY MALES

Cause for Breakup	Male (<i>N</i> = 230)	Female (<i>N</i> = 414)
Parents.....	5.2	8.6
Friends.....	3.1	5.8
Subject's interest in another person.....	15.1	32.2
Partner's interest in another person.....	29.7	15.3
Mutual loss of interest....	46.9	38.1
Total.....	100.0	100.0

responses. It is interesting to note the frequency with which men as subjects admit loss of interest, as compared with women. The difference between the percentages (32.2 — 15.1) has a critical ratio of 4.7. The same implication is found in the critical ratio of 3.7 between the percentages of male and female responses (29.7 — 15.3) accusing their partners of loss of interest. Again we find evidence that the girl student in our sample either enjoys the role of being sought after or wishfully identifies herself with this role.

SHOCK AND READJUSTMENT

The preceding discussion makes pertinent a more specific inquiry into the emotional consequences and adjustive mechanisms associated with the breakup of love affairs. The students were asked concerning their affairs, "How did you feel about the way it ended?" Their responses by category are again expressed in Table 22 as percentages of the *total number of responses*, since an individual might indicate more than one emotional state.

By way of check upon bitterness, rationalization, and overcompensation, the sub-

TABLE 22
EMOTIONAL STATE

Reaction	Male (N=230)	Female (N=414)
Bitter.....	5.9	4.4
Hurt.....	10.0	14.3
Angry.....	3.3	3.5
Remorseful.....	6.6	6.7
Crushed.....	1.8	5.0
Indifferent.....	19.4	16.2
Relieved.....	15.2	16.8
Satisfied.....	11.5	8.5
Happy.....	4.4	3.5
Mixed regret and relief....	21.9	21.1
Total.....	100.0	100.0

jects were asked the question, "Do you feel that you were more honest and straightforward than he or she?" The results are presented in Table 23. The more striking implication of the evidence is a general tendency to moral self-justification regardless of sex or affair. The only way to avoid this interpretation is to assume that both the men and the women have courtship partners morally inferior to those included in the sample, although not inferior in social status, intelligence, income, or education.⁶ College students, like other mortals, perhaps need ability to see themselves as others see them.

While relatively few of our sample verbally admit serious emotional complications in the breakup, one should remember the evi-

⁶ Supporting data not here included.

dence of overcompensation found by Waller in his study of divorced persons.⁷ We have just noted evidence of moral self-justification; another question brings evidence suggestive of repression and frustration. There were 488 responses made by men to a check list of adjustive reactions, and 977 responses made by women. The percentages of *responses* falling in various categories are indicated in Table 24.

TABLE 23*
JUDGMENTS OF RELATIVE HONESTY

JUDGMENT	PER CENT REPLYING		
	First Affair	Second Affair	Third Affair
Males (N=230)			
More.....	25.5	29.3	37.2
Equally.....	62.0	58.5	43.1
Less.....	12.5	12.2	19.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Females (N=414)			
More.....	26.9	33.3	36.7
Equally.....	59.6	59.5	46.6
Less.....	13.5	7.2	16.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Only completed schedules for first three affairs included. Very few broken affairs were fourth affairs.

It is interesting to note that between a fifth and a third of the responses indicate either nocturnal dreaming or daydreaming about the former courtship partner. It is also interesting to note the incidence of the wishful illusion of recognizing the former partner. This phenomenon has been noted in the case of divorced persons by Waller. Waller likewise has noted, in his analysis of the alienation process, that a definite break tends to set up a certain glorification of a severed relationship. Our data show a great-

⁷ *The Old Love and the New* (New York: Live-right, 1930).

er tendency to remember pleasant than unpleasant things. In the case of men, the difference between percentages (15.6 - 2.3)

TABLE 24
ADJUSTIVE REACTIONS

Behavior	Male (N=230)	Female (N=414)
Frequenting places with common associations.....	11.3	10.0
Avoiding places with common associations.....	2.9	3.4
Avoiding meetings.....	4.7	5.1
Attempting meetings.....	5.9	4.3
Remembering only unpleasant things.....	2.3	3.9
Remembering only pleasant things.....	15.6	15.8
Dreaming about partner.....	15.5	11.2
Daydreaming.....	14.3	11.4
Imagining recognition.....	6.4	7.9
Liking or disliking people because of resemblance.....	5.5	5.4
Imitating mannerisms.....	1.8	2.1
Preserving keepsakes.....	7.0	10.8
Reading over old letters.....	6.8	8.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0

has a critical ratio of 7.8. In the case of women, the corresponding difference (15.8 - 3.9) has a critical ratio of 6.7.

Perhaps the most direct evidence concerning actual severity of a possible trauma following breakup is found in the length of time required for readjustment. The subjects were asked, "How long was the period of readjustment after the breakup?" The results are reported in Table 25.

TABLE 25
ADJUSTMENT DURATION

ESTIMATE	PER CENT REPLYING	
	Males (N=230)	Females (N=414)
None.....	51.4	49.4
Several weeks.....	33.6	19.5
Several months.....	7.7	19.5
A year.....	5.0	6.3
Several years.....	2.3	5.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0

The data based upon combined affairs leave unaltered the implication that about one-half the students have no readjustment problem. Again, it may be noted that any evaluation of the findings depends in part upon preconceptions about heartbreak.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

THE ANALYSIS OF PROPAGANDA: A CLINICAL SUMMARY¹

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

ABSTRACT

Five interrelated approaches to propaganda analysis are described. These are the (1) societal, (2) social-psychological, (3) communicatory, (4) psychological, and (5) technical. Each also may be viewed as a group of propaganda techniques. Propaganda is viewed not just as the manipulation of verbal and other symbols but more broadly as an inherent part of an individual's or a group's drive to advance what it regards as its own interests. Knowledge of the propagandists' techniques in each of the five areas aids the analyst to determine the relationship of the propagandists' goals to those of the groups to which the analyst is committed, to the analyst's version of "social welfare."

In one sense, propaganda can be thought of as a use of expression-forms in such a way as to convey ideas rapidly to many people. Through graphic symbols, music, pageantry, and combinations of words the propagandist makes impressions upon masses of people. These impressions are sometimes vivid. They are frequently charged with emotion. They may be wholly or partially "true," confusing, or "false."

If such impressions were transmitted in a detailed and accurate manner rather than in the shorthand of the propagandist, few would bother to listen; most would be bored. In moments given to decision, vividness and emotion-arousing symbolism frequently override common-sense demands for accuracy

and for an opportunity to question and discuss.

This communication shorthand, through the purposeful use of omnibus symbols, facilitates and may even be said to be one of the elements making it possible for us to develop—for better or for worse—modern mass-political and mass-business action. It is an efficient way of attracting votes² and retail sales. Regardless of the intrinsic virtues of a political candidate or a brand of canned goods, a social reform or a religious doctrine, people are powerfully influenced in their judgment of these items by the impressions made by omnibus symbols, that is, by glittering generalities and name-calling symbols. Such impressions would be more accurate if derived from careful exposition, but few people have the necessary patience to read such expositions.

¹ My colleagues in the Institute for Propaganda Analysis during my tenure as executive director have aided me in many ways to develop the conceptions of propaganda, analytical techniques, and opinion modification set forth in this article. I want to mention indebtedness especially to Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard University, Institute president; F. Ernest Johnson, Columbia University and Federal Council of Churches, vice-president; Clyde R. Miller, Columbia University, secretary of the board; Clyde Beals, *Fortune Magazine*, former Institute editor; and Barrington Moore, Jr., U.S. Department of Justice, former Institute research assistant. Helpful with comments and suggestions on the manuscript were these Institute board members: Ralph D. Casey, University of Minnesota; Maurice R. Davie, Yale University; Forrest E. Long, National Safety Council and New York University; Peter H. Odegard, Amherst College and the U.S. Treasury Department; and Robert K. Speer, New York University.

² Paul F. Lazarsfeld ("The Election Is Over," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VIII [1944], 317-30) concludes (p. 330) that "elections are decided by the events occurring in the entire period between two Presidential elections and not by the campaign. . . . Only a very small percentage of people can be considered so truly undecided that propaganda can still convert them, and those are likely to be of a special kind." But, in this, Lazarsfeld neglects the role of propaganda in interpreting significant events "occurring in the entire period," in relating those events to popular sentiments and desires. As Kimball Young notes, in his *Social Psychology* (2d ed.; New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1944), p. 505, propaganda is "part of the larger process of legend- and myth-making." It is not merely a phase of a campaign; it is ever present in society.

The word "propaganda" as used in this article is a colorless and yet descriptive term for a type of mass persuasion.³ Those who contrast something they call "education" with something "quite different" that they call "propaganda" usually reveal before long that they are attempting to give to their own ideas about politics, economics, social philosophy, or whatnot a virtuous and respected label, "education," which may be unwarranted, and to attach "propaganda" as a "bad" label to ideas to which

³ The meaning used here is much like that which "propaganda" originally acquired as a label for one of the departments of Roman Catholic pontifical administration. Pope Gregory XV formally established the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide on June 22, 1622, with his Bull, *Inscrutabili Divinae*. The body had gradually evolved to this point under a Cardinalitial Commission de Propaganda Fide, appointed by Gregory XIII (1572-85). This powerful department is "charged with the spread of Catholicism and with the spread of ecclesiastical affairs in non-Catholic countries. The intrinsic importance of its duties and the extraordinary extent of its authority and of the territory under its jurisdiction have caused the cardinal prefect of propaganda to be known as the 'red pope' " (see Mgr. Umberto Benigni, "Propaganda, Sacred Congregation of," *Catholic Encyclopedia* [New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1913], XII, 456-61; p. 456 quoted). As a result of financial distress among missions, a Society de Propaganda Fide came into being May 3, 1822, at Lyons, France.

It is because of this background that the Merriam Dictionary (2d ed., 1934) defines propaganda as "any organized or concerted group effort or movement to spread a particular doctrine or system of doctrines or principles." The term fell into popular disrepute during World War I, according to H. D. Lasswell, "when inconvenient news and opinion was stigmatized as 'enemy propaganda' " (see his "The Study and Practice of Propaganda," in Lasswell, R. D. Casey, and B. L. Smith, *Propaganda and Promotional Activities* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935], pp. 3-27; p. 3 quoted).

Because of this situation, the Merriam Dictionary also notes, in the edition quoted above, that "now, often propaganda refers to 'secret or clandestine dissemination of ideas, information, gossip, or the like for the purpose of helping or injuring a person, an institution, a cause, etc.'" But this propagandistic service of the word "propaganda," it is the belief of the present author, should not stand in the way of its original, more technical, and more objective use.

they are opposed. As Edrita Fried⁴ points out in her analysis of propaganda techniques utilized in World War II, the "distrust which the public exhibits toward anything they sense to be propaganda is constantly anticipated by the propagandists."

Science and propaganda have also been contrasted, but here again one frequently has reason to suspect the conscious or unconscious support of an otherwise questionable position: that the word "science" becomes a manipulable virtue word and the word "propaganda" is treated as an evil label. It is naturally possible to contrast the merits of scientific conclusions, based upon adequate observations, with those of casual opinions—when these differ—that are spun out of random observations, prejudices, personal interests, and imaginings. But the student of propaganda and of social processes realizes that both scientific conclusions and purely imagined ideas are woven together into propaganda. Propaganda ideas or symbols may be true or false, good or bad, in your interest or against the interests you assume to be those of yourself and of the groups to which you belong, the interests you take to be those of "society" or at least those "best for society."⁵

Propaganda, to offer a more formal definition, is the use of words, symbols, ideas, events, and personalities with the intention of forwarding or attacking an interest, cause, project, institution, or person in the eyes and minds of a public.⁶ From a slightly

⁴ "Techniques of Persuasion," in *Propaganda by Short Wave*, ed. H. L. Childs and J. B. Whitton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), pp. 261-301; p. 266 quoted.

⁵ See the author's "Criteria in Propaganda Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, X (1945), forthcoming.

⁶ This and the other definition given represent efforts to bring together useful elements from many of the definitions that have been put forward. Leonard W. Doob, in his *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (New York: Henry Holt, 1935), recognized the element of purpose in his "Principle of the Intention of the Propagandist," which he stated thus: "In intentional propaganda, the propagandist is

different standpoint, propaganda is the expression of a point of view overtly stated or covertly implied for the purpose of influencing the thought and action of others.⁷ As viewed by the object of the propagandist, propaganda can also be thought of as the barrage of words, symbols, ideas, and events with which members of publics are assailed in efforts to change attitudes, prejudices, opinions, loyalties, and modes of living.

In the work of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, five ways of looking upon propaganda for analytical purposes evolved. While they have not been previously brought together in a systematic statement, these types of analysis are the (1) societal,⁸ (2) social-psychological,⁹ (3) communicatory,¹⁰ (4) psychological¹¹ and (5) technical.¹² As the following discussion indicates, these ways of analyzing propaganda overlap somewhat, but they have the merit of pointing to the necessary elements in any adequate analysis of propaganda and of suggesting

aware of his interested aim; in unintentional propaganda, he does not appreciate the social effect of his own actions." In view of the fact that propagandists can seldom predict or even suspect and appreciate the "social effect" of their actions, this distinction does not appear valid. It is therefore more useful to indicate that a propagandist is always intentional in a general way but that this does not imply a grasp of the probable or actual consequences of his actions. If a person unconsciously serves the purposes of a propagandist, it would be more accurate to label him a "propaganda instrument" or possibly a "fellow-traveler" or "front" rather than an "unintentional propagandist."

⁷ This latter definition is adapted from a memorandum by Irving D. Robbins, Institute of Public Relations, New York.

⁸ See, e.g., *Propaganda Analysis*, esp. Vol. IV (1940-42), Nos. 4, 8, 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, esp. III (1939-40), 105-11, and Vol. IV (1940-42), Nos. 4, 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, esp. I (1937-38), 12-32, 53-64; and Vol. IV (1940-42), Nos. 1, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, esp. II (1938-39), 13-28, 61-77; and III (1939-40), 19-28, 43-52.

¹² *Ibid.*, esp. I (1937-38), ix-xiii, 5-18. See also A.M. and E. B. Lee, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., and Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 1939), esp. chaps. iii-xi.

the broad significance of propaganda analysis as an application or orientation of social science.

I. SOCIETAL APPROACH

Propaganda grows out of and plays a part in social tensions and struggles, and its effectiveness is controlled in this societal sense by the trend of popular sentiments and by the limits to societal change set by environmental conditions. Given such differences as those in this country between management and workers, patients and physicians, men and women, Negroes and whites, business leaders and politicians, uneducated and educated, and the various religious organizations, we must apparently regard as inevitable the continuous jockeyings by individuals for position and advantage in terms of group interest. Much of the contents of our newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures, and radio programs contains the facts and rationalizations, claims and counterclaims, of the propagandas utilized in such struggles.

Donald C. Blaisdell and Jane Greverus have listed noteworthy characteristics of a typical social struggle, the struggle for power between government and business, in their *Economic Power and Political Pressures* (1941), written for the Temporary National Economic Committee, as follows:

- a) invisibility of most of the action
- b) continuity of the struggle and the staying power of the contestants
- c) varying intensity
- d) constantly shifting battleground

Since other broad societal struggles have somewhat similar characteristics, it will be well to describe these in more detail, as follows:

a) *Invisibility*.—As Blaisdell and Greverus point out, "The factors which influence legislators . . . are the legislator's own political convictions, his mail from his district or State, the lobbyists who approach him in his office or in the halls of the Capitol, or the witnesses who appear before him in committee. None of these activities is carried on with the publicity devoted to formal congressional action." And, as

Edward L. Bernays, a propagandist, has pointed out in his *Propaganda* (1928), "Propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government." From kindergarten charts and motion pictures to scholarly monographs, in legislative halls and newspaper editorial rooms, as instigators of barrages of telegrams or of an impressive delegation, propagandists exhibit fully the various techniques of using this "executive arm of the invisible government."

b) *Continuity*.—"From the first days of the Republic to the present," Blaisdell and Greverus observe, "the contest [between government and business] has never ceased. . . . There have been periods which seemed relatively peaceful, but for the most part the peace was on the surface, and indicated temporary gains on the part of business when it controlled the Government and was not forced to resort to secondary weapons to accomplish its will." In this struggle the greater staying power of business and of business personnel has "paid off" time after time.

c) *Intensity*.—"The strength and bitterness of the conflict are usually determined primarily by the philosophy of the temporary leaders of government. . . . Their interpretations of events, their political debts, their view of the future—all these things and many more determine the intensity of their participation. The philosophy of business is not subject to change to nearly the same extent. Business wants government to leave it alone, and also wants to be able to use governmental authority in its own internecine competitions. This is a pervasive, single-minded philosophy, adhered to by businessmen generally, and providing a real rallying point for their energies." The strategic significance of varying intensity in a struggle should not be underrated.

d) *Shifting battleground*.—"The first battle of the conflict occurs in the choice of legislators. The second takes place in the legislature itself. If business loses that, it resorts to the administrative agencies charged with the enforcement of the law; if it loses there, or sometimes while it is fighting there, it has recourse to the courts; and if it loses again, the struggle reverts to the legislature, taking the form of an attempt to amend or repeal the law. The forces of propaganda are, of course, in constant use." To mobilize pressure upon governmental units, the battleground shifts from arena to arena in the struggle for public support; for co-operating organizations, for the machinery of propaganda.

The societal approach involves, briefly, these analytical procedures:

a) The investigator should discover first, to the extent possible, the nature of the underlying social tensions and struggles that have given rise to the propaganda.

b) He should then determine who is fighting or competing with whom and for what purposes, as nearly as this can be done. Are the discoverable purposes ones with which the investigator wishes to be identified, ones that he wants to oppose, or ones to which he can permit himself to be indifferent?¹³

c) Is the apparent issue in the struggle a distractive or a fundamental one? See the discussion below of "selecting the issue" in connection with the "technical approach" to propaganda analysis.

d) In what other conflicts or tensions have these particular propagandists become involved? This information will appear as the investigation of a, b, and c proceeds. It will help to relate the tension under investigation to other tensions.

In the arena thus defined by society, with its tensions and struggles and its slowly changing structure, the propagandist searches for "strings" by which he can tug at the motivations of men and make them believe and behave in the ways he wishes. This swings our focus to the "social-psychological approach."

2. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Within societal limitations, propaganda's effectiveness depends upon either luck or the propagandist's "intuitive" or conscious knowledge of how his audiences will react to mass-communication stimuli.¹⁴ To guide a

¹³ The persistent assumption of many sociological writers that their interest criteria are only those of "social welfare" or "societal health," that they free themselves of individual and especially of group and class biases, is regarded as a naïve one (see n. 4 above).

¹⁴ By "intuitive" is meant the manner in which folkways and folk beliefs become ingrained in the minds of people, especially during their formative years. Those patterns become integral parts of their mental processes and are not used objectively and thoughtfully in many cases but automatically and without questioning. When not equipped with such

propagandist, a knowledge of sentiments—the basic emotional patterns underlying thought and action, defined by cultural and other environmental factors—is even more useful than the reports of public opinions, which are the “surface” answers of people to questions put by strangers. Not only are sentiments deep, largely un verbalized, and withal powerful in the determination of opinion and behavior, but they are also in many cases ambivalent. They help to account for the love and hate with which we regard persons close to us and many other ambivalences that are sometimes merely dismissed with the label “mixed emotions” or “vacillating opinions.” Opinions of the sort gathered by public opinion interviewers are significant chiefly as indications of what people are willing to answer offhand to comparative strangers in reply to given questions. A student who did not understand the social-psychological background of opinion reports before Pearl Harbor Sunday, 1941, would scarcely have been prepared for the dramatic manner in which the Japanese attack “changed everything.”

The social-psychological appeals that a propagandist can make are exemplified by the chief ones used by proponents of prohibition in this country. In the hands of Dry propagandists, prohibition comes (1) to offer a religiously sanctioned scapegoat in the form of Liquor; (2) to provide religiously sanctioned child-substitutes, those who need to be protected from Alcohol; (3) to cater to exaggerated needs for perfection; (4) to furnish a formula for simplification, a security-giving orientation in an all-too-complex world; (5) to give a pattern for regression, a retreat in fantasy to a life-period in which Drys fancy they were more content and especially more secure; (6) to permit a flight from reality into the prohibition movement's mysticism; and (7) to

encourage the identification of adherents with the movement as a whole and with each other.¹⁵

To sum up, the social-psychological approach to propaganda analysis can be presented in the form of these analytical questions that may be used to develop an understanding of many specific propagandas:

a) What are the folkways, mores, moral idealizations, and sentiments to which the propagandist is attempting to appeal and with which he is attempting to identify his proposals?

b) Do such folkways, mores, moral idealizations, and sentiments now exist in the minds of enough people, or have they changed to an extent that may counteract the effectiveness of the propagandist's efforts?

c) To what other common psychological patterns does he appeal? Can he use them effectively?

d) In making such appeals, what is the propagandist attempting to accomplish? With whose interests is his effort in line?

Once one has determined the nature of the propaganda's societal setting, the struggles out of which it arises, and the nature of its social-psychological dynamics, the appeals that give it emotional drive, the next question is: What are the mediums through which the propagandist transmits his messages? This is covered by the “communicatory approach.”

3. COMMUNICATORY APPROACH

As in advertising, so in the whole broader field of publicity in general, the mediums through which messages may be carried delimit the potential size of the audiences. In turning the potential audience into actual and receptive readers or listeners, naturally much depends upon the message itself and general social conditions. Mediums also have another characteristic: They are owned

knowledge, a propagandist has great difficulty in convincing an audience. And to synthesize such mental equipment requires an amount of preparation, study, and care that emphasizes the complexity of a society's and even of a group's cultural equipment.

¹⁵ For a more detailed exposition and analysis of these specific appeals see the present author's “Techniques of Social Reform: An Analysis of the New Prohibition Drive,” *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 65-77, esp. 74-75. For another example see “Propaganda for Blitzkrieg,” *Propaganda Analysis*, III (1939-40), 105-11.

and operated by human beings who also have special interests. Few messages pass unchanged from the propagandist through agencies of mass communication to a mass public.

To make a message course speedily and powerfully through communication mediums, one must have one or more of these three aids: (a) suitable events associated with the message to make its reporting appear to be imperative or desirable, (b) plausible propaganda theories associated with such events that will be sure to remain attached to reports and interpretations, and (c) organizational support that will further emphasize the message's importance.

Through the communicatory approach to propaganda analysis, the attempt is made to ascertain the kind and character of the publicity mediums being used and especially to learn the actual degree of currency being achieved by the propaganda. In addition to indicating the skill of the propagandist, this knowledge also leads to information concerning identities of interest between the propagandist and those who control advertising appropriations for direct-propaganda purposes and those who control the mediums themselves and thus can make them receptive to free publicity, both direct and indirect.

The communicatory approach to propaganda analysis can be summarized, at least for the purposes of suggesting its scope, in the form of these analytical questions:

a) What is the publicity potential of the available mediums?

b) To what extent can the propagandists enlarge and to what extent are they extending the number and importance of the mediums?

c) How is the use of the mediums being financed?

d) What are the policies of the available mediums? How significant are these policies?

e) How well are the propagandists using the mediums? In other words, does their actual audience absorb all the potential audiences?

The last question naturally verges on the problems discussed above in connection

with the social-psychological approach. It raises the issue of how effective a grasp the propagandist has upon the moral and sentiment idioms—upon the techniques that will appeal to the moral idealizations and sentiments—of the masses he wishes to reach.

The three overlapping approaches to propaganda analysis that have been sketched mark out the most significant social aspects of a given propaganda program. They provide avenues for analyzing the tensions and struggles out of which propagandas arise and in which they have a part; the common patterns of popular motivation to which the propagandist appeals; and the channels through which the propagandist places and keeps his message before the publics he wants to influence. Because the strengths and weaknesses of the propagandist himself play powerful roles in determining the success of his program, it is desirable next to turn to an approach to propaganda analysis by way of this technician himself—in other words, the "psychological approach."

4. PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

A propagandist naturally tries to capitalize upon his own good points, and he has to work within his own limitations or at least find ways of adjusting to them. To understand adequately the problems inherent in studying the propagandist himself is far from a simple assignment; psychology and psychiatry must be called into play. For our present purposes it is impossible to do more than to suggest briefly the vast complex of problems and considerations this represents and then to offer (a) a group of principles and (b) a group of analytical questions.

Who is the propagandist? Or who are the propagandists? Sometimes this alone is difficult to learn, but there is one shortcut to this information: Read what the sharpest opponents of a propaganda program have to say. They will attack, in part, in terms of personalities. And although many of the things they say will be inaccurate or at

least torn out of context and unfair, their comments frequently point to "prime movers" in a propaganda program and aid in characterizing such operators.

In using this psychological approach, it is well to remember the limitations outlined above upon the effectiveness of the propagandist. He must work under societal, social-psychological, and communicatory conditions that are largely defined for him and which he can do relatively little to alter. As Abraham Lincoln once put it: "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me." And even Napoleon Bonaparte, whose epochal blunders cost so much in lives and substance, had a glimpse of his own role when he said: "I declare myself the most enslaved man in the world. My master has no pity, and by my master I mean the Nature of Things."

Granted such insights into the nature of leadership and of societal change, the propaganda leader still figures as a person who can do the possible or can sell many people on attempting to do the impossible, who can use his energy and ability to minimize the pains to society of a forthcoming change or who can be sufficiently a blunderer to dissipate the efforts of followers and even to bring to them and to society additional maladjustments.

The foregoing can now be summed up in the following statements of principle:

a) Social struggles and their resulting propagandas attract personalities of types that find needed self-expression in their appeals, promises, and activities.

b) The personality types thus attracted in turn have strengths and limitations that are felt throughout the movement.

c) The functions of propagandists in a movement can be labeled, according to typical roles: agitator, professional promoter, "front," bureaucrat, "heeler," and "fellow-traveler." Professional promoters and bureaucrats, especially the latter, tend to infiltrate a movement more and more as it passes from a dynamic, driving, pioneering stage to a more retentive, institutionalized, job-holding stage in its life-history.

In addition to the application of these principles, the following questions are also helpful for analytical purposes:

a) To identify the propaganda personalities involved, what do the sharpest opponents of the propaganda program have to say?

b) Does the propagandist give any evidence of working within societal possibilities? Or does he promote a program regardless of possibilities and consequences? These questions must be answered in a broad and objective fashion.

c) If the propagandist is effective, in the sense of creating a sizable impact with his efforts, what will be the consequences of his work?

After pursuing these ways of analyzing propaganda and the propagandist in their social setting, it is then appropriate to turn to the analysis of the techniques and tactics used by propagandists. This type of propaganda analysis is called here the "technical approach."

5. TECHNICAL APPROACH

Propagandists use certain "tricks of the trade," or "propaganda techniques," which can be described rather simply and, with practice, can be easily identified.¹⁶ Some of the propaganda devices now so subtly and effectively used both for and against our interests are as old as language, as political agitation, as social struggles. All are used in one form or another by all of us in our daily dealings with one another.

Propagandists seize upon the methods we ordinarily use to convince one another; but they analyze and refine them and experiment with them until such homely devices of folk origin develop into tremendously powerful weapons for swaying popular opinions and actions.

In order to avoid technical language and to make our findings more generally useful, the popular terms for common propaganda devices are retained here. Considerable experience with them by scientific analysts, businessmen, teachers, and college and high-school students indicates that the list, as

¹⁶ This approach is sometimes labeled "content analysis," but such a term limits the approach unduly to rhetorical considerations.

now revised, has at least three necessary qualifications that fit it for our purposes: The techniques described are workable. Anyone, with practice, can use them. Even though they do not represent an exhaustive or conclusive list, they give the intelligent beginner in propaganda analysis a good start, so far as the technical approach is concerned. His own experiences with these eleven techniques will then permit him to develop his analytical ability further.¹⁷

Some of the chief devices used both in popular argument and by professional propagandists are the eleven following, which fall roughly into four groupings:

- A. Techniques of basic procedure
 - 1. Selecting the issue
 - 2. Case-making or card-stacking
 - 3. Simplification
- B. Use of omnibus words (basic propaganda shorthand)
 - 4. Name-calling
 - 5. Glittering generality
- C. Techniques of identification
 - 6. Transfer
 - 7. Testimonial
 - 8. Plain folks
 - 9. Band wagon
- D. Strategic techniques
 - 10. Hot potato
 - 11. Stalling¹⁸

¹⁷ The character of these techniques should not be confused with that of the traditional "logical fallacies." Propaganda techniques may be used for delusive, as well as for constructive, purposes; they refer to common patterns of persuasion and promotion or destruction. In short, these propaganda techniques are meant to be descriptions of patterns of behavior without concern for their moral or social values. On the other hand, the "fallacies" of the logicians are practices in intellectual disrepute.

¹⁸ *The Fine Art of Propaganda* and other publications of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis discuss seven propaganda devices. These seven are: name-calling, glittering generality, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, card-stacking, and band wagon. Considerable subsequent experimentation with the teaching of propaganda analysis to college students, and to non-college audiences indicates that the new list of eleven techniques, while not represented as an exhaustive one, is more satisfactory, particularly when seen in perspective in relation to the other four approaches to propaganda analysis: the societal,

The three techniques of basic procedure (A) are functional steps through which propagandists habitually go, more or less consciously, in organizing or reorganizing a propaganda program, as is shown in more detail below. The role of omnibus words (B) as a kind of basic propaganda shorthand is mentioned at the outset of this article. These Protean labels, both name-calling words and glittering generalities, with other supporting and parallel symbols, carry much of the direct burden of the propagandist's message. Through the four techniques of identification (C), a propaganda project is identified with a referred or detested institution or personality (transfer or testimonial), with the masses of the plain folks or with what "everybody" accepts or rejects (band wagon). And the two strategic techniques (D) help to characterize the many ways in which a propagandist attempts to counteract the effectiveness of his opposition's work.

For the sake of brevity, these eleven techniques will be merely defined here:

1. *Selecting the issue* refers to the effort of the propagandist to select and state the issue upon which he would like to make his stand in a social competition or conflict. From a current tactical standpoint, the issue that is accepted by a public as the crucial one in a contest has considerable bearing upon where the struggle begins, its support, and the relative advantages of such a starting-point to the partisans. Little wonder, therefore, that propagandists consider selecting the issue—in reality selecting the battleground—as primary business in a campaign and a matter on which to keep constant watch throughout the struggle. After all, shifts in the battle—in issues, in fields, and in terms of conflict—must constantly be selected and prepared.

social-psychological, communicatory, and psychological. Because of its connotations of unfairness, *card-stacking* is now listed as an alternative to *case-making*, and it might well be eliminated. Naturally, many other techniques and strategies suggest themselves, but it is best to keep the list from becoming too long and unwieldy.

2. *Case-making* is frequently the second step in propagandizing. It is the ordering of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions or distortions, logical or illogical statements, in such a sequence that the best or worst possible impression will be made. Case-making is what lawyers do in preparing their cases for judge and jury, what political strategists do in working out campaign manuals and speech instructions for their candidates. When deliberately unfair, it may be called "card-stacking." Case-making accepts the issue or issues selected and uses all the available arts of logic, interpretation, factual selection, and rhetoric to make the propagandist's cause appear great, noble, and honorable, or at least acceptable and necessary, and to make the opposition's cause appear dastardly, uncivilized, money-grubbing, unprincipled, or at least unnecessary.

3. *Simplification* refers to the reduction of propaganda materials to formulas which approach in brevity and dogmatism as nearly as possible the form of a slogan. Inaccuracy is not necessarily inherent in simplification, but the propagandist can seldom deal in shades of gray, in "maybes" or "perhapses." In his language, everything tends to become black or white, good or bad, yes or no. Simplification short-circuits the sound common sense of medical evidence, of psychiatric findings, or engineering principles, because such common sense involves approximations, and that may "confuse" a public.

4. *Name-calling* is the practice of short-cutting discussion by giving an idea a bad label, to make us reject and condemn an idea without examining the evidence.

5. *Glittering generality* is the practice of short-cutting discussion by associating an idea with a "virtue word" in order to make us accept and approve the proposal without examining the evidence further.

6 and 7. *Transfer* and *Testimonial* are two ways of gaining some identity between a propagandist's project and an honored institution, symbol, or personality or—if attack is the purpose—between the opposi-

tion's project and a hated institution, symbol, or personality. Transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of a respected institution over to something else, in order to make the latter more readily acceptable, or it does the opposite. Testimonial consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad. Both transfer and testimonial thus function to bring about shifts in the loyalties of groups; they are means for identifying new groups with the propagandist's project in terms of the groups' own enthusiasms. The two other techniques of identification achieve their aims somewhat differently.

8 and 9. *Plain folks* and *Band wagon* are ways of indicating an allegedly existing identity or community of interest between the propaganda spokesman and his audience. They have their appeal in what Franklin Henry Giddings called "consciousness of kind." Plain folks is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are "of the people." The band-wagon technique, on the other hand, is a means for making us follow the crowd and accept a propagandist's program as a whole because of its popularity and without taking the time to examine and weigh the evidence. The plain-folks technique calls for the identification of the propagandist himself with his audience; the band-wagon device involves the identifying of members of his audience with the group "now on the band wagon."

10. *Hot potato* is a popular term for buck-passing, and for the sort of thing implied in the question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" Something similar has been called by D. E. Saunders¹⁹ the "propaganda of provocation." The hot potato is the technique through which a propagandist springs an event, a trap, a situation upon his opponent that will be interpreted by most people to the discredit of the opponent. The event, trap, or situation need not be

¹⁹ See "Speaking of Rudolf Hess," *Propaganda Analysis*, Vol. IV No. 76 (1940-42).

fictional. From the standpoint of effectiveness, it is better if the propagandist makes skilful use of events beyond his control. The hot potato depends for its power chiefly upon timing and interpretation.

11. *Stalling* involves a play for time, the use of plausible delaying tactics that may permit the opposition to lose vigor, interest, or support before the real struggle occurs. It may take the form of the appointment of an investigating committee,²⁰ the insistence upon adhering to "the proper sequence" (red tape), as well as the more familiar "memo-passing."

What can the propaganda analyst do with these eleven techniques when he has learned to spot them? Knowledge of them gives the analyst an opportunity to detect shortcuts in argument that are being used. Once these shortcuts and others are detected and understood, it is then possible for the analyst to decide whether or not they

²⁰ Committees can also be used for other purposes in propaganda, especially as propaganda "sounding boards." Congressional committees, with their carefully staged investigations, have been useful to a wide range of special interests in this fashion.

are being used against his interests, against the interests of "society."

The technical approach to propaganda analysis in particular and the other four approaches in general can be summed up briefly in the following list of analytical questions:

What is the source of the propaganda? In other words, who is the propagandist, and for what organization or cause is he working?

What is the social setting of the propaganda?

What is the over-all point of view of the propaganda? What is its objective? Is its objective socially possible? With what other objectives than its primary one is it identified?

What propaganda techniques is the propagandist trying to use?

In what ways does he use the techniques of basic procedure—selecting the issue, case-making, and simplification?

For what purposes is he using name-calling, glittering generality, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, band wagon, hot potato, and/or stalling?

What group's interests do the propagandist's objectives assist?

WAYNE UNIVERSITY

SITUATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR

ABSTRACT

Sociology textbooks introduce students to American culture but fail to prepare them for advanced study of specifically sociological phenomena, that is, social situations. A social situation is an emergent configuration of people, culture traits, specific meanings, relationships, time and place, and dynamic processes such as adjustment, interaction, social control, social changes, and readjustment. No other scientists concern themselves with social situations as such. It is time introductory students were taught how to identify, classify, and analyze situations of varying degrees of complexity in preparation for more advanced study.

One might suggest a useful formula for a textbook on "Introductory Sociology": (1) exhort the student to be scientific in approaching social phenomena; (2) define sociology as "the science of human association," "the science of human interaction," "the science of man in the group," etc., that is, as the science of some all-inclusive abstraction; (3) summarize biology, anthropology, psychology, eugenics, social psychology, that is, supply your own prerequisites, which usually turn out to be too meager for the ill-prepared and useless repetition for the properly equipped; (4) set up a row of abstract pigeonholes—population, culture, groups, institutions, social classes, social processes, social forces, social change, etc.—and stuff each pigeonhole as full of current information (which will all be out of date in five years) as forty-five assignments a semester will carry. Finally, (5) to make your book even more interesting, taper off with a few chapters on social pathology, that is, the race question, poverty, crime, delinquency, mental disease, the war, etc. With this formula you can "introduce" students to sociology—and obtain very gratifying adoptions.¹ You may even contribute to the education of some of the youth exposed to it.

But will you have prepared them for the further study of social phenomena? After twenty-five years of trying to find some evidence that any one of half-a-dozen leading introductory textbooks in sociology should

be required reading before a student is admitted to an advanced course, I doubt it. *Introductory textbooks introduce, but they do not prepare.* They tell the student a great deal *about* society and human association and make him vaguely aware of a field of knowledge, but they give him no essential tools of thought or methods of analysis that (a) he fails to get in other disciplines; or (b) from common sense; or (c) cannot pick up in a month or two on his own with a good instructor in almost any sociology course.² Almost without exception they define the problem phenomena of sociology so broadly that they leave everybody puzzled as to just where the other social sciences leave off and sociology begins; and, unlike textbooks in botany and physics, for example, they are discreetly silent on the methods by which all this wisdom has been accumulated.

What problem phenomena can sociologists claim for themselves? Well, with what problem phenomena are our colleagues in other fields dealing? Let us be quite clear at once that all of us in the so-called "social sciences" are dealing with some aspect of human behavior. The problem phenomena of the physical sciences differ from science to science in perceptual, physical characteristics. Rock strata are never mistaken for stars. But the problem phenomena of the social sciences are fundamentally alike. They differ mainly in the point of view from which they are selected. The economist can

¹ Cooley, Angell, and Carr's *Introductory Sociology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933) is offered as Exhibit A—an example of a formula book.

² One value the ordinary introductory textbook has: By presenting nontraditional points of view on social matters, probably it does reduce undergraduate provincialism. That, of course, is not the point.

concern himself with the pecuniary aspects of a church ritual, or the anthropologist can note the cultural vestiges which it preserves. But both are looking at an aspect of human behavior. Now, what aspect of behavior is the sociologist concerned with *that no other student studies as such?*

From Comte's day to this, sociologists have been distinguished by their interest in the *togetherness of human behavior*, the relatedness of human beings; whether as philosophers or observational scientists that seems to be their major interest. But is not the same interest characteristic for all social scientists? No, not the same interest at all.

What are the problem phenomena of the anthropologist? Basic anatomical likenesses and differences, *and* culture, the accumulated, transmissible results of past behavior in association.

What does the psychologist study? Human behavior under controlled conditions.

What is the social psychologist looking for? Human behavior under actual life-conditions.

What is the historian interested in? Unique events and their connections through time.

The economist? Subsistence behavior, its forms and processes.

The political scientist? Control behavior, its forms and processes.

All these—anthropologist, social psychologist, historian, economist, and political scientist—take the togetherness of men for granted, or at best they observe it only incidentally. Anthropologists speculate about the beginnings of human association and analyze various primitive forms of it. But their main concern is not with association as such. Social psychologists posit man-in-association and make the consequences for human behavior the focus of their interest. But again they are not concerned primarily with togetherness as distinguished from behavior. Historians obviously deal with human beings in association, but the association is not their main interest. Likewise with the economist and the political scientist. Obviously, all social scientists as individuals

live in association with other people. Then, as scientists, they assume human togetherness as the background of their own problem phenomena, or they deal with it incidentally in the analysis of their data. In fact, this increasing awareness of togetherness is what we mean when we say that the sociological point of view has been permeating other disciplines. The sociologist, however, remains the only social scientist whose unique field is the systematic description and analysis of human togetherness as such.

What is togetherness as such?

We are talking here about togetherness as an empirical phenomenon open to observation; we are not talking about togetherness as a philosophical concept or principle. As a philosophical concept of the relations of the phenomena of the experiential world, togetherness has been a basic assumption of all scientists for centuries. That is not the point at all. Of course, this is one world. What distinguishes the sociologist's point of view is that he not only assumes, like other scientists, that the phenomena of experience hang together—in other words, that there is a phenomenal *universe*—but he assumes that as an observational scientist his job is to observe how separate human beings somehow “hang together.” That's the point: the hanging-togetherness-of-separate-human-beings as an object of observation.

But here we come upon a curious inability of sociologists to reduce their problem phenomena, this hanging-togetherness-of-human-beings, to observable units. Practically all discussions and all concepts of classification refer glibly to groups, institutions, social systems, and the like. But such terms obviously have little to do with the phenomena that the beginner can see in front of him. They are general terms, or “frames of reference,” whose particulars usually remain unidentified throughout the textbook. Where do such terms come from and to what actual experiences do they refer? What is a unit experience of a student with a group, with an institution, with a community? Each term refers to a conceptual synthesis rather than to a perceptual experience.

What, in short, is a unit experience of the togetherness that sociologists lay so much stress upon?

On this question most of the introductory material available to students is singularly unhelpful. Not only is much of it far more valuable as social philosophy or higher journalism or social technology than as scientific description, but even much so-called sociological description fails to distinguish between phenomena of unique sociological interest, namely, the togetherness of men, and the phenomena of other sciences interpreted from the sociological point of view. The most cursory examination of any introductory textbook will confirm that statement. There is much talk of human association, groups, institutions, social classes, the social system, etc., but the actual descriptive material runs in terms of behavior, population, culture, historical events. Now, obviously, just as the anthropologist cannot account for culture except by positing men in association, so the sociologist cannot describe the togetherness of men except by including such elements as behavior and culture that go to make it up. But just as the anthropologist goes on from association to observe its results, namely, culture, so the sociologist has to go on from behavior and culture to observe the matrix in which they occur, namely, the human situation. *It is the concept of the social situation that breaks up the vague, inclusive togetherness of human beings into observable units.*

A social situation may be defined as an emergent pattern, or configuration, formed by the conjunction of six variables: (1) people; (2) culture traits; (3) specific meanings and relationships; (4) dynamic processes; (5) a specific time; and (6) a specific place.³ The conjunction of these variables

produces a dynamic pattern which is the situation. Such a pattern has form, dimensions, content, elements, phases, processes, conditioning factors, and relationships to other situations, co-existing, pre-existent, and subsequent.

Surely it should be somebody's business to identify, describe, classify, analyze, measure, and interpret the structure, content, processes, and interrelationships of social situations; their elements, phases, and conditioning factors. If behavior and culture are worth studying, the way in which they combine with other variables to form definite and specific patterns should be worth studying too.

The only thing new about such an approach would be the concentration of attention on the situation as such instead of on behavior as modified by the situation. As modifiers of behavior, situations have been studied for years by physiologists, psychologists, sociologists, social psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers. One need only mention the work of Loeb and Jennings in physiology; the work of Thorndike, Yerkes, Watson, Köhler, Dashiell, Maier, Lois B. and Gardner Murphy, and others in psychology; that of Cooley, Thomas and Znaniecki, Burgess, Shaw, Blumer, Thrasher, Wirth, Faris, Moreno, Sorokin, Dollard, Bernard, and scores of others in sociology and social psychology; of James Plant in psychiatry; and, of course, the writings of a whole host of social workers and social work theorists from Miss Richmond to Bossard and Boll. Perhaps the nearest approximation to a theory of the situation as a subject of study in itself is contained in Bossard and Boll's *Family Situations*.⁴ All these authors, however, in greater or less degree have been primarily concerned with situations as affecting behavior instead of with situations as affected by behavior.

If we are introducing students not to the broader aspects of American culture in gen-

³ A further discussion of the situational concept as a tool of research will be found in a forthcoming study of social change at Willow Run, Mich. This study, financed by the Horace H. Rackham School for Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, is under the direction of James E. Stermer, former field sociologist, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, who is collaborating with the present author in preparing the report.

⁴ James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, *Family Situations: An Introduction to the Study of Child Behavior* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

eral but to an observational science whose problem phenomena are human situations, the task of an introductory course becomes perfectly clear and definite. Such a course must make students aware of social situations as objects of scientific observation and it must equip beginners with the necessary concepts, attitudes, and skills required for more advanced work.

Suppose we start with the visible classroom situation. How would a situational approach differ from (a) the student's naïve common-sense approach, from (b) a more sophisticated common-sense approach, and (c) from the approach characteristic of some closely allied discipline like social psychology?

For the moment our analysis will run in sociopsychological terms, but the essence of the sociological approach will appear later. Experience of visible situations has at least four characteristics: (1) "Gestalt awareness" (i.e., perception of a togetherness of people and things); (2) discrimination of pattern, or "definition of the situation"; (3) adoption of role; and (4) "teleological orientation," or concern with outcomes.

By the naïve approach the student defines a situation uncritically and in terms of cultural stereotypes; he adopts a role by force of habit or custom; and he sees the classroom as a complex of such things as desirable seats, probable grades, etc., that is, in terms of practical outcomes. By the sophisticated approach, the student defines situations against a background of comparable experiences, but without systematic classification or analysis; he adopts his role with more conscious choice and more detachment; and although practical outcomes are appreciated, the observer pretends at least to some interest in larger values. Thus both the naïve and the sophisticated approaches are essentially practical, "participant," and unscientific. But they are still "total," that is, they are reactions to a *pattern* of relationships and stimuli as well as to particular relationships and stimuli themselves. So much for common sense. What about the social psychologist?

For the social psychologist the classroom is not so much a situation as an occasion for observing situational behavior: it is a specific occasion for studying attitudes, personality differences, social distance, interaction, and the like. In other words, the social psychological approach is nonpractical (interested in truth and not in practical results), "nonparticipant" (detached and objective), and scientific (using classification, careful observation, measurement, verification, etc.). In these respects it differs from the common-sense approaches. But in so far as it focuses on behavior and not on the total matrix in which behavior occurs, it is "nontotal" and, in that respect, farther from common sense than is the situational approach. What, then, is the situational sociologist's approach to the visible classroom situation?

His problem is to get his students not merely to see the classroom grouping as a situation—in terms of common sense they already see that—but to see it as a unit object of scientific observation whose elements will reappear in different combinations under other and much more complex conditions elsewhere. They have to be taught, in other words, to dissociate themselves from the situation, to redefine the situation, to adopt the role of detached observer, and to forget for the time being their concern with practical outcomes in order to focus more intently on the phenomena before them. Then, in order to function as observers, they have to learn to analyze the problem phenomena into their elements—people, culture traits, specific meanings and relationships peculiar to the time and place; dynamic processes such as adjustment, interaction, social control, social change, readjustment. And they have to learn how these elements go together under different conditions. All this takes them definitely beyond common sense and directs their attention toward phenomena not studied as such by the social psychologist or by any other social scientist.

But it is obviously only a beginning. What is the relation of the classroom to

other situations? Students will have to learn to distinguish between accidentally related situations and situations functionally related and between "perceptually" defined *Gestalten* and conceptually defined *Gestalten*.⁵ In short, they will have a neat problem in classification, including the little task of classifying situations within situations—for example, visible situations (classrooms, work groups, etc.); immediately inclusive situations (colleges, households, factories, etc.); territorially inclusive situations (localities, communities, etc.); and the social-universe matrix, or ultimate context of situations relevant to the purpose in hand (the social system, Western civilization, etc.).⁶

It would be important to make typical out-of-presence situations as real to the student as the visible classroom itself. This would probably call for the use of motion pictures or, better yet, field trips in place of classroom lectures. It would also call for some analysis of the sociopsychological processes by which the student normally defines any situation for himself and more particularly by which he builds up out-of-presence, or "horizontal," situations. How does he develop social constructs, that is, stereotypes of situations whose elements are not all present in perception at a given place or at a given time? How does he develop his idea of his college, his home town, the attack on Pearl Harbor, etc.?

The point is, obviously, to make the student aware of his own basic situational activity—his own recognition, and definition, of situations. After that we can go on to de-

velop a critical and, if possible, scientific attitude toward situations themselves.

Right here, I think, every textbook we have falls flat on its face. Because we have not bothered to reduce our problem phenomena to clearly definable units of observation, we continue to prattle glibly of "association," "human relations," "groups," "institutions," etc., and the student gropes in a fog of words, trying to piece together disconnected glimpses of what we are talking about. That so many of them succeed even as well as they do in one semester is a tribute to the adaptive capacity of the human mind! Few of them arrive at any clear conception of the problem phenomena of sociology because the textbooks too often treat such phenomena as a kind of all-enveloping atmosphere instead of identifying them as observable unit patterns of social variables. And seldom, indeed, does a student emerge with any help from his textbook toward acquiring even elementary techniques of social discovery. How many theses in introductory sociology could just as well have been written in a course on social psychology or anthropology or mental hygiene or economics? And what earthly justification is there in an *introductory course* for papers on "Poverty" or "Crime" or "Juvenile Delinquency," or on any other social problem? Are we introducing students to the American social system and its ills or to a scientific discipline for the study of phenomena uniquely sociological?

I suggest that togetherness be studied as an observable phenomenon not merely as Professor Whozit has observed it somewhere, sometime (seldom actually specified), but in such a way that John Q. Smith in the second row can observe it, here, now, and all around him. I suggest that togetherness be studied in observable units, namely, situations, and not merely promulgated as a philosophical point of view. To observe in-

⁵ Of course, all situations are conceptually defined; but simple, "in-presence" situations, such as a classroom, virtually "define themselves"; complex, out-of-presence situations, such as a strike or a battle, obviously require a good deal of piecing-together before they make sense.

⁶ These classifications are purely illustrative. Others could be substituted. There is, for example, need of classifying situations in terms of temporal as well as functional and spatial relationships, to say nothing of classifications based on differences in structure, and dynamic processes.

⁷ Orientation courses, problems courses, etc., can be defended on their merits, but not as preparations for advanced study in any scientific field.

clusive situations, students will have to be taken out of the classroom bodily and not merely verbally. They will have to be taught to look for things they have not consciously looked for before.

From such a point of view the job of the introductory course would be to teach the beginners how to see, describe, and analyze social situations of varying degrees of complexity, from casual face-to-face situations to highly complex, inclusive situations culturally patterned by institutions for the satisfaction of basic needs. That, after all, is the task of the introductory course in any science: to teach beginners how to identify the problem phenomena of the science, how to classify them, how to begin to analyze and interpret them, and how to go on from there toward actual processes of discovery. To explain the more complicated relationships of situations to conditioning factors and to train students to raise fundamental questions and attack them with special techniques of discovery is the business of advanced courses. Obviously, to explain complicated social situations will involve knowledge of social psychology, culture, the dynamics of social change, etc.; and to de-

velop laws of situational structure and change will require the work of many people over many years. But, as a minimum preparation for this field, every student would seem to need a thorough grounding in the basic fundamentals: (a) the nature of social situations, their types, elements, conditioning factors, and inner dynamics and (b) the elementary attitudes and procedures necessary for critical observation and for further scientific study in this field.

I am suggesting an introductory course that would not merely happen to come first but would serve an essential function. Every student would end with a pretty fair idea of what sociology was about, as distinguished from psychology, history, economics, political science, and ethics. The course would be based squarely on the idea that we are preparing students to go on in an observational science, not on the idea that introductory sociology must orient the student to modern civilization. It would be based on the concept of the human situation as the observation unit of human togetherness. And it would use a textbook that has not as yet been written!

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE "WHITE-SUPREMACY" COMPLEX

THELMA D. ACKISS

This is a research note on a campaign letter distributed in mimeographed form by an aspirant to Congress. This letter was apparently intended to procure votes from the "common people" in a state noted for its adherence to the political principle of "white supremacy." The present discussion is confined to two chief purposes: methodological and analytical. The letter is believed to be valuable as illustrating a sociological methodology, and it is also offered as a datum in examining some of the facts relating to the white-supremacy complex. The letter reads:

The NEGRO QUESTION

is getting bad, with Mrs. Roosevelt stirring them up they are feeling like they own the country. You can see it all around you every day. If some good A stateman doesn't tell the government to stay out of our business, it is entirely possible that they will be going to school with white children in a very short time.

The writer is John Doe Tee, native born. A stateman, *A GENTILE*, 45 years old, who served overseas in World War I, married, has a son age 4.

I am a candidate for Congress and am the same kind of person that you are. I live on South Side, mix with common people, know their problems. As a kid I went barefoot same as your child, was mean as the dickens, smoked corn silk cigarettes behind the barn, wiped my nose on my sleeve, and fussed like anything when I had to wash my feet before going to bed. In other words, I am just a plain honest person and am asking you to send me to Congress to be your representative; the representative of the ordinary people.

My opponents have plenty of money for their campaign, but I am paying my own way and will be obligated to the people only and not to large corporations looking for Special favors.

Won't you please help me to get elected by telling all your friends to vote for me? Your vote counts just as much as a vote from Elite Hill. I and my family are your kind of folks and we are both good people even if we do come from the so-called "wrong side of the tracks."

Yours sincerely,

JOHN DOE TEE
Candidate for Congress

The above letter was widely circulated in neighborhoods known to be inhabited by mem-

bers of the white group of lower, middle-class status by an individual whom we will call Candidate T. The views expressed not only are his own but also reflect the opinions of the readers of the letter, i.e., his potential supporters.

The sentiments expressed in a political campaign letter, speech, or document can be useful in representing the climate of opinion of a stated group, at a given period, in a specified region or territory. The analysis of them offers a methodology which should make intelligible certain variables which would doubtless be unidentifiable in a purely abstract investigation.

Now, what does Candidate T's letter reveal in terms of the white-supremacy complex? The Negro problem constitutes only one brief paragraph, and that is confined to the vaguest of generalities. The remaining paragraphs, however, serve to describe and suggest some other points of dissatisfaction and frustration which coexist with racial matters in the minds of the proponents of white supremacy. These other points are parts of the total complex. Stripped of surplus verbiage they are as follows: Candidate T, as a man of "the people," understands the problems of common people; he is on the defensive against moneyed groups and large corporations; he is worthy even though he comes from the "wrong side of the tracks."

It appears, then, that the Negro question, as understood in this candidate's letter, and as considered in its dynamic context, is an appropriate but fractional part of the white-supremacy complex. There is a traditional relationship between the Negro and the unsatisfying or insecure position of the southern white masses, stemming from the slavery and postslavery years. Thus the total complex is much more inclusive and much more significant for the whole societal structure than is generally believed. For obvious reasons the Negro problem can be conveniently dramatized. It is useful, moreover, as a deflector of aggression which accumulates as a result of other conditions. Actually, however, it forms only the outer coverage of the social and economic frustrations of a large segment of the population.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

A RESEARCH NOTE ON EXPERIMENTATION IN INTERVIEWING

ARNOLD M. ROSE

The emphasis on objectivity has, in one respect at least, seriously restricted the information which social scientists have been able to get from interviews. This drive toward objectivity has taken the form of setting up restrictive mechanical rules rather than of demanding conscious honesty on the part of the scientist. The interviewer is supposed to present uncolored questions and to take down the subject's answers as given, that is, to act as a combined phonograph and recording system.

This technique may be essential when untrained or unsophisticated interviewers are employed to get data for analysts working independently of them. It is equally essential at the beginning of an interview while the interviewer is seeking the basic framework of the subject's attitudes. It is again useful when the interview is covering topics that are simple or are of little significance. But when the subject's attitude must be fully known, then the interviewer must take an active role.

The interviewer must not only invite frankness and gain rapport, as is generally recognized, but he must also experiment verbally with the subject. (The word "experiment" is used advisedly, since experimentation during an interview consists of introducing a novel stimulus and noting the response to it.) Experiments may take many different forms: (a) a question, using either biased words or neutral words; (b) an expression of an attitude of the interviewer, either real or assumed; (c) volunteered information, presumed either to be unknown to the subject or not taken into account by him in formulating his attitude.

A primary rule of experimental interviewing is that it be designed by the interviewer during the course of the interview. It can be assumed that, if a topic is of some importance to a person, his attitude with respect to it is related to many of his other attitudes; therefore, to understand fully a person's

attitudes, the interviewer must probe into the nature of their relationships. But frequently so many possible relationships exist that no prediction can be made in advance as to what question, or fact, or statement of attitude should be employed in the experiment. Also, the type of experiment which would elicit the most information about the attitude of a particular person cannot be predicted until the interview develops. Furthermore, the experiment may be a complex one—containing several elements and administered in several stages—and, as a result, its form could not be specified in advance of the interview.

The following are some experiences in experimental interviewing:

1. Many attitudes are based on misinformation. During the course of the interview an interviewer who finds that some person's attitude is due to misinformation can provide the correct facts and note any change of attitude. Such an experiment would not only reveal the basis of the subject's attitude, but it would also provide clues as to the effectiveness of providing information of a certain type.
2. Attitudes which are not considered quite respectable, or which are considered unusual in any way, may not be fully revealed. However, the interviewer may get an inkling of their existence and encourage a full expression of these hidden attitudes by presenting them, in a matter-of-fact tone, as commonly held attitudes or as attitudes of the interviewer himself. The writer has even been able, by such an experiment, to elicit an expression of hope that the war would continue for a considerable time in order that certain personal privileges could be continued.
3. If any seeming inconsistencies or illogicalities or any other "peculiarities" appear in a subject's statements, the interviewer should probe for the premises of his attitudes. It is wise to assume that a subject considers himself to be thinking logically and consistently. Intensive questioning in certain areas of

subject matter may be found valuable in uncovering the roots of certain attitudes. The questions that the interviewer uses under these circumstances depend on the apparent inconsistencies and are usually best directed toward trying to make them apparent to the subject.

The purpose of experimentation in interviewing is to find out as much as possible about attitudes, and the bases and premises of attitudes. Such information is needed when a relatively full understanding of a problem is desired, when ideas are needed for further research, when the subject is a key person, or when the basis of an observed relationship needs to be understood. Nothing said about the value of experi-

mentation in interviewing should be taken as condemnatory of questionnaires or of formal interviewing when the purpose is to determine the prevalence or distribution of attitudes within a given group. Findings from a questionnaire depend on the realism of the questions and on the interpretation made of the answers. Although the experimental interview cannot provide a statistical description of the distribution of attitudes within a group, it can furnish information useful in making the questions realistic and in interpreting the answers.

RESEARCH BRANCH INFORMATION
AND EDUCATION SECTION
A. F. HQ. A.P.O. 512
% POSTMASTER, NEW YORK, N.Y.

A CRITIQUE OF "THE MEASUREMENT OF FAMILY INTERACTION"

ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE

ABSTRACT

Bossard's statement of the law of family interaction as a precise mathematical statement of the relation between the number of persons in the group and the number of their relationships is inadequate because it assumes that all such relationships are symmetrical, whereas, in fact, they may very well be nonsymmetrical at either the manifest or the parataxic levels or at both levels. The application of this law to problems of group or personality dynamics is further limited by the fact that the quality of interpersonal integrations is often of more significance than their mere number.

The possibility of mathematical determination has always exercised a fascination over students of human nature and human institutions, and many have been the attempts to define in formulas human types of interaction. Bossard's "Law of Family Interaction" is a newcomer to the field. It may be stated as follows: The addition of each person to a family or primary group increases the number of persons in simple arithmetical progression and the number of personal relations in the order of triangular numbers.¹

It is clear from Bossard's exposition that this law may represent a valid statement of certain relations between members in the group and numbers of interactions. What Bossard does not make clear, however, is that this statement refers only to the *minimum* number of possible interactions. Hence the law represents a gross oversimplification of the problem and is likely to be deceptive unless its limitations are clearly stated.

In the first place, and dealing for the moment only with relationships within the awareness of the persons who are members of the group, the number of interactions increases in triangular order only if these interactions are symmetrical or reciprocal. If the interactions are not reciprocal—and they rarely are symmetrical in everyday life—they will be nonsymmetrical or non-reciprocal, and so, as the number of persons

in the group increases, the number of relations will increase in a different order. Thus:

Persons (y)	2	3	4	5	6
Relationships (x) ..	4	6	12	20	30

Therefore

$$x = y(y - 1).$$

This formula, which expresses the nonsymmetrical nature of the relationship involved may be compared with Bossard's formula,

$$x = \frac{y^2 - y}{2},$$

which is an expression of the fact that the relations are to be conceived of as symmetrical and therefore result in simple combinations as the number of persons in the group increases.

An example will perhaps make clearer what is involved. Family life, as Bossard remarks, customarily begins with two members, husband and wife. Abstractly, there is also involved one symmetrical relationship: the reciprocal husband-wife relationship. Realistically, however, there is involved here the relationship of husband to wife and that of wife to husband—a minimum of two nonsymmetrical relationships. One relationship may be integrated on a basis of authority and personal domination, the other on the basis of submissiveness; or, again, one may be on the basis of hostility and contempt, the other on the basis of indifference and casualness. The addition of a child to this family increases the number of persons to

¹ James H. S. Bossard, "The Law of Family Interaction," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (January, 1945), 292-94.

three, but it may very well increase the number of relationships to at least six: the father reacts to the child with indifference, the mother with affection, the father reacts to the mother with affection, the mother to the father with contempt, the child to the mother with affection, and the child to the father with hostility.

If now, to what may be called these manifest reciprocal or nonreciprocal relationships, one adds, as one must in realistic analysis, additional parataxic integrations,² any interpersonal situation becomes much more complex and difficult to characterize in precise mathematical terms. Thus husband and wife may react to each other not only on the basis of a dual relationship of which each is more or less aware but also in terms of one or more parataxic relationships of which, by definition, neither husband nor wife is aware. Yet these parataxic relationships added to the manifest interactions may be of determining importance in controlling the course of the social relationships between these two family members. Thus a mathematical statement that omits consideration of the number of these parataxes is likely to oversimplify the numerical problem.

The conclusion, therefore, is that Bossard's statement of the law of family interaction gives us a first approximation of what may, in the simplest case, be the minimum number of manifest relationships involved. My own formula for this law gives a better approximation of what the manifest relationships may be, but neither statement can be construed as a law because the statements deal only with possible, but not necessary, conditions. In addition, neither statement can be sufficiently precise to include an unknown number of parataxic integrations. Hence the predictive power of the law of family interaction decreases almost to a vanishing-point.

² The term is from H. S. Sullivan, "Concepts of Modern Psychiatry," *Psychiatry*, III (February, 1940), 1-117. Reference to the use of this concept of parataxic integration in social psychological analysis is also made in Ernest Beaglehole, "Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology," *Psychiatry*, IV (February, 1941), 61-77.

A further qualification: any so-called "law of family interaction" emphasizes the significance of mere size of the household in determining social relations within the group. Thus in the instances that Bossard uses *mere size* is suggested as having fashioned Franklin's early wanderings, Patrick Henry's insistence on the value of liberty, Marshall's judicial temperament, Helen K.'s nervous, high-strung excitability. The psychologist is likely to feel that, although size of household may have some influence on the conditioning of the personality of its members, nonetheless it is the quality of these relationships rather than the mere quantity which is of greater significance in this connection. The case of Helen K., which Bossard analyzes briefly, is instructive because it could easily be paralleled from the records of any child guidance clinic. In this case the psychologist would find very little diagnostic significance in the fact that some emotional tension is involved in at least half of the personal relationships of this child to her household group of seven persons, nor would he agree with Bossard that "the size of this household unit, when translated into the number of personal relationships, tells one much about Helen's state of mind."³ In point of fact it tells us precisely nothing about Helen's state of mind unless we know already that Helen is high-strung and that her personal relations with other members of her household are frustrated, tense, and insecure. This prior knowledge can come only from a case history and test exploration of Helen's personality. The quality of the relationships to the various members of the household group is the significant fact, not the mere number of such relationships.

All this suggests, first, that it is impossible to state with any mathematical precision a law of family interaction that has any validity in prediction; and, second, that mathematical appraisal of the number of relationships in any group (even if this were mathematically possible) is of secondary importance as compared with the study of their

³ Bossard, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

emotional quality. If one is interested in understanding the dynamic relations, needs, and drives that are involved in any family, household, or primary group, then it is these relations and integrations that need direct study. Any study of them that concentrates on the possible number of relationships is a manifestly inadequate analysis of the complex problem involved in even the simplest type of human interaction.

VICTORIA COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

REJOINDER

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

Because Mr. Beaglehole's paper refers to points which I had hoped would be quite obvious to readers of the *Journal*, I am happy to confirm the fact that my article sought only to present a formula covering

the *number* of relationships and the *number* of persons in small primary groups in which all members might be assumed to have relationships with one another, regardless of their nature. The proposed law covered nothing more, save the added claim to importance in the study of interaction. There was, so far as I know, no assumption that all such relationships are symmetrical; and, after all the scholarship that has been devoted through the years to the study of the varying natures of these relationships, it seemed unnecessary to point out in my paper that "the quality of interpersonal integrations" is often of more significance than the mere number of relationships involved. Since, however, a definite statement to this effect appears essential, perhaps Mr. Beaglehole's comment and my own declaration will serve this purpose.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

NEWS AND NOTES

ERRATUM

The attention of the Editors of the *American Journal of Sociology* has been called by Harry Alpert to the fact that *La Revue internationale de sociologie* began in 1893. This antedates the *American Journal of Sociology* by two years. Consequently, the statement in the article by Ethel Shanas in the May issue of the *Journal* that the *American Journal of Sociology* was the first sociological journal in the world is erroneous.

American Group Therapy Association.—A Training Institute in Activity Group Therapy for Children is announced. The curriculum consists of a course in diagnosis which would facilitate judgment in forming groups; intensive study, analysis, and interpretation of group and individual records; observation of groups in action; a seminar by workers in other types of group therapy; review of literature on group therapy; and administration, integration, and record-keeping.

Students will be recruited from social service agencies, clinics, and hospitals, with a view to organizing therapy groups in these institutions. The training will be continued for a second year, in which the students will direct groups in their own agencies and localities under supervision. Selection of students will be made on the basis of education, experience, and personality qualifications. Graduation from a school of social work, a recognized degree in psychology or psychiatry, and three years in case work of acceptable standard or psychotherapy with psychiatric participation or consultation are required. Some students will be permitted to join who may not have the required educational qualifications but who possess special personality attributes and

experience that would qualify them to do group therapy.

Agencies are invited to submit names of those members of their staffs who would profit from this training and could introduce this work in their own locality.

The Institute will be held in New York City and will extend for twelve to fourteen hours a week. The Association stresses that it would like to have students come from locales within four hours' travel time from New York City as well as from local institutions. The tuition fee will be from \$250 to \$300 a year. The program will be so arranged that students need absent themselves only one day a week from their agencies.

American Red Cross.—Six hundred one-year scholarships for study at accredited schools of social work will be available to college graduates interested in serving as American Red Cross Hospital Service or Home Service workers.

In addition to full tuition, each scholarship award provides a monthly allowance of \$100 during the academic year. Each applicant must agree to a minimum of one year's employment with the Red Cross immediately upon completion of study. Choice of employment may be in Home Service or in Hospital Service. Those who choose the latter will be assigned to a military hospital in the United States to work with sick and wounded servicemen, while those selecting Home Service will work with families of servicemen and with veterans in the community.

Graduation from a school of social work requires two years' study, and the Red Cross scholarships are available to students who are beginning their academic training in social work as well as those who have already completed part of their studies.

Application should be made to the schol-

arship office at one of the five area offices of the American Red Cross: North Atlantic Area, 300 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York; Eastern Area, 615 North St. Asaph Street, Alexandria, Virginia; Southeastern Area: 230 Spring Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia; Midwest Area: 1709 Washington Avenue, St. Louis 3, Missouri; and Pacific Area, Civic Auditorium, Larkin and Grove streets, San Francisco 1, California.

American Sociometric Association.—The first officers of this new organization were elected by means of a sociometric poll. They are J. L. Moreno, president; Helen H. Jennings, secretary; George A. Lundberg, treasurer; and Gardner Murphy, Ronald Lippitt, and Zerka Toeman, counselors.

The Association has at this time 100 charter members and 175 new applicants for membership. The aim of the Association is to provide a meeting-point for the various social science associations and to promote their mutual research interests. The charter members include sociologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, and social workers.

The annual membership fee is \$5.00, including subscription to the journal *Sociometry*. Communications and applications for membership may be addressed to: American Sociometric Association, Room 327, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Headquarters, Army Service Forces.—Samuel A. Stouffer, professor of sociology on leave from the University of Chicago, has been cited by Secretary of War Stimson for exceptional civilian service as follows: "In recognition of his outstanding contribution to the War Department and the nation in establishing and developing attitude research to the point where it is generally used as a basis for planning procedures and policies that have contributed greatly to the morale of our Army Forces."

University of Buffalo.—Richard H. Williams, associate professor of sociology and

anthropology, has gone to Europe on a research assignment for the War Department and is to return in the late fall. He has the assimilated rank of field-grade officer.

University of California, Los Angeles.—A new series is initiated entitled "Publications in Culture and Sociology" consisting of articles and monographic works, marginal to anthropology, psychology, and sociology. The first volume will be devoted to Japanese-Americans and the second to problems of acculturation. Volume I, No. 1, *Marriages of Japanese in Los Angeles County*, by Leonard Bloom *et al.*, has recently been published.

The board of editors for the series is Ralph L. Beals (anthropology), Leonard Bloom (sociology), and Franklin Fearing (psychology). All are members of the University of California at Los Angeles.

University of Chicago.—Herbert Blumer, associate professor of sociology and editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, is on leave for one year, during which time he is serving as chairman of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration established by the five major steel-producing subsidiaries of the United States Steel Corporation and by the United Steel Workers of America, C.I.O. During his absence, E. W. Burgess will serve as editor of the *Journal*.

College of the City of New York.—Harry M. Shulman, lecturer in the department of sociology, has been appointed director of community service of the City College to conduct a demonstration in the training and supervision of student leadership in community welfare activities, in co-operation with local community co-ordinating groups.

Adolph S. Tomars of the department of sociology has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor of sociology, as of March 1, 1945.

Civil Affairs Staging Area, Presidio of Monterey.—Lieutenant John Useem of the University of South Dakota is lecturing to

Army and Navy officers on problems of military government in the Pacific. He has just returned from a tour of duty overseas where he aided in the planning of civil affairs occupation while on Admiral Nimitz' military government staff. Thereafter he visited all the Japanese mandates occupied by the United States and served as officer-in-charge of military government in Palau from the invasion until the first of the year.

Columbia University.—Willard Waller died in New York City on July 26. He was born in Murphysboro, Illinois, on July 30, 1899. He graduated from the University of Illinois in 1920, received his M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1925 and his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1929, where he was instructor in sociology for three years. He continued teaching sociology as assistant professor at the University of Nebraska (1929-31); as professor at Pennsylvania (1931-37); and as associate professor at Barnard College (since 1937). In 1940 he was president of the Eastern Sociological Society. He was author of *The Old Love and the New* (1930); *The Sociology of Teaching* (1932); *The Family* (1938); *War and the Family* (1940); and *The Veteran Comes Back* (1944).

The Bureau of Applied Social Research is engaged in an influence study—a study of the formation and change of opinion. Particular attention is being paid to problems of stratification and opinion leaders. The areas of opinion covered include general political and social outlook, race and ethnic attitudes, consumer attitudes toward brand changes and toward wartime regulation, and fashion and motion picture choice. The first interviews are completed and being processed. All field work will be completed by September, 1945. The locale of the study is a representative midwestern city of 60,000 population.

The study is under the direction of C. Wright Mills, who is on leave to the Bureau from the University of Maryland. He is assisted by Helen Schneider, Jeannette Green,

Thelma Ehrlich, and Honey Toda of the Bureau's staff.

Kingsley Davis of Princeton taught a course on World Population and one on Marriage and the Family in the summer session.

Indiana University.—Paul Campisi, a graduate student in the University of Chicago, has been appointed instructor in sociology in Indiana University.

Social Service, which has been a division of the Department of Sociology for purposes of administration, has been organized as a separate department with the name "Division of Social Service" under the direction of Dr. Grace Browning.

Julius Rosenwald Fund.—The forty-six Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellows for 1945 include 29 Negroes, 15 white southerners, and 2 persons in the field of race relations, a new category opened to northern candidates this year. The grants total \$88,500. Among this year's Fellows are:

Belle Boone Beard, professor of sociology, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia: for development of sociological materials for the training of professional personnel, in collaboration with Wayland Jackson Hayes.

John Harrison Becker, Jr., St. Louis, Missouri: for work in the field of race relations.

Nancy Evelyn Brandon, Rochester, New York: for studies in the field of human development, at the University of Chicago.

Edna Catherine Cooper, junior research assistant, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: for studies in sociology, at the University of North Carolina.

Carroll Fleming Cumbee, research associate, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida: for studies of the racial attitudes of children and for graduate work in education, at the University of Chicago.

Richard Sylvester Hamme, chairman, New England Regional Council, U.T.S.E.A.-C.I.O., Boston, Massachusetts: for studies in labor economics, at the Trade Union Fellowship Project, Harvard University.

Abram Lincoln Harris, professor of economics, Howard University, Washington, D.C.: to complete a book entitled, "Ideology and Economy," in the field of economics.

Wayland Jackson Hayes, professor of sociology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee: for development of sociological materials for the training of professional personnel, in conjunction with Belle Boone Beard.

James Lewis Henderson, regional information specialist, Farm Security Administration, Little Rock, Arkansas: for the completion of a book on the exploiting forces in southern agriculture.

Pearl L. Byrd Larsen, superintendent of education, St. Croix, Virgin Islands: for work, with teachers and community leaders, on the reorganization of curriculum and for graduate studies; at Columbia University.

Robert Caldwell Lasseter, Jr., editor of the *Rutherford Courier*, Murfreesboro, Tennessee: to make a survey of racial attitudes and usages in the southern press.

Elsie Mae Lewis, Little Rock, Arkansas: to present a critical analysis of the political history of Arkansas, 1850-60, and to do graduate work in history, at the University of Chicago.

Elizabeth Jane Lipford, Richmond, Virginia: for graduate studies in public health, at the University of Chicago.

Martha Carolyn Mitchell, Talladega Springs, Alabama: to write a history of Birmingham, Alabama, and to do graduate studies in history, at the University of Chicago.

Bucklin Moon, associate editor, Doubleday Doran, New York City: to write a novel dealing with Negro-white relationships in the South during the war years.

Charles Harold Nichols, Jr., Brooklyn, New York: to edit an anthology of slave narratives, and to do graduate work in English, at Brown University.

Pauline Nichols Pepinsky, Lawrence, Kansas: for graduate work in psychology, at the University of Minnesota.

Thomas Edward Posey, professor of economics, West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia: for graduate studies in labor economics, at the University of Wisconsin.

Benjamin Quarries, professor of history and chairman, Division of Social Studies, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana: for the completion of a biography of Frederick Douglass.

Lawrence D. Reddick, curator, New York Public Library, lecturer, College of the City of New York, New York City: to collect and edit the writings of Frederick Douglass.

J. Andrew Simmons, principal, Booker T.

Washington High School, Columbia, South Carolina: to develop a suggested program of education for interracial understanding on the secondary and adult levels.

Lorenzo Dow Turner, professor and head of Department of English, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee: to complete and publish three volumes of Afro-Brazilian folk material.

Rupert Vance, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: for the completion of a book on the human resources of the South.

Phyllis Annie Wallace, Baltimore, Maryland: to do a historical, analytical survey of the role of machine tools in the industrialization of the United States, and for graduate studies, at Yale University.

Donald Lee West, superintendent of schools, Lula, Georgia: to work in the field of rural education, at Ohio State University and the University of Georgia.

Olive Elizabeth Westbrooke, Jonesboro, Arkansas: for graduate studies in sociology, at the University of Chicago. Reappointment.

Dorothy Gwendolyn Williams, Atlanta, Georgia: to analyze the possible contribution of library service toward a program of adult education for Negroes in the South, and to do graduate study, at the University of Chicago. Reappointment.

Hilda Jane Zimmerman, Clemmons, North Carolina: to do a study of the history of penal reforms in the South since the Civil War, at the University of North Carolina. Reappointment.

University of Michigan.—Professor Theodore Newcomb is now on leave in England on research in problems of German morale. He is expected to return this fall.

Mr. Richard Myers, a teaching fellow, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology in Michigan State College, Lansing.

Within the past year the department has set up a program in penology for training men in various jobs in the field of criminology. This program was instituted at the request of Dr. Garrett Heyns, director of the Michigan Department of Corrections.

National Conference on Family Relations.—Evelyn Millis Duvall, secretary of the Conference, and Reuben Hill, professor of

sociology at Iowa State College, are the authors of *When You Marry*, to be published in October by D. C. Heath and Company. The Introduction is written by Ernest W. Burgess of the University of Chicago.

University of Nebraska.—Hattie Plum Williams has retired after thirty years in the department. Dr. Williams not only had an outstanding career as a teacher but has played a notable part in the development of social work in the state and social work instruction in the university and in advocating and formulating social legislation and other constructive social activities in the city of Lincoln and in the state.

Samuel M. Strong is taking Dr. Williams' place and has been appointed associate professor of sociology. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and comes to this department from Macalester College, St. Paul, where he was chairman of the department. He has also taught at Howard University, the University of Minnesota, and Tulane University. Dr. Strong will take up residence on September 1.

James M. Reinhardt, professor of sociology, has recently been appointed by the governor to serve on the Advisory Council of the Placement and Unemployment Insurance Division of the Department of Labor. During the past year he has been a public member of the W.L.B. Hearing Panel of Region VII, hearing cases in Nebraska and Iowa. He is also serving as president of the Lincoln and Lancaster County Social Hygiene Association.

University of North Carolina.—*Social Forces* celebrated its twentieth anniversary in March with a special issue entitled "In Search of the Regional Balance of America." Among the distinguished contributors are Rupert Vance, W. F. Ogburn, Charles S. Johnson, T. Lynn Smith, Edgar Thompson, Howard Odum, and Katharine Jocher.

Roy M. Brown, director of the Division of Public Welfare and Social Work for the last eight years, has asked to be relieved of administrative duties since he has reached

the age of retirement and wishes to do special work.

Arthur E. Fink has been appointed to follow Dr. Brown as director of the Division. Dr. Fink holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania and a special professional Master of Social Work degree from the Pennsylvania School of Social Work. He has been director of the social work training program at the University of Georgia and has held several important positions in social agencies in Pennsylvania. Dr. Fink is the author of *The Field of Social Work*, published by Henry Holt and Company, and a volume on the *Causes of Crime*, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Oberlin College.—Newell L. Sims has retired after twenty years of service on the Oberlin faculty. Dr. Sims's former position as head of the department has been filled by Clarence Ward, whose training has been primarily in the field of archeology. The emphasis of the department has been shifted somewhat in the direction of anthropology and archeology.

Fred Yarbough has been absent in the Navy for two years.

Ohio Valley Sociologist.—The officers of the society are Lloyd A. Cook, Ohio State University, president; W. F. Cottrell, Miami University, vice-president; J. Milton Yinger, Ohio Wesleyan University, secretary-treasurer; and Perry P. Denune, Ohio State University, editor.

Pacific Sociological Society.—The Pacific Sociological Society, Southern Division, and Alpha Kappa Delta, Sociology Honor Society, held a joint meeting at Occidental College on July 28. The morning session was devoted to a consideration of the problems of returned veterans. Leonard Bloom, of the University of California at Los Angeles, presided. Edith Kennedy, of the War Manpower Commission, discussed "Vocational Rehabilitation of Ex-servicemen," and Carl C. Gentry, of the Veterans' Bureau, dis-

cussed the "Physical and Mental Problems of Ex-servicemen." Arlien Johnson, of the University of Southern California, was the discussant.

The afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of the San Francisco Conference and postwar world problems. Emory S. Bogardus, of the University of Southern California, presided. George M. Day, of Occidental College, discussed the "Economic and Social Problems as Seen by the San Francisco Conference," and George Mangold discussed the question, "Is Free Employment Feasible?" Charles Spaulding, of Whittier College, was the discussant.

University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce.—E. P. Hutchinson has been elected associate professor of sociology and will begin teaching in the fall.

Russell Sage Foundation.—The Russell Sage Foundation announces the election of Eli Whitney Debevoise as a member of its board of trustees. Mr. Debevoise, a graduate of Yale University and the Harvard Law School, heads the law firm of Debevoise, Stevenson, Plimpton and Page. Besides being a member of the New York State, New York County, and the American Bar associations, and also of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, he is a trustee or member of the board of a number of social and civic organizations, including the New York Legal Aid Society, the State Charities Aid Association, Greater New York Fund, and the National Information Bureau. Mr. Debevoise was a lieutenant in the field artillery in the first World War.

University of Southern California.—The University of Southern California, in celebrating the founding of the Graduate School gave special recognition to sociology, for this year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of Alpha Kappa Delta, national honorary sociology fraternity; and the twenty-fifth year of the establishment of the Division of Social Work, now the

Graduate School of Social Work. In 1916 the department began to publish "Sociology Monographs"; in 1921, a bimonthly journal, the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, renamed *Sociology and Social Research* in 1927. To Emory S. Bogardus goes the chief credit for all these accomplishments.

The sociology faculty has published, to date, forty-seven books and monographs, including several standard texts. The various publications deal with such subjects as general sociology, social psychology, social theory, social problems, leadership, race, leisure and recreation, social work, child welfare, community organization, and social research. The latest volume, *Essays in Social Values*, published in January, 1945, was sponsored by students and colleagues of Clarence Marsh Case, and contains twelve of his essays.

Southern Sociological Society.—Because of O.D.T. regulations the Southern Sociological Society did not hold its annual meeting this year. The Society has continued to flourish and prosper during the war and today has a membership of two hundred and fifty.

An election of officers was held by mail. The following were elected for the fiscal year 1945-46: Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, president; Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College, first vice-president; W. B. Jones, Jr., University of Tennessee, second vice-president; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women, secretary-treasurer; Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, representative to the American Sociological Society. Members of the Executive Committee, in addition to the former presidents—Howard W. Beers; Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina; B. O. Williams, University of Georgia; William E. Cole, University of Tennessee; and Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University—are Mildred Mell, Agnes Scott College; Ira De A. Reid, Atlanta University; W. L. Leap, American Red Cross; and Frank D. Alexander, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, who were holdover members, and two newly

elected members: H. C. Brearley, Peabody College, and Guy B. Johnson, Southern Regional Council.

Recently the region lost one of its ablest sociologists—E. T. Krueger. Professor Krueger was instrumental in founding the Southern Sociological Society and served as its first president. The Society will miss his counsel and guidance in the years ahead.

Syracuse University.—The Syracuse University Press announces *Guide to Guidance: An Annotated Bibliography*, Volume VII, by Hilton M. Eunice (\$1.00 postpaid). The 1945 edition is the seventh in the series begun in 1939 by the National Association of Deans of Women on the N.E.A. and is a selected bibliography of the best books and articles on guidance published in 1944. The criteria for selection were soundness of research or reasoning, usefulness to the counselor, and excellence of presentation.

Vanderbilt University.—The *Journal* notes with regret the death of Ernest Theodore Krueger (1885-1945) on June 18, 1945. Professor Krueger was born in Blue Island, Illinois, September 27, 1885. He took his A.B. degree at the University of Illinois in 1910 and his Master of Arts in 1920 and his Ph.D. in 1925 at the University of Chicago. He was married to Margaret Aldrich on October 16, 1916. Mrs. Krueger and their two children survive.

Ernest Krueger worked and taught with great effectiveness and vigor in the Polytechnic Institute of Billings, Montana. He was an assistant in sociology at the University of Chicago. He taught sociology at the Chicago Theological Seminary from 1923 to 1924. Since 1924 he has been professor of sociology and head of the department in Vanderbilt University. While in Nashville he served on the summer-school faculties at the universities of Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee, and North Carolina and Pennsylvania State College.

Former associate editor of the *Journal of Social Forces*, Dr. Krueger was the author

of *A Digest of Social Laws in Tennessee*, written in collaboration with W. C. Headrick and W. S. Bixby, and of *Social Psychology*, of which Dr. Walter C. Reckless, formerly of the Vanderbilt faculty, was co-author.

At Vanderbilt he made a great contribution not only to the field of sociology but to the life of the university and made a significant place for himself in Tennessee and in the South both as a sociologist and as a citizen.

University of Wisconsin.—Preprofessional and professional graduate courses in social work will be offered in 1945-46, with a staff of four instructors, Arthur P. Miles being in charge. Owing to the expansion of this program, the name of the "Department of Sociology and Anthropology" will be changed to the "Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work." Bernice E. Orchard, executive secretary, State Committee on the Care of Children in Wartime, Indiana State Defense Council, and formerly connected with the Indiana State Department of Public Welfare, will join the staff on August 1, 1945, as assistant professor of social work.

A curriculum in prison administration is being developed in co-operation with the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Carl E. Johnson, deputy warden of the Wisconsin State Prison at Waupun, has been appointed associate professor of criminology and will begin his duties in the summer of 1945, giving half his time to teaching on the campus and half to in-service training of prison personnel in the state.

Howard P. Becker expects to return in the fall from his year's assignment in Europe with the Office of Strategic Services.

In the Extension Division, Steve C. Govin has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor; Samuel J. Kaufman has been named instructor in correctional sociology; and Jane I. Newell, former instructor, is now assistant professor of sociology.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Science of Man in the World Crisis. Edited by RALPH LINTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+532. \$4.00.

When the "science of man" takes note of one of the great crises of human history, we are obliged to give close attention to the findings. We do not require that this relatively new endeavor produce a finished solution to the troubles of humanity, since the time is not yet when governments will spend as much as 1 per cent of the cost of a navy on the kind of research in human relations that could make the arms useless. The research work underlying the twenty-one contributions in the present volume was, for the most part, done on a shoestring and without even the reward of fame. In such a perspective we may regard it as a triumph and, despite its flaws and gaps, of much potential value to statesmen if they would study it. The funds which made possible the publication were granted by the Viking Fund, Inc., and a foundation created and endowed by one who presumably is a new friend of social science, A. L. Wenner-Gren.

The science of man—anthropology—is in something of a crisis itself, and its condition is reflected by the discussions in the present symposium. The anthropologist, having held to a broad field while other sciences continued to divide into smaller and more specialized subjects, finds it necessary to demonstrate that he has any territory entirely his own. As the remaining few primitive cultures are transformed by interaction with civilizations, the last natural monopoly of the anthropologist disappears, and he finds his work completely overlapping with that of the other established sciences. He finds it a particularly crucial matter to make the differentiation between ethnology and sociology.

Linton, in the opening paper, states that the main difference is that the sociologists "have carried on their investigation almost entirely within the narrow frame of reference provided by our own society and culture" and that "many of [sociology's] conclusions have not been applicable to mankind as a whole or even to our own society under conditions of rapid change." Further, since anthropology has, according to Linton, shown greater scope of in-

terests and willingness to borrow and integrate data from any source, it should be developed into the synthesizing science that ties together the special knowledge in all the human sciences. The sociologist, in addition to challenging these contentions, may question the wisdom of taking such a role. He remembers the unsuccessful attempts of some of his predecessors to make sociology the "science of sciences" and observes that the scientist who develops a specialty of his own finds it easier to survive.

Biology, having an avuncular relation to anthropology, is treated in the present volume only in a few matters relating rather directly to the social behavior of man. H. L. Shapiro presents a general review of the evidence against certain popularly held biological prejudices. He also considers the issue regarding climate and human energy as a factor in the location of civilization, presenting the evidence in opposition to Huntington's well-known hypotheses, while, at the same time, confessing that he has a soft spot in his heart for them himself. He states, for example, that "the fact remains that most Europeans prefer to settle in cooler climates," ignoring the rush of Iowans to California and the migration of retired persons from the northeastern states to Florida. Furthermore, the familiar point which he raises about the low energy of inhabitants of warm regions ignores the abundant output of energy by native Africans, as well as the efficiency of football teams from Alabama and Texas. Civilization does not grow out of great outpourings of physical energy but by virtue of division of labor, trade, organization, resources, and accumulation of inventions, all of which reduce the amount of muscular effort required for survival.

Krogman shows, in his authoritative paper on "The Concept of Race," the basis for the conclusion that "biologically there are no fundamental physical differences in all stocks and in all races; that bio-genetic potentials are shared equally by all stocks and by all races." In short, race is biologically irrelevant. Klineberg follows with his familiar demonstration that there is no basis for assuming innate psychological race differences. Both recognize, of course, that race as a symbolic entity does affect behavior to

a most important extent, and both hope that at least some of the rationalizations for interracial antagonisms may be reduced by such presentations of scientific knowledge.

Following the biological contributions, the consideration of culture is undertaken. Clyde Kluckhohn and William L. Kelly compose for this purpose an extended dialogue which conducts the reader through the historic arguments concerning the concept of "culture," providing a painless means for a beginner to pick up some basic ideas. The article can be enthusiastically recommended for undergraduate reading. The participants in the imaginary conversation are a lawyer, a businessman, a psychologist, a biologist, and—presumably to overpower the foregoing—a quartet of anthropologists. These cover their topic well enough with no visible help from any sociologist. The main ideas are those introduced some years ago by Durkheim, Sumner, Cooley, Thomas, Kroeber, and Park, but the Bibliography does not mention these men, the authors having drawn their inspiration from later writers.

Murdock, in his paper on "The Common Denominator of Cultures," presents a useful list, made possible by the cross-cultural survey at Yale, of the elements common to all known cultures. These elements are, of course, categories and are not fully intelligible without precise definitions, which could hardly be included in the available space. But the question of the universality of such a concept as "religious rituals," to mention only one, surely depends on the breadth of definition. Murdock is satisfied that the items resolve themselves into these recognized categories in the minds of "competent observers"; but it is probable that later observers will reorganize their categories in the light of the advance of knowledge, and thus the list will necessarily be changed. The universality of a culture trait, as Murdock recognizes, does not have to imply an explanation in terms of biological similarities. There is a kind of logic in human relations that also imposes requirements on behavior whenever persons live in groups and build traditions.

The anthropologists have in recent years been seeking co-operation with psychology. It is not certain that the results so far justify the effort. We may grant that the process of learning is necessary to human life—culture could not be transmitted unless humans were able to learn. But the particular theory of learning which appears in several places in the present

symposium does not appear to be necessary or even helpful to any explanation of social behavior. It is the oversimple and mechanical viewpoint which has been so influential at Yale—a doctrine which originated in research with lower animals in simplified situations. The principles, when carried over to human behavior, could scarcely be as applicable or as useful as is assumed. The rule that "any response which reduces the elapsed time or the expended effort intervening between drive and reward is reinforced and strengthened, and thus tends to be repeated under similar conditions until it becomes fixed as a habit" (p. 133), is of little value in sociology. Not only is it difficult in the more complicated and organized human activities to identify drive and reward, but it is virtually impossible to measure the time and effort. More than half a century ago John Dewey, in his famous paper on the reflex-arc concept, pointed decisively to the futility of such an approach. A more useful and defensible viewpoint on motivation could be built on his discussion and on the later contributions of George H. Mead and his colleagues.

Psychology appears again with the attempt by Kardiner to show the utility of the concept of basic personality structure in a society. The basic idea appears useful, but the argument is supported by investigations which are so recent that there has not been sufficient time and discussion to provide an evaluation of the case. Judgment will have to wait, but some critical minds will not readily accept the claims of methodical and a posteriori findings when the appearances are so suggestive of forced insights. The argument is not convincing unless the reader is favorably inclined to begin with. The author shows much enthusiasm for the concept of "projection." Perhaps it is not an improper suspicion that a process of projection could account for some of the content of this study.

A number of the chapters serve the purpose of summarizing various aspects of the condition of the world in the present crisis. The state of the world resources is examined in a factual and practical chapter written by a geologist. Population problems are discussed by a botanist, although there are available sociological writers who might have presented more of the recent research materials and emphasized the human significance somewhat more adequately. There are two valuable papers dealing with the situation of the Indians of the Western hemisphere, and two chapters discussing colonial questions

all over the globe. The topic of minority groups, also of world-wide scope, is covered by Wirth in a carefully organized and sociologically satisfying fashion—the paper could be considered a classic. General remarks on world conditions are offered in articles by Linton and by Grayson Kirk. One somewhat unusual contribution is made by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Genevieve Knupfer, in a chapter on "Communications Research and International Coöperation." Having been prominently active in the rapidly developing field of communications research, they are convinced that it will play a large role, for good or otherwise, in international affairs. They present a proposal for research in and use of the new techniques by whatever international authority emerges in the postwar world. The idea may be new and startling, but if a world organization is to have planes and bombs, perhaps it will not be required to remain defenseless in the combat of ideas and influences.

Anthropology has not been important as a factor in the world crisis. The work under review has a more durable value than the pretentious title implies. While it has as much unity as is customarily to be found in such a symposium, it will be largely valued for the strength of individual papers, several of which will find an eager welcome in the sociologist's bibliography.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Syracuse University

Trends in Musical Taste. By JOHN H. MUELLER and KATE HEVNER. ("Indiana University Publications," No. 8.) Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1942. Pp. ii+112. \$1.00.

The sociology of art has had only a meager development and few followers—Mueller, Hevner, Boas, Honigsheim, Crawford, Bonner, Leichtenritt, Sorokin, Roberts, Whitridge. The work in this field seldom touches critical issues of importance or employs adequate methodology. Some writers are essentially impressionistic, like artists themselves, even mystical. Others are scholarly but only document a history. Some make ecological maps showing where artists live and work. A few are largely concerned with social classes, the élite and the folk. Occasionally one collects records of primitive art.

The authors are concerned with issues that

are basic both to sociology and to art, and their method is that of measurement. In art an important question is whether there are eternal forms of beauty, whether there are principles of art beyond the contemporary, and whether fashion plays a role in appraising art. In sociology there is the question of the eternal verities versus the changing mores, of ethical standards and the power of fashion. Mueller is both an able sociologist and an accomplished musician. What does he say?

His data, which required an amount of labor to collect likely not to be appreciated by those who merely think, show the various sociological factors which relate to the so-called "principles" of beauty. For instance, during the World War from 1914 to 1918 there were few principles of beauty to be found in German and Austrian music in the United States, while never before or since did the audiences in this country see so much beauty in French music. The standards of beauty seem to be different in Britain and in the United States. For British music appears on our programs one-fiftieth of the time, while in London it appears on one-fifth of the programs. On the other hand, American music is represented on our programs about one-tenth of the time, while in London "less than a half dozen items have appeared in its 125 years of history." There is, however, a connection, for with the music of composers of other nations the recognition of the art of a new composer on the part of symphony orchestras in the United States follows a prior recognition by the British after approximately a five-year lag. Thus Shostakovich was popular in England some five years before he began to appear on our programs. His music was first introduced to Americans over the radio not by an artist but by an official of the Office of War Information.

But, it may be argued, these, and many others considered by the authors, are only factors affecting variations in taste. The true standard of beauty exists nevertheless. But who tells us what these true standards are? In ethics we always have in the Christian world the authority of the Bible. But what God of Art is there to tell us what eternal beauty is? It may be suggested that it is the artistically trained élite who are the holders of this knowledge. (The élite, though, are subject, of course, to the learning process, just as are children learning different languages.) But it is the judgments of the élite which the authors measure and which show such variation. The programs of the endowed

symphony orchestras tend to be set by the orchestra leaders and are thus less subject to the vote of the masses than are the programs of the theater. But what do the actions of the musical leaders reveal about eternal standards? When the conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra is Koussevitzky, the programs become greatly enriched by many more selections from Russian music. When the conductor of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra is a man of spectacular, dramatic personality, his programs are weighted with this type of music. Some of us who are piously devoted to the mores of our democratic ideology have a mystical faith in the folk as arbiters of artistic standards. But statistics show that popular standards follow those of the élite after a ten-year lag. Even the ancient gods of the musical world seem to be on the way to being forgotten. The sands in the hourglass of time appear to be running out for Beethoven and Mozart, even for the élite. For in the repertoire of the Royal Philharmonic Society of London the curve of representation of Beethoven has been downward since 1855, and for Mozart since 1815. The data, though, hardly extend over a sufficiently long time to imply oblivion, for there have been recent revivals, for instance, of Brahms and Bach. The statistics of these researches will afford the interested reader much material for reflection on greatness as a sociological phenomenon as well as a biological one.

These researches will not settle the question of eternal beauty in art and how it is determined; and the problem of the eternal verities versus the mores will be argued for a long time. But the authors pile up a powerful array of statistics to show that musical taste behaves like all other folkways. It dictates what is "right" and what is "beautiful." The contemporary folkway of musical taste is impervious to contradiction and resists change. And those who speak against it are held as inferior or decadent. Such conclusions naturally offend the musical arbiters who are enveloped in the vision-limiting fog of the contemporary musical mores.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics. By MARY EARTHART. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. viii+418. \$3.75.

Here is a book which should interest several kinds of persons. In addition to being a readable

and honest biography of one of America's most effective leaders in the nineteenth century, the volume has much to offer to those who are interested in the process of the making and accepting of legends, to those interested in social movements, their leaders and their strategies, and, in short, to all who are concerned with the social-intellectual history of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Frances Willard is not treated as a saint, nor, on the other hand, does the author let herself in for a cheap debunking of the great temperance leader. Professor Earhart neither glosses over nor makes too much of the early frustrations and limitations in the life of her subject. She takes account of the push in Frances Willard to equal or outdistance her brother or any man; she notes the persistent ideal to be acclaimed as a great leader; she sees this woman's idealized friendships with other women as Frances Willard herself felt about them and yet with knowledge of our day brought to bear on them; she admits that the appeal of Miss Willard was never to fact and reason but to emotion, and both the shortcomings and the effectiveness of that appeal are made clear. The book presents itself as a completely fair and disinterested effort to clear away the mists that have obscured this able woman. For able she was, in spite of less than four years of formal schooling—but no saint!

One of the most interesting features of the book is the author's account of the deliberate effort on the part of Miss Willard's devoted followers to fix the halo about her head. This effort went so far as the destruction of many personal documents which, to the disciples' limited vision, would have made her seem too human, and their minimizing, after her death, of her efforts which went beyond the fight against intemperance. For Frances Willard herself her first and continuing objective was to be a force in the woman's movement in this country; the cause of temperance gave her an issue on which to mobilize home- and church-bound women for thought and action beyond their previous concerns. How she used these women at the point where she found them and pushed many of them far beyond their parochial limitations is a story well told. The subtitle of the book, "From Prayers to Politics," is more aptly chosen than is often the case, for it accurately suggests the curve of activity in Miss Willard's own life and in the life of the W.C.T.U.

Anna Gordon and those other shortsighted apostles are not the only persons who have thought of Frances Willard within the circumscription of a halo. Those who have mocked at the temperance movement and the overworked man in the street, as well, have been unaware of the scope of her activities. Here, for our enlightenment, are portrayed her courageous espousal of woman suffrage and her strategy of getting the Union to adopt that as a plank, if only for state action and if only to deal with the saloon; her keen analysis of the shortcomings of the suffrage movement, controlled, as she viewed it, by the too secular, too rational, and too belligerent easterners; her moving-away from "gospel politics" to actual political trafficking, party pressures, and party alignments; her concern with labor and the objectives of labor leaders of several brands; the correction of her original only-moral ideas regarding the relation of poverty and intemperance to the point where she saw poverty as the fundamental social problem; and her late but intense concern with the bases for international peace. Her leadership forced so many of the two hundred thousand members of the national W.C.T.U. into some awareness of economic and political problems that Miss Earhart speaks of the Union as a forerunner of today's League of Women Voters. (The W.C.T.U. at one time had as many as forty departments of study and activity, some of them not unlike those of the League.)

The volume is attractive in design, format, and illustrative material. In some half-dozen spots the composition slips into error. A time or two this reader felt that the author had, in spite of her real critical ability, adopted unconsciously some of the eulogistic phrasing of Miss Willard's disciples, as, for example, when she speaks of Miss Willard's "witchery" in handling people. The Index does not seem altogether adequate for the material drawn on, but this may be due to the exigencies of wartime. These defects are very slight by comparison with the great merits of the book, and the amount of firsthand documentation that has been used, in spite of the destruction earlier spoken of, bespeaks much hard work on the part of the author and no little imagination as to possible sources.

GLADYS BRYSON

Smith College

England in the Eighteen-eighties: Towards a Social Basis for Freedom. By HELEN MERRELL LYND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. xi+508. \$4.50.

The twentieth-century search for a positive theory of democracy seems to call for a re-examination of history in the light of popular social thought; we need to know more of the thinking about social relationships and its emotional coloring that have underlain consent to varying forms of government. Mrs. Lynd's book, filled with a frank impatience for greater equality of opportunity, is significant of the strength of this demand. The period she has elected to re-examine—the decade in which the outlines of the welfare state began to take recognizable shape in England—is one of particular interest to Americans, whom fortune has allowed to delay for so much longer in facing the problems of organization for universal welfare.

To appreciate an intensive study of a simple decade of a nation's history, the reader needs to be familiar with trends of thought and events both before and after the period of cross-section, but neither the general reader nor the university student, for whom Mrs. Lynd is writing, can safely be credited with too intimate a knowledge of nineteenth-century British social or administrative history. She has therefore deftly interleaved a mass of source material on British opinion on social change in the 1880's with a series of concise factual summaries of the whole century's development in the organization of political parties, religious movements, local government, education, and trade-unionism. Her interpretation of the reasons why the so-called "Great Depression" induced a growing public sensitivity is that the evils of slum poverty stressed the weakening of the hold of laissez faire theory through the gradual multiplication of problems requiring positive governmental action, the weakening of the complacency of the prosperous through the steady accumulation of knowledge about the ill effects of poverty, the sharpening of issues through the action of bold propagandists and labor leaders, and the fact that the prosperity of the middle years of the century had diffused much higher expectations among people of the lower middle class and had robbed their religious feeling of much of its otherworldly force. Had space allowed, I think that it would have been relevant to pursue this caste line of analysis further,

making more use of census figures to show the great expansion of occupations that gave rewards in white-collar prestige as well as in higher wages and better living conditions than had ever been open to manual workers. Indeed, the extent and character of the middle classes are nowhere very concretely described. Again, if the whole nation had been marked, ever since the Reformation, as is suggested (p. 10), by a character structure "rooted in caution and anxiety rather than in confidence," how could Britain have achieved her plunging lead into industrialism? Finally, I wondered if more use could not have been made of work that has been done on the local history of the great industrial cities. For example, I missed any comment on Leon S. Marshall's view of "the integrating tendency of the industrial milieu," in his paper on Manchester, where early steps in the direction of collectivist enterprise were in marked contrast to official laissez faire theory. Students, however, should find the book sufficiently challenging and suggestive to make it a welcome addition to their reading lists on the nineteenth century.

SYLVIA L. THURPP

University of Toronto

The Jehovah's Witnesses. By HERBERT HEWITT STROUP. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. vii+180. \$2.50.

For many years the Jehovah's Witnesses were known as Russellites, after their founder, Charles Taze Russell, who began the movement in 1872, in Allegheny, Pennsylvania. Under a totalitarian organization, Joseph Franklin Rutherford has become the sole religious instructor of the group. There is no local minister or teacher of religion. The sole function of the local organization is the distribution of literature.

Mr. Stroup found considerable difficulty in gaining factual information concerning membership, investments, property, and other statistical data. They were suspicious of outsiders as possible government agents or Roman Catholics. They are now banned in practically every country except the United States and England. Membership estimates range from seventy thousand to two million.

Central to the whole scheme of the Witnesses is the destruction of the present world

order and the setting-up of a kingdom of Jehovah, in which, of course, they would be the chief citizens. Every persecution and every evidence of decadence of this world is to be regarded with joy, since that is indicative that it is not long until this age shall cease.

In keeping with this assumption of earthly evil, they are not interested in education, wealth, or any type of community program for social betterment but only desire to save people out of the world. They refuse to co-operate with any other religious group or welfare organization. They are not pacifists but rather do not believe in working with governments, since they are presumed to be directly under the control of Satan. They believe in no eternal punishment but only in the ultimate destruction of the unrighteous. The Witness passes from death into a rebirth which renews his youth.

Few professional and educated persons have joined the Witnesses. Their chief recruits are from the lower classes, the socially disinherited. Their chief enemies are the wealthy, the politically strong, and the current religions.

Mr. Stroup's work illustrates the procedure in which the subject, the Witness, is resistant to investigation. He employed personal interviews where possible, visited meetings, and read their literature. By this method he was able to give a fairly comprehensive picture of both the institutional structure and the experiences of the person within the sect.

FORREST L. WELLER

Elizabethtown College

Inner Laws of Society: A New Sociology. By LUIGI STURZO. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1944. Pp. xxxvi+314. \$3.50.

Sturzo, a priest, is the founder of the Italian Popular party, whose members asserted simultaneously adherence to Catholicism and willingness to collaborate on the basis of a social program and of planned economy in pre-Mussolini Italy. An archbishop and a Jesuit, respectively, approving and introducing his book, thus show their willingness at least to tolerate its ideas in America. Accordingly, a detailed review is justified.

The essential theories are these: Mechanistic, positivistic, exclusively individualistic, and collectivistic concepts of society are all wrong; rather, the human individual taken in his con-

creteness and complexity is the basis of society (pp. xii-xiv and 55). The latter is the sum total of individuals, and, this reality being in process, history is the way of approach, the latter including the primitive societies and God's supernatural revelations (pp. xiv, xix, xxvii). Neither individual nor society being conceivable as entity apart from one another, the theory of a contract founding society is wrong (pp. xiv and 12). There exist three forms of social life—each based on knowledge and love (p. 195)—corresponding to the three permanent aspects of human nature: affectivity, guaranty of order, and ethical and finalistic principles; manifesting themselves, respectively, in familial, political, and religious groups (p. 25). Accordingly, the state, even the one investing the whole of the power in the people, has not the exclusive power as to family, economics, property, justice, warfare, and church affairs, every one of these belonging to another group or having to be directed according to eternal ethical rules. Especially the church founded by Jesus is the society in which the personality of each member is not lost.

The dependence of the author upon fore-runners is not easy to state, for references are not given. Nevertheless, the following is obvious: Large parts of the system correspond to the leading Catholic Neo-Thomistic social philosophy of the Dominicans and Jesuits. Eliminated are the traditional theory of social contract and of the evolution of state authority out of the paternal power; maintained is the right of the individual within about the same limits as in almost every Catholic school. Emphasis is given to the role of love in social life and in acquiring knowledge, an originally Platonic-Augustinian element, now appearing again in Neo-Thomism; incorporated is the concept that the history of primitives is part of the whole of history. The examples used denote the influence of the culture-historical anthropological school of Father Schmidt, itself based on a Catholic Platonism.

Even nonpartisans of the author's philosophy can adhere to his theories that general rules can be conceived only by being based on history and that the history of primitives and history, strictly speaking, must both be incorporated into the one historical science.

As to the chances and future role of a Catholicism with such a social philosophy—improved by church authority—the following pos-

sibility may be suggested. Since, in the United States the state does not interfere in religious affairs, does not deprive the family of the whole education, but gives to the individual the right Catholicism adjudges him, conflicts in these matters will probably not arise here. But, since Catholicism recognizes neither the isolated individual nor an isolated economy, independent of ethical considerations, dislikes *laissez faire*, and prefers planned economy, it will collaborate with and support similarly minded parties and groups against the common enemy—the free-enterprise system and the monopoly company—and will, as the latter and as labor unions, become a pressure group. Outside the United States, Catholicism, not being bound to a liberal-individualistic concept of absolute property right but recognizing within some limitations "common" property, can easily compromise with the Soviets, provided that these make concessions as to religion and education, as they are willing to do. The old competitor in the East, the Greek Orthodox church, is weak and has not any similar program and adaptability. Accordingly, in both hemispheres Catholicism of this kind has chances to increase in power.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

"Resistance to Social Innovations as Found in the Literature regarding Innovations Which Have Proved Successful." By THEODORE K. NOSS. Chicago: Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1944. Pp. ii+291.

The innovations considered are all from recent American history, but not so recent and unsettled that prejudice still befores them. However, much "dirty work at the crossroads" to balk some reform was never recorded even on paper, much less in print. The author can find no proof even that the express companies fought the parcel post,* though everyone believed so. The other cases considered are postal savings, opposed by the bankers; rural free delivery, fought by the wholesalers and small-town merchants; bobbed hair,* whose mostly unorganized opposition was led by preachers and hair dressers; simplified spelling (anti-TR politicians, etc.); hookworm diagnosis* (versus doctors, humorists, southerners); and woman suffrage, whose great enemy was the brewers. Only the movements starred are fully treated his-

torically in this printed version, but the findings on all are presented in the general chapters here.

The work is a mature and soundly reasoned one, a dissertation, but by an able professor, now a war officer. We may hope that it will appear in complete form later. A somewhat elaborate formula of the rise, formulation, organization, personnel, methods, and disintegration of resistance is proposed and supported by the seven cases, all from one country and general period. But, as the author perceives, there are wide variations in the quantitative filling-out of the several stages, explainable by the special circumstances. Particularly variable is the extent of organization of the opposition, reaching zero in the case of reformed spelling, which yet was, squelched so far as concerned Theodore Roosevelt's printing directive. Although spelling is and always has been in process of reform, yet the popular, unorganized, inertia resistance has today become so almost adamant that our spelling, although reforming, is probably getting worse instead of better, owing to phonetic change and importations of foreign words. Although reading and writing may be called our most important industry, yet in its two basic instruments—the alphabet and the system of spelling—we have made no important improvements nor summated progress in three millenniums. We can invent a rotary press to print twenty million words a minute; but when we lose a letter for the sound *sh*, we cannot reinvent or revive it, though we have been needing it these two thousand years past. The laws of the Medes and Persians have all been changed, but the sacred art of writing is immune to progress. A worthy work on a subject of basic importance to sociology.

S. C. GILFILLAN

University of Chicago

National Budgets for Full Employment. By the NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION. ("Planning Pamphlets," Nos. 43 and 44.) Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1945. Pp. viii+96. \$0.50.

The National Planning Association has presented a budget for total income and expenditure of the nation, much as the Secretary of the Treasury presents a budget for the expenditure of the nation's government. Such an achievement is only possible upon a foundation of at

least three decades of specific work in the collecting and analyzing of economic statistics. The preparation of the material for immediate use in this booklet must have cost many tens of thousands of dollars.

But this report is much more than a budget of the traditional type, in which the bookkeeper puts on one page of the ledger the money taken in and the money paid out on the other. Budgets have more recently become planning instruments for the coming years and are high-grade indicators of policy. Imagine this for the whole nation! Such a budget means policy regarding standard of living, unemployment, savings, investment, taxation, public debts, free enterprise in business, governmental aid, socialism, foreign trade, and international relations. It is interesting to note that into this little pamphlet of less than one hundred pages can be packed such a galaxy of issues so important to state and social welfare. This study of budgets, then, is more than finance and is of profound significance for sociologists.

The national budget is a social invention of really incalculable importance. We are likely to hear very much more about this new invention over the years to come. Already there is the Murray Bill based upon the conception of such a budget.

The booklet shows that, to give civilian employment to 57.5 million out of a total labor force of 61.5 million in 1950 at forty hours a week, a national product of 170 billion dollars in 1941 prices is required.

In making a budget for 170 billion dollars, it must be remembered that there is a close interrelationship between the various items going into it, so that a change in one item means a change in many others. If these relationships follow those of the past, then there will be a gap in a budget of this size of 20.8 billion dollars between income and expenditures, which may be reduced by adjustments to 8.5 billion. Evidently, we cannot afford to follow a policy of drift.

To get rid of this discrepancy of 8.5 billion dollars between expenditures and revenues, three different budget models are offered. One is the "government" model which relies on a large public investment. The other is the "business" model which counts chiefly on private investment and means the least departure from the past. The third is the "standard-of-living" model and calls for more consumer expendi-

tures. This latter model is rather difficult to work out so as to increase personal outlays very much because of the close relationship between disposable income and consumer expenditures. So this standard-of-living model rests also on a considerably increased expenditure on the part both of government and of business.

Each of these three models means changes in the system with varying degrees of difficulty of attainment and also with varying implications for our civilization. Into these implications the authors do not penetrate very far. If this were done, a much larger volume would be required. Even so, we do not often see across the years a study of such significance.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Democracy under Pressure: Special Interests vs. the Public Welfare. By STUART CHASE. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. Pp. xii+142. \$1.00.

This little volume is the fourth in a series of six which the author has undertaken at the behest of the Twentieth Century Fund. The series, which has the general title "When the War Ends," is aimed to stimulate intelligent thought and discussion concerning the postwar problems of this country. The Twentieth Century Fund takes no responsibility for Mr. Chase's views.

There are no surprises in the book for those who are familiar with the author's other writings. Mr. Chase is confident that democracy and over-all planning are the team of the future. He damns the activities of the business, labor, and agricultural pressure groups as attempts to operate under grab-bag rules a national economy that needs delicate scientific controls. He thinks the argument over private versus public control of industrial enterprises is completely outmoded. Both are absolutely essential, and it is time that we get down to the practical question of just what the best way of delimiting the zones is.

The most constructive section of the book is Chase's discussion of ways and means of curbing monopolies and conspiracies to restrict output and of improving governmental machinery so as to meet our problems effectively. It is pointed out that all these measures are essentially a matter of self-discipline on the part of

the American people. The task can be done. "Only in America will conditions be favorable for maintaining a wide area of free enterprise, with planning confined to a few key points. We have the time, and the margin of national resources, to continue our institutions with a minimum of change."

The book is written in Chase's usual lucid and forceful style. If widely read, it would not only bring the pressure groups into disrepute but would stimulate public thought on how to cope with the problem they pose.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

The Future Economic Policy of the United States.

By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, JR. ("America Looks Ahead," No. 8.) Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1943. Pp. vi+101. \$0.50 (cloth); \$0.25 (paper).

This well-written, well-documented booklet on domestic and foreign economic policy is concerned with basic issues rather than with specific legislation. Unfortunately, the author generalizes too much by identifying "the American People," or "Americans," with specific economic and political attitudes which are not shared by all the people in this country. Frequently, however, he really tackles well-known majority attitudes.

The first part, entitled "The Dangers Ahead," is devoted to an examination of current slogans in the light of actual requirements for economic security. The second part, "Human Freedom versus Security," is a succinct analysis of problems such as minimum standards, social security, and regulation of business. "Social weapons" are divided into three groups: the first, "to strengthen inducements," includes measures to overcome labor immobility and to encourage venture capital; the second includes measures "to deal with inefficient, obsolete or redundant producers"; and the third category includes national, state, and local types of planning, physical as well as fiscal, to "stabilize the national economy." The third part, "Our Foreign Trade Policy," raises the issue whether the United States will take part in a world economy. The problem is approached with frankness. An appeal is made to adapt the American economy to changes in the character and direction of international trade, to integrate our financial and

commercial policy in the international sphere, and to help the removal of international trade barriers by a substantial contribution on the part of the United States. In the concluding chapter the author discusses means of harmonizing conflicting aims, emphasizing the need of controls, and specifying the type of controls which are necessary during war and postwar times in an economy such as ours.

This booklet was written before the conference of Bretton Woods and before Beveridge's new book, *Full Employment in a Free Society*, was published. Yet it is not obsolete. Professor Brown renders a real service to those who have neither the time nor the inclination to study heavy tomes in the field of economics.

HENRY SIMON BLOCH

University of Chicago

The British War Economy, 1939-1943. By MARY E. MURPHY. New York: Professional and Technical Press, 1943. Pp. xiv+403. \$2.50.

This book contains a rather comprehensive description of the changes brought about in the British economic system by the war. It ends in 1943, but by that time the basic changes from a peacetime economy to one geared fully to the purpose of prosecuting a total war had been achieved.

The book starts with a discussion of the transformation of the productive apparatus to the requirements of war production. The experience in Britain was parallel to that in the United States. Under the stimulus of wartime demand, production expanded, but a considerable concentration of economic power went hand in hand with this. The author mentions that concern is felt in governmental circles over this development but does not go beyond quoting two or three hardly adequate measures contemplated by the government to deal with this problem.

The author continues by discussing measures to recruit labor and to settle labor disputes, wages, the role of women in industry and agriculture, social security, and allied problems. Compared with the United States, labor relations were much less troublesome in England, a fact which can possibly be accounted for by responsible government posts being held by members of the Labour party. This chapter

should prove of great interest to the sociologist. The next chapter deals with the control of financial corporations under the unfortunate and misleading title "The Conscription of Money." Other chapters deal with taxation, price control and rationing, food and nutrition, and problems of trade and transportation.

The chapter entitled "Transformation of the Social Structure" leaves one rather dissatisfied. Though such problems as civilian defense, evacuation, housing, social insurance, and public health are discussed, the author presents only dry facts without an attempt to evaluate the impact of the blitzkrieg and its consequences on the social relationships of the British people.

The chief asset of the book is the desire of the author to present a conscientious, factual account of the changes wrought in the British economy by the war; its chief defects are the complete absence of any attempt to evaluate these changes and the author's failure to show the social impact of the totality of these changes. As a fairly full catalogue of the economic history of Britain from 1939 to 1943 the book has decided merits; as a sociological or economic analysis it has none.

BERT F. HOSELITZ

University of Chicago

Retail Trade Associations. By HERMAN LEVY. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. x+265. \$4.00.

The author of this book is a well-known student of monopolistic practices and especially of the growth and development of monopolies, cartels, and trusts in British industry. The present volume presents an exhaustive description of the methods and practices of retail trade associations and contains, furthermore, valuable historical material on such practices as price maintenance, "unfair competition," margins and discounts, brands and advertising, etc. Though the book is exclusively descriptive, it is a rich mine of information and is written in a fluent, appealing style.

Although it will be of paramount interest to economists who are studying the thorny problems of imperfect competition, the book contains a host of material which should attract sociologists. Many problems of imperfect competition have never been amenable to complete solution by economic theory alone. Such

parts of the theory as circularity of entrepreneurs' decisions under oligopoly or bilateral monopoly have, up until now, not been amenable to a solution on the basis of purely economic analysis. It is true that lately methods have been developed which represent a novel line of attack from the angle of the mathematical theory of games of strategy and which seem to bring us nearer a solution,¹ but this does not mean that ample room is not left for an attempt to interpret the behavior of businessmen more closely from the standpoint of the social psychologist and the sociologist. It seems safe to say that a solution of the economic relationships under capitalism with oligopolistic and monopolistic features cannot be solved adequately unless much further sociological research on businessmen's attitudes, modes of behavior, and motives for decisions has been made. The book of Professor Levy is a successful attempt to fill part of this gap, and it should serve as a model and a challenge for sociologists to present us with similar studies on other aspects of imperfect competition.

BERT F. HOSELITZ

University of Chicago

Management of Manpower. By ASA S. KNOWLES and ROBERT D. THOMPSON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. ix+248. \$2.25.

Production Control. By ASA S. KNOWLES and ROBERT D. THOMPSON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. x+271. \$2.25.

These books are good examples of a body of literature which is little known to the sociologist. In the operation of modern industry there has developed a large body of concepts and practices which are applied to the organization of men and machines into a system for the production of goods. This field, often referred to as "scientific management," deals with such problems as the proper flow of work, physical arrangements, controls over materials, work in progress, costs, methods of payment, utilization of manpower, etc.

For the sociologist who is interested in understanding the social organization of a business or factory, this literature is disappointing. From

¹ John von Neumann and O. Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944).

it you never gain an understanding of the structure of human relationships, the problems of cooperation, or the real functioning of those all-important elements—the employees. Nevertheless, these volumes do give a certain understanding of the systems of organization and control which form the matrix in which the human organization must function.

The discussion of manpower is of especial interest to the social scientist. Within it are found a number of widely accepted concepts and attitudes concerning people at work. We see attitudes as to what is "good" and "bad" with respect to organization, policies, and working conditions, but unfortunately no attempt is made to clarify the underlying assumptions. There are also presented many of the accepted mechanisms of personnel management but without careful analysis of their actual functioning.

On the whole, these books and most of this field of industrial management literature can give an interesting insight into the thinking and practices of modern industry, but they do not give a real understanding of it as a social organization.

BURLEIGH B. GARDNER

University of Chicago

Rebellion in the Backlands: Translated from "*Os Sertões*" by Euclides da Cunha. With Introduction and Notes by SAMUEL PUTNAM. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. xxxii+525. \$5.00.

It would be difficult to find another single volume that would provide the intelligent American reader with a better introduction to a basic understanding of our Latin neighbor to the south than this translation of what has been called "Brazil's greatest book." This classic in Brazilian literature grew out of a series of articles, written by an engineer, who was sent by a newspaper to "cover" a campaign against a group of religious fanatics in the northeast. According to the author, his purpose was to sketch, "for the gaze of future historians, the most significant present-day characteristics of the sub-races to be found in the backlands of Brazil." In the execution of this plan, the author wrote not only a literary classic but one of the most illuminating books on the land and people of Brazil.

The book is divided into two parts: the first

deals with the backlands and the second with the rebellion of the religious fanatics who had established themselves in the village known as Canudos. It is in the first two chapters forming the first part of the book that the social scientist will find a wealth of information and suggestive hypotheses and insights on the relation of men and their social organization to their geographic environment. One might even venture to say that both sociologist and anthropologist might find in this book a model for the presentation of the life of men in relation to their environment. In the first chapter Da Cunha gives a detailed account of the geography, the flora and fauna, and the climate of the section of Brazil in which the rebellion occurred. In the second chapter he presents a picture of the men—the Negro, the Indian, the Portuguese, and the mixed-blood—who have settled in this region. In his analysis, however, of the character and culture of the men in this region, Da Cunha confuses biological and cultural influences because his analysis is based upon the older racial theories which were current at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, his meticulous description of the culture of the men of the backlands provides an excellent background for an understanding of the emergence of the religious cult that became the core of the rebellion.

The story of the rebellion, which is told in the eight chapters of the second part, contains a detailed account of four expeditions that were sent out to subdue the heterogeneous group of religious fanatics who had defied the Brazilian government. From the standpoint of dramatic narration the story, which is replete with human suffering and sacrifice, cunning, and fanatical courage, will hold the reader's attention until the last four defenders are killed. The account of the manner in which these expeditions were poorly equipped and led by ambitious men with local loyalties provides an excellent description of a phase of the growth of national unity in Brazil. At the same time this section of the book offers insight into many of the natural features of the country which have retarded its settlement.

In making this Brazilian classic available to the American public, Mr. Putnam has made a valuable contribution to intercultural relations between the two countries. Moreover, our debt to Mr. Putnam is increased by his outstanding success in overcoming the difficulties of trans-

lating the language of the original into readable and literary English.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Plainville, U.S.A. By JAMES WEST. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xviii + 238. \$2.75.

Plainville is a village of sixty-five households in a midwestern rural county. The population of the village and the surrounding rural community is white, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon. The community consists of hilly, timbered country, inhabited by people considered ignorant, backward, and poor, and by prairie land, whose inhabitants pass this judgment upon the others. The author chose the community for a study of acculturation. He wanted to learn in detail how "one relatively isolated and still 'backward' American farming community reacts to the constant stream of traits and influences pouring into it from cities and from more 'modern' farming communities."

The author lived in the community for some time, taking part in the local life, interviewing people, gathering formal data from the press and other written records. He has organized and presented his findings much as an anthropologist would those gathered from study of a community to whose culture he and his readers are strangers. Many of the smaller details of local custom and belief are thus reported. This is one of several points which distinguish this from most American rural sociological studies. Far from being unimportant, these details of custom, belief, and social organization turn out to be the matrix of the facts significant for the special problem of the adoption and the effects of new cultural traits.

The author claims to have tried to pick and to have thought that he had found a community where people are all on a social level. He soon found, however, that the protestations of social equality by local inhabitants were followed by cautiously made distinctions which together reveal a "social discrimination system of enormous complexity." It reminded me of my own experience with a priest who, having assured me that all men are equal in the sight of God, described in detail the social distinctions which he had to take into account to keep his parish running. In Plainville these distinctions have a

great deal to do with a person's fate: with his education, his religion, his marriage, the kind of job he can aspire to at home or in the outside world, and the manner in which new culture traits from outside strike him. That, I suppose, is the author's reason for presenting the system of social distinctions; if so, he does a good job of it.

My only slight quarrel with the author is that he did not give us even more detail on some of the social mechanisms which might affect the community's reaction to change; such as, for instance, the customs of transfer of land from father to son. We are told that, when a young man marries, he tries to get a farm to operate; but we are not given cases to show how he gets the farm, who gets a farm, and who fails to get a farm. The terms of the struggle to get and hold land have been observed sometimes to set people against adoption of new farming methods. This is only a minor quarrel, for, in the main, the book is an excellent example of what a rural sociology ought to be. A multiplication of such studies would help us understand the larger statistical surveys and would, also, stimulate rural sociologists to surveys of more scientific and practical import than many they now make.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Look to the Frontiers. By RODERICK PEATTIE.
New York: Harper & Bros., 1944. Pp. xii + 246. \$3.00.

The avowed purpose of this book is to persuade the lay reader of the inevitability of an internationalized world in which political boundaries do not block the passage of goods and people. The author is a geographer and not a political scientist. He does not propose political schemes for the establishment of a world federation, which he does advocate, but he offers suggestions to the peacemaker for the demarcation of frontiers which may not contribute to the revival of nationalism and economic isolation.

The book is built around the thesis that "boundaries with few functions are more serviceable to mankind than boundaries with many important functions." "Strange as it may seem, political strength may be discovered in the principle of weak boundaries." Frontiers to be favored do not necessarily coincide with natural

lines of defense and do not run along impassable barriers of communication and travel. Thus, the "weakness" of the Canadian border makes it an ideal frontier. The author places particular emphasis on what he terms "zone boundaries" as distinguished from "line boundaries." Zone boundaries are areas which have a regional cohesiveness of their own and some of the characteristics of the rival cultures between which they intervene. Alsace-Lorraine, Savoy and Nizza, Transylvania, Ethiopia, and Belgium are such transitional buffer territories. While line boundaries are subject to the direct pressure of rival countries and give rise to border incidents, zone boundaries are likely to absorb and neutralize the impact of antagonistic cultures before they have a chance to clash. The progressive establishment of additional buffer countries and autonomous regions, such as Alsace-Lorraine and Transylvania, is proposed within the framework of territorial, continental, and imperial federations which are to succeed the present system of sovereign national states. A series of economical and political measures, such as the lowering or complete abandonment of tariffs, the suppression of monopolies and cartels (of both the service and price variety), and the internationalization of rivers, ports, and mountain passes which facilitate international commerce and traffic round out the author's program of promoting international co-operation at the peace table.

The book is loosely organized and written in an offhand style. Weak and inconclusive passages alternate with good observations and digressions into historical geography. The main strength of the publication lies in its topical character and its challenging thesis.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Les Aspects sthéniques et asthéniques dans les conduites et les sentiments complexes. By LÉON LITWINSKI. Lisbon, Portugal: Grafica de Coimbra, 1943. Pp. xiii + 149.

Students of human conduct will find in this volume valuable insights into an area of psychology neglected in contemporary scientific studies. That area is what the author calls "complex sentiments." The following main topics are dealt with: (i) laziness, its multiple varieties and the social conditions producing them; (ii) stubbornness, perverseness, and the

social life conducive to psychic states mingled with feelings of inadequacy; (iii) arrogance, its complex forms in the conduct of individuals as well as groups under conditions of dominance and oppression; (iv) ingratitude as a defense mechanism and as a feeling related to independence; (v) calumny, its relation to society and various forms of reactions to calumny; and (vi) affability and the related feelings of tension. These complex sentiments are categorized in terms of "sthénique," meaning expressive of strength, and "asthénique," meaning expressive of weakness.

The reader of this volume may be reminded of La Bruyère's *Les Caractères* and of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*. However, the author goes further in his social psychological analysis of diverse personality types and of social situations that produce complex emotional states.

The reviewer regrets that a little volume of this kind may as yet not be found in translation, nor is it readily available in the original.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Macalester College

The Golden Wing: A Family Chronicle. By LIN YUEH-HWA. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944. Pp. iii+175. \$2.00.

The Golden Wing is the story of the rise of one family and of the decline of another, a true account of village and town life presented in somewhat fictionalized form. The materials deal with pre-war China—a China in which central authority figures but little and family ties, responsibilities, and protection much, one in which the plotting of personal enemies, bribery in the law courts, and the raids of bandits and corrupt soldiery can bring disaster as well as the more unavoidable dangers of illness, commercial troubles, and death. Viewed superficially, to the Occidental, the prospect is a gloomy one, the situation one in which only the exceptionally lucky man can succeed. Yet the real tragedy here comes not so much from poverty and struggle as from the decline of the lineage and the dying-out of a family name, events which are only partly connected with the life-struggle. Throughout all the adversity recounted the reader recognizes a dignity and sense of purpose, even in the ordinary daily routine of the families described here, which

are often lacking in our own disorganized individualized society. Dr. Lin is a good reporter. As we read his account of the family ceremonies and celebrations, we have a sense of a rich and many-patterned texture of life hardly known to many of us who have grown up in a bare modern industrialized world. We may imagine that a few generations ago this Chinese life was still more cohesive and less subject to foreign influences and to the departure of its members than at the time this story is told and that by this time the process of disintegration has gone even further. The author does not, however, tell us this. Perhaps what one misses most in the book, since it is intended as a scientific rather than literary work, is a statement of the problem involved. The Introduction by Bruno Lasker only partly remedies this defect. We remain throughout uncertain as to just what Dr. Lin is attempting to convey through the medium of this chronicle—the part played by the family in determining the life of the individual; the rise of a determined man against all the setbacks of evil "wind and water"; or merely a picture of life as it was and continues to be in a prosperous Chinese village household. Whatever the purpose of the author, however, the reader will gain from this work insight into the nature of family association in general, as much from the quarrels and separations of households as from the solidarity which the ancient rituals so well reinforce. And though China is changing, and will continue to change, we may hope that she will not do so so fast and so radically as to lose completely the ancient values of family living in which has lain her strength as well as some of her weakness.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Glenview, Illinois

Tabio: Estudio de la organizacion rural. By T. LYNN SMITH, JUSTO DÍAZ RODRÍGUEZ, and LUIS ROBERTO GARCÍA. ("Publicaciones del Ministerio de la Economía Nacional.") Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Minerva, Ltda., 1944. Pp. ii+124.

This is a socioeconomic and demographic study of the small rural municipality (political subdivision) of Tabio, situated in the state of Colombia, some thirty miles northwest of Bogotá. The data for the study were obtained primarily from a questionnaire similar to those

used by rural sociologists in the United States and are statistically treated in the textual presentation. The coverage was about three-fourths of the households in the municipality.

Population movement, especially the urbanward movement to Bogotá and other near-by cities, is noted. This movement has produced a sex ratio in Tabio of 89.4 males per 100 females. Owing to the comparative dearth and inaccuracy of vital figures, the authors were compelled to employ both direct and indirect calculations in arriving at the crude birth and death rates, which are approximately twice as high as those in the United States. Community organization and class structure are based largely, although not exclusively, on the functionally differentiated and self-sufficient economic activities of the municipality, alongside which is the conspicuous evidence of inequality in the distribution of wealth. The ruling class is composed of a small number of wealthy land-owning white people; the lower class is composed of whites, mestizos, and mixed Indians and whites who are the servants, farm laborers, and tenants.

As in most Latin-American communities, the Catholic church plays a prominent part in fostering and maintaining community consensus because it, more than any other aspect of their life, possesses values that are common to all races, classes, ages, and sexes.

This is a pioneer study. It is hoped that similar studies will be forthcoming.

CHARLES ROGLER

University of Iowa

Military Occupation and the Rule of Law: Occupational Government in the Rhineland, 1918-1923. By ERNST FRAENKEL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xi+267. \$3.50.

Under the auspices of the Institute for World Affairs and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Dr. Fraenkel has undertaken to write the legal and administrative history of occupation government in the Rhineland after the last war. As the title suggests, the author has been primarily concerned with the problems of law to which the relations between the occupying powers and the occupied country gave rise. With reference to the present, he has confined himself to pointing out the specifically legal problems which confront the occupying

powers in Germany today, without undertaking any detailed analysis in this respect.

The book is divided into two parallel parts, each dealing with the institutions of the occupying powers and their relations with the occupied country, during the armistice and the peace period, respectively. In addition, there are three chapters dealing with the problems of the administration of justice in the occupied area, and in the first section of the book the author has added a short chapter on the problem of war criminals.

In the main, the study is confined to an exhaustive account of the legal and administrative procedures which were instituted during the Rhineland occupation, with regard to commercial activities, labor relations, military security, etc. In this connection several problems of military occupation appear to be outstanding. Should the old administrative personnel of the occupied country be left in power (for the sake of maintaining law and order) or should it be replaced? Dr. Fraenkel points out the political considerations which led the occupying powers to adopt the first course of action, and he shows clearly the great danger of such a policy. He further elaborates on the difference in "occupation practice" between France and Belgium, on the one hand, and England and the United States, on the other. These differences arose primarily out of the clearly nationalist policies of the French and the Belgians, which stood in sharp contrast to the English and American policies that were inspired by Wilsonian ideals and the tradition of Anglo-Saxon law. The author pleads that in the future the document which states the basic policies of occupation government should not confine itself to general principles but should instead state explicitly the powers of the occupying armies so that their adherence to the rule of law can be tested in the courts and not depend on good will.

In this connection Dr. Fraenkel discusses in great detail the whole problem of the delimitation of jurisdictional authority between occupying powers and those of the occupied country. The difficulties are noted which arose out of the application of American law to German conditions: in America the police power is designed to give protection against the infraction of individual rights, whereas on the Continent these rights are considered as the judicial defense

against the exercise of police power. In a number of instances this different conception made it possible for German officials to sabotage the rule of the occupying powers. But, on the whole, he seems to think that the latter adhered in practice to the Continental interpretation. Thus, the Allied High Commission in numerous instances regarded its responsibility for public order as entitling it to take any measures not expressly forbidden by the so-called Rhineland Agreement, although it refrained from exercising its functions exclusively on the basis of political considerations. In this respect the reader might have wished that Dr. Fraenkel had summarized a little more sharply his analysis of the ambivalence between the principle of the supremacy of law and the practices of power politics, which characterized the Rhineland occupation. In view of this difficulty it seems sound when the author emphasizes throughout the paramount importance of defining explicitly the specific powers which the occupation authorities are to exercise. (In fact, he makes the point that a vague, well-intentioned enabling charter leaves greater room for an arbitrary exercise of power than martial law.)

This summary fails to indicate the wealth of detail which has been incorporated in this study. The book was written to show what legal and administrative problems the Allied occupation faced in its attempt to realize under conditions of military occupation the principle of the rule of law. It may be suggested—and Dr. Fraenkel's study certainly bears this out—that the statutory enumeration of enabling powers, while important, is hardly the point deserving primary attention. The maintenance of the rule of law will serve constructive purposes only if it is informed by political considerations that are conducive toward the reconstruction of a society in which the rule of law is but a symptom of social health. The author has very effectively criticized the considerations of political expediency which vitiated time and again the supremacy of law during the Rhineland occupation. He would surely agree that the rule of law under military occupation can only be established if it is part and parcel of an over-all plan of social reconstruction which ultimately makes this occupation unnecessary. That is the question in Europe today.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of Chicago

Poland. Edited by BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. ("United Nations Series.") Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. Pp. xxiii+500. \$5.00.

This symposium denotes its character by the fact that some of its collaborators are connected with the Polish government-in-exile. Thus no one will expect a completely objective analysis without any valuation but rather a propagandistic work. Considering the starting-point of the authors and having in mind that, at the present time, there are printed in the United States many books dealing with European or Latin-American countries in a panegyric way, one finds it a very pleasant experience to study this book more intensively. Already the Bibliography, objectively made up, contains some German publications which are not at all friendly to the Poles but rather partial and unobjective, such as some articles of Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* and the *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde*, including issues edited after Hitler's rise to power. Moreover, at least in some of the twenty-six chapters, there are some remarkably exact analyses of complicated phenomena: (1) the geographical part, written by Halecki, limiting the possibility of geographical explanation of social and historical phenomena and opposing an overstatement "involving a dangerous geographical determinism" (p. 6); (2) the anthropological part, renouncing the possibility of objectively connecting, "the measurable and observable characteristics which physical anthropologists arbitrarily use in order to describe race, with any definite mental-emotional characters or trends" (p. 22); (3) the section written by Zielinski, Wellisz, and Radwan, dealing with the economic problems of a country originally without capital and of primarily feudal character; (4) the historico-political chapters dealing with the interrelationship between Poland or special Polish parties and Germany, Russia, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia, before and during World War I and II, elaborated by Schmitt, Thompson, Stretelski, Nowak, and Orvis, the two latter objectively acknowledging Poland's temporarily good relations with Germany (pp. 34-35) and Prussia's liberation of Polish serfs in the areas of Poland from 1795 to 1915 under Prussian control (p. 64). Different from this use of true scientific methods, Halecki twice slips back into the old ways of obsolete Polish histori-

ans. (1) He admires the so-called Polish "liberties" of the later Middle Ages "in opposition to the progress of absolute government, west and east of Poland" (p. 44). Certainly no one will accept the exaggerated emphasis given to the absolutistic kingdom, most of all by the German historical school of Schmoller. But the "liberties" in question were those of the nobility who oppressed the lower classes. But actually the latter were protected since Philip the Fair of France by the centralized administration of the absolutistic kingdom. This form of government and life never—or at least at too late a period—spread to Poland, and there the situation of the lower classes remained more dependent and poorer than in some other countries, and that essentially because of surviving "liberties" of the nobility; (2) he overemphasizes the so-called Polish tolerance (p. 248). Certainly no one will accept uncritically accusations of intolerance during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, put forward by one religious group against another, especially by German historians belonging to the school of Ranke or adherents of the nationalism of Treitschke. But with regard to Poland there remains the fate of Socinianism, the Polish Unitarianism having in Rakow its humanistic Gymnasium, visited by students coming from many countries, and its printing office, editing the Rakow catechism in many Polish, German, and Latin editions. All this was completely annihilated by the Jesuitic Counter Reformation, while, on the other hand, a very similar Unitarian church has been tolerated in an area very near to Poland, i.e., in Hungarian Transylvania, without interruption until the present time. This especially Polish kind of Protestantism became known in almost all Protestant countries. Accordingly the chapter under consideration gives an incomplete, even incorrect, picture of the history of religion and especially of tolerance in Poland by only mentioning "anti-Trinitarians" in one and a half lines (p. 248), by overlooking the importance and the annihilation of Socinianism, and by not even using this term at all, although it is a term used in all languages. Except for these two false historical pictures, the book can be considered a clear, objective, and worthwhile analysis and description of Poland's past and present.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

National Cultures, Nazism and the Church. By ANDREW J. KRZESINSKI. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1945. Pp. ii+128. \$1.75.

This book of a Catholic Doctor of Theology, printed with the church's approval, can be considered as an official Catholic treaty on nazism. Accordingly, a primarily racial culture is denied, but rather a national one within the whole of the universal Catholic church is emphasized (pp. 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27). The exposition of racism, Darwinism, Nazi ideology and practice, criticized from this viewpoint and based on exact knowledge of Nazi and other publications, can be accepted, even by those who do not adhere to Catholic philosophy. But the latter misleads the author to untenable statements: (1) Kant, whose social philosophy centers around the individualistic "categorical imperative," on the one hand, and humanity, on the other, cannot, as asserted (p. 32), be brought into the pedigree of nazism. Accordingly, the German transcendental philosophy in itself is not responsible for the Germans' conquering mentality, but rather a special form, which it accepted in the epoch of Romanticism and Reaction, especially in the school of Hegel, and last, but not least, the official German historical schools of Ranke and Treitschke, who, strange to say, are not mentioned at all by the author of this book. (2) The Germans are indeed at the present time the most ruthless in exterminating other nations, but Spaniards did the same for centuries, and Franco's propagandist, Peman, glorifies this attitude in a manner similar to Hitler's propagandist, Rosenberg. Thus, neither lack of Christianity in Germany nor its special kind can be made primarily responsible, as suggested by the author. Except for these aberrations the book is a useful exposition of Nazi theory and practice and of the Catholic attitude toward them.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations. By NORMAN HILL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. vii+248. \$3.00.

Norman Hill's timely book is a survey of territorial aspirations and frontier changes, mainly in modern times. An introductory chapter reviews briefly the main types of recent ex-

pansionist ideologies, including those of Ratzel, Kjellen, Mackinder, Haushofer, Hitler, and the Japanese, and the American spokesmen of expansion. The greater part of the book contains a broad historical catalogue of territorial issues classified according to the principles invoked by the claimants to frontier revisions. "Nonlegal" claims to territory are surveyed under the five main captions of strategic, historic, economic, geographic, and ethnic demands. A review of legal claims follows. Two final chapters reclassify the historical material according to the main types of solutions found for nonlegal issues and the types of procedures followed in composing territorial disputes.

The author has covered extensive ground in a concise and lucid fashion. That the underlying treatment is largely of a classificatory nature does not detract from the informativeness of the study.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

The Education of the Countryman. By H. M. BURTON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xi+251. \$3.50.

This book will have a double interest: to rural sociologists concerned with planning for rural life and to educational administrators upon whom responsibility rests for the development of school systems serving noncity areas. To both the book has much to offer, and, although the data are drawn entirely from English sources and the discussion is focused upon English problems, the parallels between that country and our own are close enough to give the book significance for American readers.

The author starts with a discussion of the importance of the rural population and its place in national life, and he challenges the idea that the countryside is dying. The deficiencies of English rural education in relation to the general problems of rural living are reviewed in detail and include such points as physical plant, teaching staff, management, organization, curriculum, teacher-training, and the composition of the school population. Basic is the author's contention that many of the shortcomings of rural education arise because the rural schools were not developed to meet particularly the needs of rural students and the kinds of lives they will lead. Rather, rural education in practice is the result of imposing upon the country

areas a pattern of education conceived and developed largely to meet the needs of urban sections.

From this the general point is developed that a healthy and contented and vital countryside rests upon a complete change in philosophy with respect to rural education. A long section sketches what type of curriculum would be needed to make rural schools what the author believes they should be; and generally through the chapters suggestions for reform are outlined. Education alone cannot reinvigorate country life, it is argued, but there cannot be a vigorous country life without educational reforms.

Mr. Burton is contending for what would be called in this country a sound general education, and for those who have been concerned with educational reforms in the United States what he has to say will appear as pertinent. The book is an indication that the sterility of much of formal education is by no means a problem only in this country. The required revamping of educational systems is the outgrowth of forces that are operating on a much broader basis.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

University of Minnesota

Higher Education in the Postwar Period. Compiled and edited by JOHN DALE RUSSELL. ("Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, 1944," Vol. XVI.) Chicago: University of Chicago, 1944. Pp. vi+169. \$2.00.

This little lithoprinted volume comprises thirteen papers given at the 1944 meeting of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions held in Chicago. Most of the papers are written by college and university administrative officers who explore the possibilities and the probabilities of postwar curriculums, of admissions procedure, and of student counseling. Naturally the veteran comes in for a large share of attention. The general impression is of intelligent men struggling valiantly to cope with a future that is still so uncertain as to make detailed planning impossible. One of the authors aptly remarks: "Like characters in a Greek tragedy, we have all been swept up in issues the magnitude of which dwarfs and makes almost irrelevant the preparation or previous training of any of us."

Perhaps two papers will be particularly in-

teresting to sociologists. Dr. Louis Wirth's "The Setting of Postwar Higher Education" sketches in broad outline the probable social conditions which will surround institutions of higher education and to which they will have to adjust. The author goes on to point out the obligation of higher education to train young people to take an active part in the management of world affairs. In his paper, "Liberal Education after the War," Dr. John H. Finley, Harvard classicist, goes to the roots of the problem of a liberal education. His brilliant analysis is concerned less with the postwar period than with the perennial problems of specialization and general education.

Though it is not emphasized in these papers, the reviewer is impressed by the evidence that there will be, not one postwar period, but two. The four or five years during which the veterans will be on college campuses in large numbers will constitute a time almost as abnormal as the war years. All kinds of special arrangements will have to be made for them, many of which may represent some compromise with ideals of higher education. It will be only after this flood has passed that the new patterns of education, growing out of war-induced self-criticism and war-induced experiences and visions, will emerge.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

They See for Themselves: A Documentary Approach to Intercultural Education in the High School. By SPENCER BROWN. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1945. Pp. xii+129. \$2.00.

This book, the third in a series sponsored by the Bureau of Intercultural Education, like its predecessors, is intended "to build understanding, co-operation, and national unity among cultural groups in America" through the school. It is based on experimentation in eleven schools located in New York City and Westchester County, New York.

The significance of the book lies in its contribution to the central problem in social science education, namely, the changing of attitudes. The "documentary method," experiments in which the book reports, consists of "fact-finding, discussion, and group co-operation." The "personal interview and . . . personal experience" were the main source of facts;

these were "processed" through group discussion which, if it was true discussion, involved group co-operation. The students' education lay in these. It also lay in the writing and presentation of "documentary plays" ("living newspapers") which were the instruments through which the schools sought to change community attitudes toward intercultural problems.

The fact-finding was conceived as contributing to the students' getting to know people about whom they, or others, held prejudicial attitudes. From these contacts and in the subsequent discussion it was hoped that the intellectual and emotional stereotypes of the students would be broken down. These methods, the author believes, are, in principle at least, superior to the kind of "therapy" claimed by the "propaganda analysis" approach which turns out to be largely a search for "colored words"—a kind of semantic witch-hunt. With this the reviewer is in complete agreement. The author remarks at some length on the greater difficulty of breaking down emotional stereotypes. Such an intellectual stereotype as the fallacy that "the Puritan [was] the sole author of American history" is a pushover when compared to the belief that "all Greeks [are] roly-poly men" or that only Negroes "smell." To provide "favorable soil for desirable attitudes . . . may not produce the attitudes themselves." Would that Spencer Brown's wisdom on this point were more often met among high-school teachers!

Although the presentation of the plays was in no sense the *terminus ad quem* of the enterprise in any school, it is not without significance, both for students and for the community audience. But on this point the author is properly cautious. As for the latter, the play "merely tries to bring [it] part of the way along the road toward democratic understanding that the authors and actors have traveled." For the students the play offers the opportunity to give a large number of actors "the self-expression and psychological therapy of standing on a stage and acting a part" (p. 66). The author does not presume to judge the effectiveness of "psychodramatics" (of which Dr. J. L. Moreno has been the chief proponent) but states the case for the dramatization of intercultural conflict as follows:

If the essence of drama is conflict and the ultimate resolution of the conflict, and if a cultural study

of the community has revealed facts of conflict between groups and by the possibilities of their co-operation, then the kind of drama which deals especially with groups and types and facts—the documentary play—should be an excellent medium for exposing the problem and for suggesting its solution [p. 71].

Of the possibility of too great shock, particularly among elementary children, both as actors and as audience, the author is fully aware. Furthermore, he makes clear that a documentary, fact-finding, project is interested in wider education than "teaching to a few a hard and perhaps unteachable art," namely, play-acting.

As to final evaluation of the outcome of these projects in terms of changed student attitudes, the author is again as cautious as the reviewer believes he must be. Standardized and objective tests of attitudes are "tests of verbalized attitudes only. . . . It is to be hoped that, as readers attempt similar projects in the future, there will be some kind of objective testing and observation of changes in social behavior rather than mere records of verbalized attitudes" (p. 87).

The reviewer does not feel competent to "review" the three short plays which are appended. Suffice it to say that they are eloquent in the "mind-changing" sense of the term.

The study as a whole is a credit to the Bureau and to its author. It is one of the most intelligent, useful, and critical pieces of writing in the field of social science education that has appeared in a long time.

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

Jim Crow Joins Up. By RUTH DANNENHOWER WILSON. New York: William J. Clark Press, 1944. Pp. xii+129. \$2.50.

Jim Crow Joins Up is a timely bit of reporting which tells the story of our treatment of Negroes in the armed forces about as well as it is possible to tell it in time of war. Writing with obvious restraint, keeping well within her facts, avoiding the more explosive aspects of her subject, Miss Wilson sets forth the results of her investigation in as revealing a manner as the necessity of clearing her manuscript with public relations officers and the inherent delicacy of the subject would permit.

Our peacetime pattern of discrimination has followed the Negro into the armed forces, but

it is not clear from this account to what extent this has affected the morale of Negro troops. The author correctly insists that segregation is a threat to morale but lays great stress upon the loyalty of Negroes in spite of discrimination. She has probably made the right choices and has cautiously advanced the cause of race relations a little way. Her book will start neither crusades nor race riots.

The price of the book seems unduly high.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

Criminal Careers in Retrospect. By SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943. Pp. xiv+380. \$3.50.

Criminal Careers in Retrospect is the third in a series of follow-up studies of the careers of 510 offenders who had been inmates of the Massachusetts Reformatory. The first five years of the post-reformatory period was described in a volume entitled *500 Criminal Careers*; the study of the second five-year period was entitled *Later Criminal Careers*; while the third five-year period following release is described in the present volume. The men were released in 1921 and 1922; this study covers the years from 1931-32 to 1936-37.

The careers of the 418 men available for study out of the original 510, have been analyzed in great detail. Facts are presented about family and personal backgrounds, family relationship, economic status, employment, use of leisure time, contact with social agencies, number and nature of arrests, type of offenses, number of convictions, and peno-correctional experiences. The responses of these men to probation, parole, and institutionalization have been analyzed in terms of some twenty-seven pre-reformatory differences in family and personal background, a prediction table has been constructed using these background factors, and typical cases have been described in narrative form.

The general findings are similar to those of the second five-year period. In Period III, 57 per cent of the group about whom the information was known and applicable were arrested a total of 985 times. Of 418 men available for study, 33.5 per cent were classified as "reformed" and 66.5 as "unreformed." Some individuals failed under all methods of treatment, some succeeded under all methods, and

some failed under one method and succeeded under others. The general picture presented by the cases and other data is that the life of a former convict, in depression years, is an extremely hard one.

This study required industry, patience, and great resources. Within the framework of the authors' basic theories the data were thoroughly analyzed and presented. But these theories have not been established in spite of the fact that the authors draw attention to every shred of evidence which supported them. In fact, it seems to me that the volume contains a great deal of evidence which directly challenges the validity of the basic assumptions.

The selection and treatment of data and the direction of analysis have been determined by the "early character formation" theory—that "the presence or absence of certain traits and characteristics in the constitution and early environment . . . determines . . . what offenders will ultimately become and what will become of them" (p. 285). All analyses of the differences between "reformed" and "unreformed," the effectiveness of different types of treatment, and the value of factors for prediction are made through the use of characteristics or factors in the early experiences of the offenders without reference to his experiences in the post-parole period. In other words, the implicit assumption is that nothing of importance happened to these men after they were released from prison—that social life has no real significance after the experience of early years.

However much the authors would like to establish the unimportance of the post-institutional experiences of offenders, this is not accomplished by ignoring them. In fact, it is just possible that the total life-career of the offender, or even his post-parole experience would furnish as good or even a better basis for predicting behavior than the factors of early experiences used in the prediction tables. Support for this position is suggested by the fact that offenders shifted from the success to the failure column and vice versa between the five-year periods. If their careers had been predetermined, it would seem that they would have remained either as successes or as failures.

The other theory which entered into the interpretation of the data is the theory of maturation. Maturation is the achievement of a degree of maturity adequate to social adaptation that seems reasonably to account for the abandonment of criminalistic ways (p. 39). This theory

seems to be reflected in the otherwise incomprehensible interest of the authors in building up the number of "nondelinquents" or "successes." Of the total number of offenders, 120, or 30.8 per cent, were nondelinquent during Period III. To this number 20 who were nondelinquent during the last year of the period were added, to bring to 140 the number of successes. It is evident that, by reducing the time unit from the final year to the final month or the final day before the expiration of the period, almost all the offenders not in prison could be included in the success column.

But more important methodologically is the fact in the basic comparisons between the characteristics of the "reformed" and the "unreformed" (p. 127) at least 20 of the 140 offenders in the reformed column had been in the unreformed column sometime during Period III, and more than half of the 140 (apparently only 64 of the offenders were nondelinquent during the entire post-institutional period) had been in the unreformed column at some time during the fifteen-year period. An effort to find significant differences between such categories as reformed and unreformed, when one-half of the cases in the reformed category were in the unreformed category at an earlier date, does not seem likely to yield much that is significant.

These are only samples of the many interesting questions raised by this volume. It is a subject for careful study regardless of whether one's interest is in theory, methodology, or the treatment of criminals.

HENRY D. MCKAY

Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research

The Marihuana Problem in the City of New York. By the MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON MARIHUANA. Lancaster, Pa.: Jaques Cattell Press, 1944. Pp. xii+220. \$2.50.

The Abortion Problem. By the NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON MATERNAL HEALTH, INC. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1944. Pp. xii+182.

Institutional Facilities for the Treatment of Alcoholism. By E. H. L. CORWIN and ELIZABETH V. CUNNINGHAM. New York: Research Council on Problems of Alcohol, 1944. Pp. i+85.

These valuable studies deal with three important problems that fall between the social, bio-

logical, and psychological sciences. They are problems that demand co-operative research, since they affect the social, mental, and physical health of persons. All three books recognize the fact that individuals are social-organic-mental unities.

The Marihuana Problem is different from the drug problem involving morphine, cocaine, and heroin. It "is not a drug of addiction," there are no "distressing abstinence symptoms," and tolerance is not acquired. "Marihuana does not change the basic personality structure of the individual." It lessens inhibitions and releases human behavior potentialities established in experiences not related to marihuana. It releases what is there—assets or liabilities. "It induces a feeling of self-confidence—expressed in thought rather than performance." Sociability is important, serious crime is not significant, sexual desires are not stimulated, appetite for foods is increased, neurotic traits, when present, are manifested.

Mental or physical deteriorations do not occur, but there are definite mental states and physical symptoms. Complex reactions show impairment as do intellectual functionings. The subjects in the New York study were persons without steady employment, in the age group of twenty to thirty years. Peddlers and "teapads" (social clubs) are sources of supply. The user wants to feel "high."

The Abortion Problem has its biological, social, economic, political, legal, and religious aspects. Study and assumptions indicate that each year there are several hundred thousand abortions, spontaneous and induced. About 30 per cent of the maternal mortality follows abortions. The resulting physical disabilities, including sterility, are numerous. This is the medical aspect of the problem. The social stigma and the great amount of mental and emotional ill-health are important. A new social definition, in professional and lay areas of life, is necessary to make control possible. This study is composed of a series of papers by physicians, lawyers, sociologists, and professional men of allied interests.

Institutional Facilities for the Treatment of Alcoholism is a survey of the various institutions that deal with alcoholics from the social, mental, and organic standpoints. Medical and non-medical institutions were studied, as were outpatient services. All institutional programs

proved to be inadequate in important respects, still dealing with the problem of alcoholism through methods of a correctional nature. The alcoholic is still *persona non grata* in most hospitals. Isolation and punishment have not been replaced by treatment that is in line with the modern conception of the nature of alcoholism. "Most of our hospitals have thus far failed to dignify alcoholic addiction as a disease worthy of study and intensive care."

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Alcoholics Are Sick People. By ROBERT V. SELIGER. Baltimore: Alcoholic Publications, 1945. Pp. xv+80. \$2.00.

This little book was written for "psychiatrists, psychotherapists, nurses, social workers, clergymen, educators, patients and relatives." Alcoholism per se is a symptom revealing the fact that alcoholics are sick people who are not equipped in a social-psychological sense for social adjustments. This book directs attention to the individual alcoholic rather than to fundamental institutions which fail to prepare the person to face reality. It is a book of conclusions plus a "screening" examination and common-sense re-educational guides. The process by which persons become sick people and thus alcoholics is neglected.

It contains the usual inconsistency in thinking—the idea that the alcoholic "can never learn to control drinking again." If the underlying disorder is removed, the person is no longer a sick person. The basis of his abnormal drinking is gone. It seems a way to avoid admitting that curative treatment has not been successful—that the underlying disorder has not been removed.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Public Medical Care: Principles and Problems. By FRANZ GOLDMANN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. x+226.

While it is true that this book deals with public medical care "as a social movement," no attempt has been made to organize the emergence of public medicine strictly according to the stages in a social movement as sociologists use

that term. Nevertheless, the story of the evolution of public medicine is well told.

"Public medical care" is given an exact and technical meaning as follows: "The term 'public medical care' denotes a special area of community health activities distinguished by two major features: taxation, general or special, is the method by which the funds are obtained; and an agency of government—local, state, or Federal—is responsible for the administration of the service" (p. 1).

Chapter i sets forth the "pattern of progress." This has "taken place in four principal directions at different rates of speed." The "directions" are as follows: a public hospital system which has grown from three main roots, namely, the pesthouse, the insane asylum, and the sick ward; various types of clinics which have evolved out of "the primitive dispensary distributing free drugs to the poor"; organized programs, providing for "home, office, clinic, hospital, and custodial care at public expense" which have been set up for numerous socioeconomic groups, all of which "have superseded the old emergency provisions for a tiny segment of the population"; and, finally, the transfer of responsibility for organization and administration of facilities and services for the care of the sick from "small to larger political units." Chapters ii-iv, inclusive, trace the evolution of these changes. Chapter v describes the present framework of the administration of public medical care, and the concluding chapter (vi) brings the study to its logical terminus, "planning for medical care."

That the emergence of the pattern of public medical care services (conceiving "medicine" as embracing hospitalization, clinical care, nursing care, medical social service, laboratory service, dentistry, drugs and related supplies, etc.) has come about through political action perhaps goes without saying. Its course, in the United States, has run from the early 1750's, when the first hospital exclusively for the care of the sick was established, to the now much-debated and much-misunderstood Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill of 1943. In connection with the establishment of the first of such hospitals, Benjamin Franklin made the following confession: "I do not remember any of my political manoeuvres, the success of which gave me at the time more pleasure, or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excus'd myself for having made some use of cunning" (p. 33). Today

"cunning" may still be employed, but more than that lies behind the present *planning* for adequate medical care. "It is the expression of a social philosophy" (p. 196). And thus the beginnings and the present "stage" in the social movement known as "public medicine" are identified. In between lie crises and disasters of many kinds, and it is to these that the author attributes, here and elsewhere in the world, much of the advance of public provision for the sick.

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

The March of Medicine. Edited by the NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE. ("New York Academy of Medicine Lectures to the Laity," No. 9.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+121. \$1.75.

In this volume is found the ninth of the annual series of "Lectures to the Laity" presented by the New York Academy of Medicine. All six lectures are concerned with the effects of war and social change on medical science. They cover propaganda, nutrition, chemotherapy, history of medicine, the effects of science, and epidemics. Both laymen and scholars will find them interesting.

Instructive and entertaining lectures frequently fare badly when placed in cold print. Most of these repay careful reading. The one on chemotherapy is an exceptionally fine report, dealing with the recent history of one of the less organized branches of science. The author has the advantage of a popular topic—penicillin and the other miracle drugs. He treats his topic by dealing alternately with notable discoveries and with research problems which provide a perspective. The result is first-class history. The author has done such a deft job of interweaving factual discovery with the fertile hunches which have offered new research leads that this lecture could well pass as an essay in the sociology of science.

OSWALD HALL

Ottawa

The Modern Prison System of India. By F. A. BARKER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1944. Pp. xvi+139. \$2.50.

This is a short account by the former inspector-general of prisons in the Central Provinces

and the Punjab of the prison "reforms" introduced in the last twenty years. The Indian penal code has in the past failed to take into account the social background of the prisoners, and not enough attempts have been made to consider the individual conditions which brought forth the crimes. This book deals with the efforts that have been made in recent years to classify and separate the various types of prisoners and the problems that arise because of the ethnic and religious heterogeneity of the Indian population. It also describes the measures taken to provide educational and medical facilities that would prepare the prisoners for a respectable form of livelihood after their release. Very little is said about the political prisoners. The major difficulties encountered in remodeling the prisons are the shortage of efficiently trained personnel and the lack of adequate buildings. This book makes one aware of the great amount of work that still needs to be done in this field and of the fact that the prison system of India is far from satisfactory.

JYOTIRMAYEE SARMA

Chicago, Illinois

The Territorial and Occupational Mobility of Washington Youth. By PAUL H. LANDIS. ("Rural Sociology Youth Series," Bull. 449. Pullman, Wash.: Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington, 1944. Pp. ii+66.

This monograph should be a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on the analysis of interoccupational movement. In it the occupational inheritance and mobility, and the accompanying territorial mobility, of 16,732 Washington youth are carefully and graphically described. Mr. Landis' principal conclusions are: (1) the dominant pattern of territorial mobility in the state of Washington is migration from rural to urban areas (over half of the youth in places of under 1,000 population will eventually work and live in larger centers); (2) approximately one-quarter of young men in Washington are in the same occupational classes as their fathers, with the sons of professional men showing the greatest degree of occupational

inheritance; (3) a great deal of occupational mobility exists; and (4) the school is the most important channel for such movement, however imperfectly it may perform this function in rural areas.

WALTER EATON

Chicago, Illinois

Social Trends in Seattle. By CALVIN F. SCHMID. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944. Pp. xii+337. \$3.75 (cloth); \$3.00 (paper).

This statistical survey of a metropolitan community is designed to provide both an interpretation for local use and comparable data for the benefit of the student of urban society. The bulk of the material was obtained from the federal census of 1940, but substantial information was gathered from the files of local agencies. A large part of the book is subordinated to the analysis of the statistical material presented. An abundance of charts, spot and ratio maps, and photographs help to make the study digestible to the layman. While the ecological interest and the related mapping techniques give the book its keynote, the author has covered a wide array of subjects and has used a variety of methods to present a comprehensive picture of Seattle.

The first two chapters contain an interesting and well-documented survey of the development of Seattle from a small outpost to a metropolitan center. Six chapters are devoted to an analysis of the population according to sex and age, the foreign-born, racial minorities, education, employment, occupations, mortality trends, and housing. The chapters on suicide, voting, and mortality trends are of more than local interest. The Appendix contains an account of life in Hooverville, an adjoining shanty town, written by a resident; a survey of the effects of the war on the cities of the state of Washington; and a brief methodological digression on the homogeneity of Seattle's census tracts. A comparison of mean rents by blocks within a few sample tracts gives an indication of their limited reliability for purposes of statistical comparison.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

CURRENT BOOKS

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PLANNED SOCIAL SOLIDARITY IN THE SOVIET UNION

ROBERT S. LYND

ABSTRACT

The Soviet Union, being a planning society with a positive theory of social organization, unlike our society, has a positive theory of social cleavages. Its aim is the activation of all citizens for mass goals and the elimination of cleavages. Sharp cleavages were inherited from czarist days, and other potential cleavages are involved in the leadership of the Communist party and in the rapidity of enforced change. The Party undertakes to remove these old and new threats to social solidarity by familiar and novel devices. Soviet society now offers more important cross-cultural data for the American student of problems of structure and control in an era of giant technology than do primitive societies.

It is useful to approach cleavages in society as manifestations of active group power processes and power goals. This approach seems challenged by cases of seeming simple withdrawal for purposes of identification with persons of one's own familiar sort, for example, people with common language, national origin, religion, etc.; but these, too, may be found to have fundamental historic or current relations to group power processes.

As such, cleavages should not be confused with the process of individuation at the level of the person or with group differentiations due to other factors than group power clashes, that is, social differentiation along lines of interest, temperament, and specialization where these are not coerced but spontaneous.

The theory (or theories) of cleavage that exists in a society concerning itself may range anywhere from vague inherited rationalizations of the current situation to a positive, officially promulgated theory. All such theories of cleavage within a society are parts of the current theory of social or-

ganization. If a society has a casual theory of social organization or a theory that takes social organization casually (e.g., as not a matter invested with public interest but resting primarily with individuals and their personal choices), it will have a similarly casual theory of cleavages. It is characteristic of our American society that we assume no public concern for social organization and, with respect to cleavages, even deny the presence of classes in American society. Exceptions to this general casualness occur where circumstances have happened to present an acute problem (e.g., the "Negro problem" in the South or the "Jewish problem" in the New York metropolitan area); but these exceptions are isolated spot-hardening of theory and tend to remain dangling as such in the otherwise casual theoretical situation.

An increasingly crucial line of differentiation among contemporary nations concerns the extent to which they leave the matter of national goals to be spelled out at the level of individual persons in their *private* pursuits, as over against (at the other extreme)

deliberately setting explicit, dominating *national* goals as the core of all public and private policy. Democracy claims that the one procedure arrives at the other. But for this to happen under our American slack, casual conception of democracy requires long, unhurried time and the national security of isolation. Meanwhile, the more rapid process in other nations of more or less arbitrary goal-setting from the top down may catch such casual democracy only part of the way toward developing coherent national goals from the private sphere up to the level of public policy.

Our American lack of a positive theory of social organization—and accordingly of cleavage, also—is part of our lack of collective national purpose. Our traditional fear and negativism as regards state power and centralized collective decision and action have reduced to a minimum the development of positive theory and policy about ourselves as a national collectivity. As a *whole people* we have by long tradition only the minimal common purpose of policing our national domain as a vast free game preserve in which each citizen goes gunning for himself. National purpose is largely quit-claimed at the *collective* level and left to happen as a resultant of private purposes; individual persons and their voluntary associations are assumed to have purposes and to translate them, if and as they may, to the total collective level through the ballot box.

This paper is not immediately concerned with the issue of democracy versus dictatorship. Democracies can plan and plan democratically; though I do not believe that our American type of inert democracy, attempting to operate within the tightening grooves of a capitalist structure of power, is either democratic enough or powerful enough to plan effectively. The present paper is presented in the belief that American sociologists will find useful an analysis of how another industrial nation, starting under less auspicious circumstances than ourselves, is coping with the problem of social cleavages.

I. A POSITIVE THEORY OF GOALS AND ORGANIZATION

The Soviet Union is an important datum for American sociologists because of the marked contrast it provides to our American ideology and practice regarding social organization and, therefore, cleavages. It is a society with (a) announced collective goals; (b) the utmost speed of movement toward those goals, especially since 1928; (c) a single, authoritarian leadership apparatus pervading every functional and geographical segment in the pursuit of those goals; and (d) a positive policy of encouraging total social organization for the achievement of those goals and changing or, where necessary, destroying all tendencies to opposition and cleavage at every level in the society, including the leadership apparatus itself.

Here is a society that sets bold objectives for itself, or, more accurately, has them set for it by the Communist party; that conceives of these objectives as necessarily the objectives of *everyone in the society*; that actively encourages everyone to identify his personal goals with the stated social goals; and that allows no organized opposition. Since the objectives set for the society include the entire economic and political segments of behavior, as well as all relevant social segments, the area of daily living left uncontrolled is relatively small. Even personal individuation, aside from incidental contacts with family and friends, must largely occur within the firm unitary structure dictated to the society and only within such free play as this rigorous structure tolerates. If this sounds ferociously coercive, it will be useful to ask one's self how much secure freedom dwellers within unplanned capitalism have. The securities and even the freedoms of the Soviet person are real and important; beyond that, everything depends on the intentions of the Communist party as regards "democracy" in the future; and, if the intended line of movement is toward more and more democracy, upon the international security of the Soviet Union in controlling the timing of changes in the direction of more democracy.

II. SOVIET THEORY IN OPERATION

In discussing Soviet society, it is well to date one's statements, as it has gone through a series of stages, involving often sharp changes in policy. The three main stages prior to the recent war are:

1917-21: Revolution, international focus, civil war, attempted communism

1921-27: New Economic Policy, a forced retreat from attempted communism to semi-capitalism

1928-41: Socialism in one country, Five-Year plans, forced collectivization of agriculture (1929-33): The theory of equalization of wages was formally abandoned in 1931. The new constitution, with its end to discrimination among citizens on the basis of class origin, was approved in 1936. Mass Party purges occurred in 1935 and 1936-33. (Previous special "cleansings" of the Party occurred in 1921, 1926, 1927, and 1929.) Elimination of categories, each with different requirements, based on social origin and occupation for membership in the Communist party took place in 1939.

A. CLEAVAGES INHERITED FROM CZARIST DAYS

Eight cleavages inherited from czarist days are listed below, and Soviet policy as regards each of these is discussed in ensuing paragraphs.

1. Between government in general (with an almost unbroken record of arbitrary harshness) and the mass of the people. This was somewhat softened by the identification of the czars with leadership in the state religion.

2. Between urban world and peasants.

3. Between classes, a situation of harsh extremes both within the urban world and within agriculture.

4. Anti-Semitism, including deliberately "patronized" pogroms launched as lightning rods to deflect popular aggression away from the state.

5. The split between Great Russia (European Russia) and the rest of the empire. A policy of active, ruthless Russification versus minority peoples—their languages, religions, and cultures in general.

6. Angry cleavages between neighboring minority peoples within the empire deliberately fostered by a czarist policy of extending privi-

leges to one minority people in order to create enmity between it and a neighbor, thus diverting threats from the czarist state by setting Armenians versus Georgians, Germans versus Letts, etc.

7. Illiteracy so great that a grim term like "the deaf villages" summed up the cultural isolation of the majority of the folk. In 1911 less than one-third of all children of school age were actually in school. There was no census between 1897 and 1926, and literacy figures are therefore uncertain, but estimates of 1914 that only 40 per cent of the total population nine years old and over were literate appear to be approximately correct. Women lagged far behind men in literacy: in 1897, of persons nine to forty-nine years of age, 39 per cent of the males and only 14 per cent of the females were literate.

8. Men and women below the upper and educated upper-middle class sharply arrayed in antagonism, the men having complete legal and factually detailed authority, and wife-beating being a solidly established custom.

The handling by the Soviet Union of each of the preceding eight cleavages inherited from czarist days is as follows:

1. The central ideological emphasis in the Soviet Union is upon the fact that "a workers' classless socialist state" has replaced the exploiting "class state" of the czars. In contrast to the arrogance of czarist officialdom, the ruling apparatus of the Soviet Union is constantly required to get close to the people and their problems; a standard reason for dropping a Communist from Party membership is the charge that he has performed his duties arrogantly, "like a drill sergeant." Great stress is laid upon enlisting people everywhere as "activists" in public affairs; and since everything is the state's business, this means to some extent bringing the state down to the level of a man's eyes. Characteristic of Soviet inventiveness was the development of the Women's Delegate movement. Women have traditionally held aloof from public affairs in Russia; and, in order to enlist them in the state's activities, the practice was developed of having the women of each section of a city and of the collective farms in each small district elect delegates to their own local association of Women's Dele-

gates. Weekly meetings were held locally; and also several city or regional conferences were held each year. At these meetings the women discussed public problems and were gradually trained to become "activists" who moved on to stand for election to Soviets and factory trade-union committees and to engage in other responsible active work. Each year a new roster of delegates succeeded the old.

Although the abolition of the state church and the disparagement of religion (until 1943) ended the former religious link between state and people, it is worth while to note the parallel between the czar's position as Holy Father of all Russia and the active symbolization of Stalin as omnipresent father-protector of all the Soviet people in all their activities, and also the parallel between the former religious pageantry and the massive pageantry of Soviet celebrations.¹

2. The urban-rural split has remained a problem. The urban workers, historically central to the "proletarian" Revolution, more readily accepted the new mass state as their own than did the peasants. They were suspicious of the loyalty of the peasants to the new "workers' state" and, as a result, gave the peasants less representation per thousand population in the new government. After the attempted coercion of the peasants in the period of attempted communism after 1917, the policy of wooing the peasants was adopted under the N.E.P. Eventually, in the process of enforced collectivization (1929-33), the Party, in the name of the state, broke the back of peasant resistance. Collectivization increased the tension between the urban world of the Bolsheviks and the less Party-conscious peasants in some respects and diminished it in others.

Systematic devices are employed to break down the mutual isolation of the rural-urban segments of the population. For instance, under the patronage system a fac-

tory, school, etc., enters a reciprocal friendship and assistance relation with a collective farm, with mutual visits, entertainments, and rural "shock work" by the city workers on rest days in repairing farm machinery and helping to get in the harvest. Urban and peasant papers published interchanges of letters between *udarniks* of industry and *udarniks* of agriculture. Soviet cities are planned as cultural and service hubs for their surrounding villages, with medical centers geared to rural health stations and similar close ties established between other urban cultural institutions and their opposite numbers in the villages. A shrewd device was the *Politotdel* (Political Department) instituted in rural areas after the first ruthless collectivization period. Exhibiting its characteristic capacity for change of pace, the Party followed the iron fist by the kid glove. The aim was to provide skilled, sympathetic, personalized help to the bewildered peasants in getting the new collective farms running effectively. The Party hand-picked many thousands of its best and most persuasive urban members and sent them to rural areas to live among the peasants and win the latter back to loyalty to the national effort. This sort of ability to foresee, then to act, then to follow up action with systematically organized help is a trump ace in the Soviet system.

It is characteristic of Soviet experimentation that, with collectivization, tractors and other mechanized equipment were at first distributed directly to the farms. But this meant relative wastage of mechanized equipment through its less than full use and through breakdowns peasants were not prepared to repair; and it also meant freeing the peasant from government control through giving him power over both land and productive tools. Accordingly, both efficiency and control were secured by taking back mechanized equipment into government hands and placing it under state machine-tractor stations, from which machines and operators are rented in planned rotation by the day to surrounding farms. These machine-tractor stations are manned

¹ The relation between state and the Communist party and the cleavage potential between Party and people is discussed in Section B below.

by expert crews, and they are also Communist centers from which the *Politotdel* apparatus of leadership and control described above are operated.

3. The fact that the middle class in czarist days was small and undeveloped emphasized the gap between the urban upper class and the lower depths in the cities. But with the Revolution the proletarian world became all the world there was, and workers' homes and their trade-union and other clubs overflowed into even the palaces of the former nobility. Until the early 1930's this inversion of classes was accentuated by steady preference to workers and their children in Party membership, in voting, in education, and in other areas of opportunity. Since about 1931 the emphasis upon proletarians has become less aggressive and exclusive as the workers have moved over to make room for engineers, managers, Red Army officers, and other categories of special ability. But, even along with this growing social differentiation, the emphasis has remained upon mass culture.²

The cleavages among former rich, middle, and poor peasants were formally wiped out by the liquidation—killing in scattered cases and removing the rest to police labor camps and eventual resettlement east of the Urals—of rich peasants and of such middle peasants as did not join with poor peasants in collective farms. But a new source of cleavage now appears in the wide range of yield, from rich farms to poor. These differences are due not alone to the energy and efficiency of the farmers but also to stubborn factors such as soil and type of crop. Such differences are coped with in part by differential taxation and in part by special aid to backward farms.

4. Anti-Semitism (and any other instigation of racial and nationality antagonisms) has from the start been a penal offense in the Soviet Union. Jewish cultural life continues wherever Jews desire it, though religious practices are treated as are other religions. In 1938 I was told in Moscow that

² The class outlook ahead is discussed in the last section of this paper.

anti-Semitic stories still circulate quietly. D. F. White's *The Growth of the Red Army* reports occasional anti-Semitism in the Red Army in the late 1920's. Such instances, though, are not important. Old habits of prejudice, like habits of male dominance, are not cast off overnight; and there seems no question that the Soviet Union is actively bent on eradicating such practices as anti-Semitism.

5. and 6. Dominance by Great Russians has been systematically played down as general policy in healing the old breach³ and as part of the policy of developing independence and needed skills among backward groups. An example of this last is the requirement that at least one-half of the managerial staffs and of the work forces on enterprises in backward regions be made up of members of the local nationality. This is in contrast to the czarist policy of filling managerial and skilled labor posts with Russians.

The positive Soviet minority policy is an outstanding reversal of czarist practice. The Soviet state has had to deal with 182 ethnic groups and 149 languages. So far has this policy gone that the central planning of certain natural economic areas has been restructured so as not to cut across minority population regions. The minority policy does not mean sheer socialist altruism and encouragement of minority cultural differences. The Party is not structured along nationality lines but is a single All-Union body. Likewise the goal of a "proletarian culture" is conceived as uniform across nationality lines in all basic economic and political aspects. As one watches the seeming emphasis upon new cleavages through national-minority diversification one should, therefore, bear in mind that cleavage on any central issue is not the purpose in the Soviet Union's national-minority policy, but quite the opposite. A cynic might say that the

³ E.g., Littlepage states in *In Search of Soviet Gold* that Soviet law courts "will always give tribesmen the benefit of the doubt over Russians, and every effort by a Russian to retaliate is severely punished" (p. 256).

policy is to divert attention from fundamental unification and absorption by stressing secondary phenomena like native language, customs, and arts. My own view is that Lenin's "We must divide in order to unite" meant realism as regards the political need (a) to lean over backward to heal the cleavages caused by czarist Russifying policies and (b) to build up *from within out* self-respect and integrity among the many minorities and also new industrial, agricultural, and social skills which they would come to regard as their own even as they were steered more and more into unity with the common proletarian state.

7. Cleavages due to illiteracy are being obliterated by a program of universal education which constitutes one of the great achievements of the Soviet Union. Marx had lamented "the idiocy of rural life," and "the deaf villages" in which four-fifths of the czarist population lived presented a sharp challenge to the Bolsheviks. Lenin insisted in 1921 that socialism has no place for the illiterate, and he went on to say that this means not mere reading of newspapers but a population universally engaged in study. And no nation has ever fought elementary illiteracy as well and institutionally so hard, so pervasively, so systematically as has the Soviet Union. Universal elementary education is now provided for all children, and its scope is being steadily extended upward. Adult classes in trade-unions, workers' clubs, workers' flats, and collective farms have wrestled adult illiteracy down to the point where, in 1939, 81 per cent of the population nine years of age and older were literate. A highly flexible, intelligent policy is employed in leveling up the institutional illiteracies of backward peoples: the young natural leaders among these people, in the Arctic north and elsewhere, are brought to special institutes, such as the Institute of Northern Peoples in Leningrad and another for other areas in Moscow; here they are made literate and trained politically in leadership, in elementary health problems, and in elementary science and technology relevant to their

regions. These leaders then return to their respective regions as the hubs of Soviet construction among their peoples.

The cleavage between the intellectual and the ordinary citizen has gone through an interesting cycle. Intellectuals played a large part in drafting the theory of socialism and in organizing the Revolution. But bourgeois origin made intellectuals suspect after the Revolution. They were disfranchised, along with other bourgeois elements, until the 1936 constitution; and the general disparagement of their skills appeared in Lenin's celebrated statements that every cook should learn to run the state and that industrial cost-accounting was mere arithmetic. The aim of the new state was to obliterate the line between intellectuals and workers. The tenacious emphasis on the seven-hour workday was to leave the worker fresh at night to study and eventually become an intellectual. With the first Five-Year Plan and particularly after Stalin's "six-point speech" of June, 1931, the intellectual, especially the scientist and technical intellectual, returned to urgent favor. The abandonment of "progressive education" in 1932 for disciplined study, and in the late 1930's the adoption of the policy of segregation by ability as regards type of higher education one receives suggest that the period of attempted merging of "intellectual" and "worker" is over. At present the same sort of potential cleavage, that might become in effect a new "class" cleavage, is occurring between intellectual and worker as is occurring between factory managers and engineers and workers. This is, however, systematically counteracted by a policy of viewing knowledge as a thing to be popularly used, including ramified extension work by scholars and scientists in workers' clubs, youth clubs, etc. The Palace of Culture of the Stalin Auto Plant in Moscow has a large astronomical telescope and classroom, other classrooms, and an auditorium seating about four hundred. I asked in 1938 how often they used this auditorium, and did they manage to fill it? The answer was: "There is a lecture every night. We always have to

repeat the lecture for a second full audience the same evening, and sometimes for a third." It is impressive to see specialists scattered about the Parks of Culture and Rest, mounted on little platforms explaining their specialties (biology, electricity, etc.) to little knots of citizens who stop to listen and to ask questions.

8. The Soviet Union has gone farther than any other country in complete equalization of the sexes: This has not been merely nominal but a matter of deliberate public policy; for Lenin stressed the need to use the full leverage of co-operation of women (and children, too) in forcing the sweeping changes in habits involved in building socialism. This program has progressed along two lines: the liberating of women from the close domination of men and from sole preoccupation with cooking and children and the enrolling of women in public life, a thing formerly jealously tabooed by men. The policy has aroused resistance among many men. One Soviet woman tells me that her father refused to speak to his wife for two years after she became chairman of their apartment block. Such situations have been common among peasant families in connection with the Women's Delegate movement. The present trend is back toward emphasizing women's role as mothers (see the recent inauguration of subsidies and medals for large families), but this is probably only a war-bred population policy and not a reversion to the philosophy that "women's place is in the home."

B. CLEAVAGES BETWEEN PARTY AND PEOPLE

It is difficult for an outsider to know how much the Soviet citizen feels the cleavage that factually exists between Soviet democratic forms and the authoritarian apparatus at the top of the Communist party. The Kremlin—the Party *Politburo* of about ten and the Central Committee of seventy-one—is Soviet power; it is the government, despite the fact that decrees are signed jointly by Stalin (for the Communist party) and by Molotov (for the Supreme Soviet); and it is a dictatorship.

Factually, a never discussed important cleavage exists right across Soviet life immediately beneath this Kremlin apparatus. At the grass-roots level the Soviet Union encourages democratic participation and criticism of events and persons *at that level* that go beyond our American democracy in a number of vital respects. But above that the lid goes on. The party apparatus at the top and its agreed policies may not be criticized, opposed, or displaced from below. The two worlds—the directing power at the top and the obeying mass world below with its ground-floor democracy—are held together by the all-pervasive hierarchial apparatus of the Party and by the formal façade of governmental institutions heading up formally through soviets and commissariats to the Supreme Soviet. Littlepage, an American mining engineer in the Soviet Union from 1928 to 1937, says that when the first mortal blow was struck against this inner Kremlin group by the murder of Kirov in 1934, the whole country seemed to cower in anticipation of the fury that would sweep it from this top Party group. However explicable in terms of urgent circumstances, a very real cleavage—in terms of power and fear of power—appears to separate the Kremlin from the rest of the Soviet Union. This cleavage varies in degree according to circumstances.

People's willingness to submit to leadership, provided things are "paying off" in terms that make sense to them, is perhaps greater than Western individualism likes to admit. The sheer fact of Party dictation and leadership does not affront Russians as much as we Americans think it should, because they do not have our tradition of democratic liberties. In fact, it is probable that the majority of the population in the Soviet Union, as in the United States, go their ways with little heed to the actual power structure that rules their lives.

Awareness of cleavage between a leadership apparatus and the led varies directly with the esteem of the persons manning the apparatus at the grass roots where people encounter the apparatus most constantly,

and also with the novelty, speed, and amount of coercion employed. The fact that the entire life of the Soviet Union since 1917 has involved an unbroken series of emergencies, with sheer survival at stake, has meant a succession of radical innovations, profoundly changing everybody's life, and requiring the utmost speed in making the changes. This has meant coercive and at many points ruthless leadership—precisely the kind of thing likely to create cleavage. There is no doubt that democratic socialism has accumulated serious scar tissue in the Soviet Union in the process of industrialization, agricultural collectivization, and purgings in Party and in population.

To counteract this, the Party has done the following things: It has constantly and publicly combed its own ranks to remove idlers, careerists, and persons who tried to lead by drill-sergeant methods; the periodic Party cleansings usually occur with full publicity, and it is widely known why specific members are dropped. John Hazard⁴ tells me that one hears approving remarks such as, "It was about time they found [So-and-so] out," when a member is dropped. This tends to reassure the people that Party members are being checked up on. The published proceedings of the Party congresses reveal the extent to which the Party is constantly kneading its ranks and practices. The new Party rules adopted in 1939 abandoned co-optation from above and introduced secret balloting (instead of the show of hands) and other more democratic procedures within the Party. At the same time that the Party combs its membership and practices, it is concurrently encouraging activism everywhere, pushing leaders forward, and inviting anyone who exhibits leadership ability to join the Party. Americans should bear in mind that, in the Soviet Union, Party membership is a real honor, that one does not get in easily, and that membership carries known extra social respon-

sibilities that are respected. In general, the ablest people, corresponding to those in American society who come to the top by sheer ability rather than birth or "pull," are the people who hold membership in the Party; and this selection of the ablest as leaders at every level of the hierarchy and in every community operates against cleavages because local people recognize local ability. Where Party people who are not "local people" are sent into communities, they come with respected local Party people sharing full responsibility for what they do. No irresponsible pockets are tolerated within the Party.

As already noted, the Communist party provides a single, utterly co-ordinated participating-leadership apparatus that extends into every sector of living. If cleavage begins to occur *anywhere*, functionally or geographically, it at once encounters the taut muscle structure that is the Party apparatus. This assumption of total leadership makes it mandatory that at no point shall there be skills and leadership that stand apart from the Party. As the role of engineers, scientists, army officers, or managers grows, the Party must see to it that enough of the leading personnel are Party members to give the Party control *from the inside* of the new skill and credit in public opinion for guiding the achievements in the area in question. Party skills are historically primarily *political*, i.e., in debate, discussion, and leadership in group *personal* relations; and the growth in importance of the new *impersonal* technical skills of scientist, engineer, and military tactician—skills held by men to whom "political" wangling may be of no concern at all—has put new strains on the Party. For instance, there has been special pressure since the first Five Year Plan in 1928 to cultivate more of a Party foothold in science and engineering; and, as the Red Army has acquired glory, the Party has had to thrust Stalin into uniform, give him medals as a strategist, hold mass enrolments of Army heroes into the Party, and otherwise cut in on military prestige.

Thus the leadership apparatus is rigid

⁴ Mr. Hazard is an American lawyer who spent three years in the 1930's studying at a Soviet law school and has written widely on Soviet law. He is unusually well informed regarding the Soviet Union.

where necessary and flexible when necessary to prevent all cleavages. But, in operating as it does, the top Party apparatus must constantly work at the problem of decreasing and disguising the cleavage between its own dictatorial top and the rest of Soviet society. One sees this last at work in the practice of announcing new government loans or the call for increased work tempos as originating "because of the demand of the workers in the Kirov [or other well-known] Plant."

C. AGGREGATIVE DEVICES IN SOVIET SOCIETY

The following aggregative devices are systematically used:

1. Insistence in speeches, etc., on the solidarity of the people as a fact. For instance, Stalin declared in a speech on November 6, 1943: "The friendship among the peoples of our country has stood the test of all the hardships and trials of the war and has been still further cemented. . . . The Red Army's rear is more stable and reliable than that of any other army in the world."

2. Use of solidarity slogans such as "workers' state," "building socialism," "classless society," "capitalist encirclement," etc., and a policy of stressing the superiority of each new Soviet achievement and the inferiority of capitalist institutions and achievements. One conspicuous exception to this last is the use of American industrial output norms as deliberate spurs to socialist effort since 1928, on the theory that Soviet achievement must surpass all capitalist norms.

3. Emphasis on top leaders, especially Stalin, as the source of all good things and friend of everybody: the inscription inside the Moscow sports stadium, "Long live the leader of the Great Communist Party, the friend of the sportsman, Comrade Stalin"; school children writing at the end of school compositions, "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for our happy childhood"; Stalin as master military-strategist; Stalin credited as author of successful policies and vociferously cheered in public meetings; etc. The habitual flamboyance of such references to Stalin

is suggested by the following from A. Mikoyan's speech to the Eighteenth Party Congress in 1939: "Stalin, like Lenin, is a leader of the highest stamp. He is a mountain eagle, fearless in struggle, boldly leading the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people onward over paths untrod to the complete victory of communism." Americans should realize that for a variety of reasons, historical and cultural, flamboyancy and reiterated propaganda do not irk the Soviet people as yet as much as we think they would irk us, or as much as they will in time probably irk the Soviet people. And, of course, Soviet public opinion is not a simple solid chunk. Some shout, some keep still, and some pay little or no attention to the clamor about them.

4. Use everywhere and on all occasions of pictures of Stalin, Lenin, and, to a lesser extent, three or four other leaders, all Communist party members. This is reminiscent of ikon worship.

5. Use of quotations from Marx, Lenin, Stalin in the authoritative *ipse dixit* sense to confirm the rightness of Soviet policies. S. N. Harper says in his *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, published in 1929, that "it is difficult to find a single important statement on any subject that does not contain a reference to some statement by 'Comrade Lenin.'" And just as in the 1920's, according to Harper, "Leninism" gradually replaced the word "Marxism," so "Stalinism" and quotations from Stalin have now come to the fore.

6. Deliberate cultivation of a modified form of nationalism in the thirties with war approaching: use of the term "for our Soviet Motherland," resurrection of Peter the Great and czarist military heroes from obliquy. Sir John Maynard says in *The Russian Peasant and Other Studies* that a school-teacher lost his post as recently as 1933 for giving attention to Generals Kutusov and Bagration and other czarist heroes in teaching Russian history.

7. Copious use of medals for outstanding work, cultural achievements, and motherhood, as well as military service. Through

the omnipresent eyes of the Party, leaders in every activity and in remote places are systematically observed and rewarded.

8. Regular staging of spectacular celebrations concurrently all over the Soviet Union on designated days—patriotic holidays, Women's Day, Youth Day, etc.—with every device of showmanship and mass attendance in line of march. The Party claims that marching in these demonstrations is entirely voluntary; for many it probably is, but I doubt if it is for all. This raises the question of the nature of "voluntary action" in Soviet society. Before these holidays, official slogans for the occasion are approved and widely discussed in the press, and local leaders are coached in the roles they are to play.

9. Contests ("socialist competition," etc.) play a very large part in Soviet life and undoubtedly serve as an aggregative device in the same way, though more pervasively and intensively, that the annual state-wide basketball championship gives state consciousness and unity to Indiana each spring. This system of informal rivalry has been heavily institutionalized ever since the Ninth Party Congress, facing "the incredible catastrophes of the public economy" in April, 1920, decided that "labor rivalry . . . to increase the products of labor without infringing its solidarity . . . should become the subject of careful organization." Factories, brigades within factories, collective farms, school classes—almost any group—may challenge another group doing similar work to socialist competition. These omnipresent contests give accent to living and undoubtedly drain off considerable aggression in friendly rivalry at the same time that they step up efficiency at needed points and instil habits of social activism. Above this grass-roots emulation an elaborate series of Republic and All-Union competitions is carried on among all manner of groups, including even such things as an All-Union Contest of Orchestra Conductors. The contests, prizes, exhibitions, publicity, trips to Moscow, and tours of the provinces accompanying these activities are

sources of local pride and national solidarity.

10. Mass activities: volunteer subway building, road building, city reconstruction, etc., in free rest-day time; construction of projects like the Fergana Canal, an irrigation project in Uzbekistan, as a mass project in record time by collective farmers; the Stakhanovite movement and mass honor to Stakhanovites in factories and villages; an airplane bought for the army by a collective farm; stock and implements sent by a collective farm in Siberia to a war-despoiled farm in the Ukraine. While there is by no means universal participation in such activities, Americans must be on their guard not to underrate the amount and intensity of voluntary mass enthusiasm and devotion in Soviet society. A wide band across the population undoubtedly feel real enthusiasm for "the building of socialism" and take pride in it. Soviet society is paced by the young. In this last connection, note that 61 per cent of the males fifteen to sixty-four were under age thirty-five in 1939, as against 48 per cent in central and northern Europe; and, of the 1,569 delegates to the Eighteenth Party Congress in 1939, 49.5 per cent were thirty-five or younger, 81.5 per cent forty or younger, and .97 per cent fifty or younger.

11. Active recognition of youth, reflecting the fact that in no other industrial society is there so slight a cleavage between adult world and children's world. Soviet children grow up as "Soviet citizens," and their environment constantly integrates them into the world of adult purposes. In the 1920's they were deliberately encouraged to become purposeful little adults. This pressure was relaxed about 1933, and the emphasis of the 1930's was upon a richer childhood. The point to note here is that Soviet society neither despises nor fears childhood but welcomes it as a dynamic factor in society.

12. Re-education by propaganda and participation: media of communication are closely controlled by the Party and carry a tremendous volume of propaganda. Under

such a barrage the people in a nation six thousand miles across are likely to lose their voice. To counteract this, an elaborate network of "local correspondents," reported now to number around five million, is continually developed by the press. Local people are invited to send in news stories—not about Ivanov's pig being sick, but about local socialist competition, triumphs, and problems; the answers are carefully sifted, acknowledged, some are printed, those containing useful criticisms and suggestions are sent to the appropriate commissariat for attention, and the writers of usable letters are paid.

Behind all the preceding policies is the aggregative effect of a whole nation's working at top speed on a co-ordinated public program for the progress of the whole nation. "Socialist construction" is no mere Chamber of Commerce slogan to Soviet people. It is no exaggeration to say that they tend to get caught up into the sense of "working for something bigger than one's self." One must be on one's guard in implying "all Soviet people" in any such statement. Every population grades down in activism from a peak of constant super-activism, through intermittent activism, to a band of citizens who do only the habitual or what they must. But the point is that Soviet society is *organized* to do big things in the public interest and to secure wide, active co-operation in doing these things, and it *aims* to enlist everybody and to find concrete roles for everybody. In other words, there is a very positive structure for social aggregation.

D. CONTROL DEVICES AGAINST CLEAVAGES

Policies such as those discussed above require coherence in objectives and strong, continuous controls. Soviet controls over cleavage tendencies are but part of the larger structure of social action by which the nation has been planning its way ahead out of its desperate predicaments. Western liberals are shocked by the openness and pervasiveness of these controls and by the as yet rela-

tively primitive state of political democracy and personal liberties in the Soviet Union. Circumstances have forced the Soviet Union to stress objective results measured in terms of productive plant and output and social solidarity in action. Political and personal freedoms have had to take a secondary place on the agenda.

The scope of Soviet controls is further revealed in the following:

1. Living within an explicit, Party-controlled ideology that systematically and continuously both defines the line of advance and expands or contracts to block emerging cleavages operates as a very positive control.

2. Likewise, a leadership apparatus that extends down as the working core of the most active members in every organized group on every level in the society, with constant intercommunication and swiftly available consultants and flying squads in emergencies, anticipates and controls cleavages.

3. The very fact of pervasive organization itself, with each organization busy at a defined and co-ordinated task and no idle organizations tolerated, operates as a control. Soviet organization is not sketchy but explicit and pervasive. The unattached person in Soviet society is not only likely to represent a net loss in the high-speed collective effort to build socialism, but such persons are also possible focal points of disaffection and cleavage. The goal of the Party is, therefore, to achieve as nearly as possible 100 per cent organization and activism.

4. The long tradition of underground opposition (even trade-union activity in czarist Russia had to take on a largely underground political emphasis) represents a dangerous cleavage problem and technique, for it provides a means of fighting communism with communism's own methods. The Party is acutely aware of this danger and controls it by ruthless suppression of any organized action that attempts to go forward without Party supervision—e.g., the non-Party members of even the Supreme Soviet, the top congress of the Soviet Union,

are not allowed to caucus; by allowing no opposition factions within the Party (since 1927) or without; by identifying the Party with the state and flexibly interpreting offenses against the Party as treason against the state; and, at the level of the citizen, making it a treasonable offense to fail to report any action by anybody else that in any way may conceivably threaten the welfare of the state. Here is a source of more scar tissue and potential cleavage, since popular snooping and mutual suspicion reportedly rise to a high pitch at times like those following the Kirov murder in 1934 and during the purges of 1936-38. The latent aggression in such a society appeared in the wild-fire of denunciations of neighbors in 1936-37, when collective farmers used reckless treason charges to oust fellow-members from their holdings, and the Party had publicly to call a peremptory halt on such private aggressions.

5. American sociologists have much to learn from the fertility of Soviet control devices, for example, at the small local-group level such devices as comradely courts and wall newspapers. As control devices, these are intelligent and democratic. The real democracy in the Soviet Union appears at the grass roots. The Party encourages the airing of grievances. The aim is to make social control and socialist habit-building effective upon the person in the small group of his habitual associates and to use the full force of intimate public opinion to that end. Comradely courts are developed in apartment blocks, offices, separate shops and shifts of factories and on collective farms; and in them an annually elected committee of one's associates deals publicly as a group of colleagues with all manner of minor negligences, nuisances, and infractions. The aim is to catch cleavages between neighbors, fellow-workers, etc., in their incipency, before they become angry problems. Wall newspapers, similarly diffused through places of living and working, do the same sort of thing more informally through an elected editorial committee. Everything is subject to abuse, but I be-

lieve such informal devices represent the living tissue of democratic social living.

6. As Soviet society has struggled amid internal and external emergencies "to lift itself by its own boot straps," the Party has sought to change the Russian from his traditional passivity and hopelessness into a citizen bursting with self-respect and pride in his country's achievements. When in 1936 Bukharin, as editor of *Izvestia*, wrote that Oblomovism—a term derived from a lie-abed character in czarist Russian literature—was the most pronounced characteristic of the Russian in pre-Revolutionary times, he was attacked by *Pravda*, the Party paper, and forced to publish a retraction a week later. Re-education to the "new socialist way" and "Bolshevik tempos" are everywhere stressed, and swift controls head off any tendencies to backsliding in morale.

The drive to build a modern industrial society on the shattered world of czarism has made life hard, and standards in general have been far below those of Western industrial nations. To prevent discouraging contrasts, the Party has been strict in barring foreign travel to its citizens and preventing ingress of printed materials likely to point adverse contrasts. In the resulting in-turned world an extravagant institutional chauvinism has developed—the sort of "best in the world" psychology we Americans are noted for, only more so. This seems to me the temporary expression of exuberance and expediency rather than anything permanent and vicious. Wartime contacts with the Western world are already changing it.

7. The use of publicity and public opinion as a control device has already been mentioned. The Soviet press is part of the machinery for *getting things done* in the direct process of "building socialism." So, too, are trade-unions, law courts, the family, and all other institutions. Court trials are, when deemed desirable, made large propaganda affairs. The pages of the Soviet press feature day after day the play-by-play concerns in the grand strategy in which the Party calls the signals.

III. POSSIBLE CLEAVAGES AHEAD

No society can expect permanently to obliterate within itself tendencies to cleavage. Socialism is too often naïvely viewed as putting an end to institutional problems and "changing man" to a point where he ceases to be a very human being. A saner view accepts human foibles as inevitable under any form of society and such things as bureaucratic tendencies as inherent in all large social organizations. From this point of view the crucial test of Soviet socialism is not whether problems literally cease to exist or even whether the number of problems becomes smaller; rather, the test is whether such a social system provides a more constructive stance for coping effectively and democratically with all the potentialities, both positive and negative, within men and their institutions. Following are some of the continuing cleavage tendencies that will bear watching in the Soviet Union:

1. In addition to being socialist, Soviet society is a special kind of society, or phase of social development, in that it is engrossed in fighting its way around a dangerous corner. Its immediate goals and psychology ever since 1917 have been those of an entrapped army fighting its way out of encirclement. Objectives have had to be stated in such stark terms as avoiding starvation, being able to provide shoes for naked feet, educating the mass of the people to read and write, preventing a polyglot people in an area of nearly nine million square miles (nearly three times the area of the United States) from falling apart, and always hurrying against the day of outside military attack. Such a society is an *emergency* society. Under emergency conditions things are tolerated that become intolerable under less exigent circumstances; men may stand and fight as brothers in an emergency but drift apart when the emergency is over. This all raises the question of possible cleavages in a Soviet Russia *at the next stage*, in which there is a high level of production and comfort. Presumably popular standards of tolerance of, for instance, close controls and the pace of work will be different. The usual rejoinder

to the above is that socialism is "changing man" and that the desires of men will as time passes be molded more and more to socialist aims. In this respect Russian socialism is one of the great behavioral experiments of history. There are limits to the length of time that men can be kept at the utmost stretch of energy, as they have so largely been in the Soviet Union since 1928. Comfort and relaxation are as truly part of life as leaping activity. Presumably, new goals will always open ahead of achievement; but Soviet society in 1975 will be a society of persons aware of vastly greater alternatives of personal and social differentiation and presumably far less easily subject to manipulation in terms of gross common survival values. Advancing socialism should mean less of a "mass society," and this opens up endless possibilities of new cleavage.

2. "Class" is a far less simple phenomenon than the classical socialist theory assumed. It is not a dragon to be slain once and for all time by a revolution, but a perennial manifestation of the energy and power drives of men of different capacities. The Soviet Union tried to play down individual biological differences, but since 1931 it has increasingly had to recognize them and to reward them. It is said in the Soviet Union that there can be no classes where there are no capitalists. Yet power persists in the hands of a relatively small group and their followers, and this power controls Soviet society; and the structure of that power is not primarily democratic, though the Party is open-ended at the bottom to all who accept its policies and are ready to work hard. The revolutionary effort to belittle special techniques in favor of the common skills has given way before the demands for giant technology and management; and managers, technicians, scientists, and experts have again emerged as uncommon men paid uncommon incomes in salaries-plus-perquisites and having uncommon power. And amount of income as an incentive has played a large part in Soviet life since 1931. I am not one of those who jeer at Soviet

society as having lost its classless ideal in a new and hypocritical class-stratified society. I do not believe that the lunge for socialism inaugurated by the Revolution is by any means over; quite the contrary, I believe that the Soviet Union, including the Party, is proud of its achievements precisely because these are socialist achievements. Nor do I believe that the hard-working Kremlin group are either knaves or unaware of the spawning problems in Soviet life. But I believe that the horizontal cleavages in Soviet society along lines of power, money, and opportunity represent a problem that will have to be coped with constantly if democratic socialism is to be achieved. Socialist public ownership of the means of production provides an advantageous stance for coping with the tendency of differential advantage to harden into class, but it does not put an end to that tendency.

3. The rural-urban cleft in Russian tradition and Soviet life is not obliterated. State farms—tens and even hundreds of thousands of acres worked by a rural “proletariat” living in workers’ flats in agricultural proletarian cities—did not “go.” The collective farm is frankly a compromise. Party representation is weaker in agriculture than in the cities. Party—that is, largely *urban*—control over the collectives is maintained by depriving the farmers of the material means of production by concentrating ownership and control over mechanized equipment in government-owned Party-dominated district machine-tractor stations. Constant intelligent efforts are made by the Party to bridge the gap between the urban and rural worlds through encouraging reciprocal personal and social ties and by an active policy of bringing the advantages of city life to the farm. And returning Red Army men, trained in mechanized skills and bringing the point of view and vast new optimism of the whole Union back to the village, will help to cement the two halves of the nation. But they remain two ways of life, and in the balancing of the give-and-take between the two there will remain a permanent threat to unity.

4. The emergence of the Red Army as an idolized group presents a possible source of cleavage. Will war-weary veterans wearing hero’s medals or officer’s rank drop quietly back into the socialist routines of village and factory under Party dictation and pick up the burdens of endless “socialist competition”? The Army apparently fought off the efforts of the Party to control its decisions in the field through political commissars with veto power. The Party has had to join the Army largely on the latter’s terms in order to participate in the Army’s prestige. Hasty mass recruitment to the Party from the Army has meant a vast dilution of the Party with new blood. Such a situation presents the possibility that officer corps and veterans may want to make their own decisions as to the future of the Party, the Soviet Union, and its institutions.

This is probably a characteristic case in which the American sociologist should be cautious not to generalize too far from familiar expectations concerning our own veterans. Three outstanding differences between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in this respect are, first, that the Party in Russia is an experienced and powerful “organ for thinking ahead”: not only has it foreseen the veteran situation in considerable detail but it undoubtedly had plans ready well in advance for all foreseeable eventualities—and constructive plans that will *use* the pride and status of discharged Red Army men rather than merely seek to block their moves.⁵ A second factor making against serious cleavage between Party and veterans or civilians and veterans is that the war has proved a colossal vindication of Stalin’s and the Communist party’s leadership and of the strength of the new Soviet state. Nobody doubts that the Red Army man knew why he was fighting this war better than did

⁵ It is characteristic of the Party’s “thinking ahead” that as early as 1930 new machinery began to be installed on the floors of factories in such removable fashion that it could readily be evacuated; and by 1938 large envelopes were in the hands of factories and offices, marked: “Open upon invasion or declaration of war,” and these were supplemented later by additional envelopes of instructions.

the soldiers of Britain and far better than did our American soldiers. The third difference lies in the fact that the Soviet civilian population has suffered and done without to a degree fantastically greater than our American population; and this reduces the gap between soldier and civilian war sacrifices as the Red Army man is demobilized.

The preceding pages have sought to analyze as a fluid process the actions of Soviet society as regards its social cleavages. If the result is inconclusive, that is because the processes of a muscular, planning society are not static things like bricks but tendencies that are still going on and subject to change. One of the most marked aspects of Soviet policy has been the adaptability of its broken-field running. If we American sociologists are to learn from it, we must sustain

the tension of waiting and watching it rather than yielding to the prevalent tendency to apply derogatory or laudatory epithets addressed to partial aspects of its institutional life. It is my belief that, for those of us who are working at problems of structure and control in modern industrial society, the Soviet Union provides the most important cross-cultural material available. Because it is a society living increasingly by giant technology and yet ordering itself by an institutional system that challenges our own in fundamental respects, it presents to us for study a going alternative-in-action to our own system. The emphasis over the last quarter-century on comparative cultural material from primitive societies is now overtopped by the crucial applicability of data on the Soviets.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THEMES AS DYNAMIC FORCES IN CULTURE¹

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

ABSTRACT

In every culture are found a limited number of dynamic affirmations, called *themes*, which control behavior or stimulate activity. The activities, prohibitions of activities, or references which result from the acceptance of a theme are its *expressions*. Such expressions may be formalized or unformalized. Limiting factors, often the existence of other opposed or circumscribing themes and their extensions, control the number, force, and variety of a theme's expressions. The interplay of theme and countertheme is the key to the equilibrium achieved in a culture, and structure in culture is essentially their interrelation and balance.

A study of any society, nonliterate or "modern," ordinarily divides into familiar categories, such as political organization, economy, social life, religion, art, etc. Yet, in spite of the universality of human needs which this suggests and the historical connections between peoples of which we are aware, each culture, in specific respects and in its totality, is different from every other, both in content and in organization.

We have, of course, ways of referring to the uniqueness of the individual culture. We speak of the "flavor," the "feel," the "spirit," or the "genius" of a particular way of life. We may ascribe its peculiar characteristics to the "pattern" into which its elements have fallen or to a "configuration" into which the behavior and thinking of its carriers fit. But this expressive vocabulary, though it has been useful and even at times illuminating, implies more than it actually reveals. To borrow terms and concepts from art, psychology, and philosophy may add flexibility and sparkle to the social scientist's descriptive offerings, but it has its limitations for serious analytical work.

Before the entrance of the United States into World War II, I began, with the help of two graduate students, to apply to a body of data a viewpoint, method, and vocabulary which had evolved out of my field-work experiences and my contacts with social scientists and their writings.

¹ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, to Lieutenant Commander Alexander H. Leighton, and to Dr. Ruth Benedict for suggestions and criticisms.

War has interrupted the work, but it may be timely in spite of its incompleteness to present briefly some of the concepts and definitions involved.

It is the thesis of this paper that a limited number of dynamic affirmations, which I shall call *themes*, can be identified in every culture and that the key to the character, structure, and direction of the specific culture is to be sought in the nature, expression, and interrelationship of these themes. So that the principal examples cited can be easily followed, I shall take them from a single volume—my Chiricahua Apache ethnology.²

The term "theme" is used here in a technical sense to denote a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society.³

² *An Apache Life-Way* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

³ "Theme" as here defined in some ways resembles the "value attitude" of Talcott Parsons' *The Structure of Social Action* and more particularly Kluckhohn's "cultural configuration" as this concept has been developed in a series of recent articles. Dr. Kluckhohn restricts the term he employs to designate incentives to action of which the people concerned are not aware—a limitation which I do not impose on themes. Moreover, I believe that the word "configuration" implies a formal relationship between the expressions of a theme which I doubt actually exists. See Clyde Kluckhohn, "Patterning as Exemplified in Navaho Culture," in *Language, Culture, and Personality*, ed. Leslie Spier (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Pub. Co., 1941), and "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems," *American Anthropologist*, XLV, No. 2 (1943), 213-27. Cf. also

The nature of a theme may be illustrated by a concept that is far from being exclusive to Chiricahua Apache society, namely, that men are physically, mentally, and morally superior to women. Hints that this is, indeed, a theme of the culture are found in more than one aspect of Chiricahua thought and behavior. Even predictions concerning an unborn child are guided by this theme, for, if a fetus "has lots of life," it is assumed that the child will be a boy. The value given to prenatal movement derives from the fact that, in this society, success depends largely on activity and participation. There are many other clues. Chiricahua women are charged with being more excitable and unstable than men and more likely to say or to do things that cause domestic or inter-family strife. They also are credited with less will-power than men and are said to be more easily "tempted," in regard both to sorcery and to irregular sexual conduct. It must be remembered that this is not the judgment of the men only but an appraisal which the Chiricahua women accept and help to perpetuate.

There are constant reminders of the same theme in political life and in social forms. The tribal leaders are all men, and all posts of importance are formally assumed by men. In council it is ordinarily the oldest active male who speaks for the extended family. In social etiquette the same deference to men is evident. Men must be allowed to precede women along paths. At feasts a special place is arranged for the men; the women eat wherever they find a place. If guests are present, the male guests are served first and the women of the entertaining household last of all.

In ceremonial life, too, women suffer some restrictions. For instance, they may not use the sweat lodge or impersonate important supernaturals called "mountain spirits." A menstruating woman is particu-

larly dangerous. Her condition may endanger the health of men with whom she comes in contact at this time and may even "spoil" good male horses. While the thoughtless act of individual men can bring misfortune, males are not contaminating because of sex-linked natural functions.

Even recreation is not free from the influence of this theme. Thus, women are not expected to sing social dance songs, and the grounds of the hoop-and-pole game, where men gather daily, are strictly forbidden to women under the supernatural sanction of blindness. Women have no comparable sanctuary.

All these translations of a theme into conduct or belief I call its *expressions*, a term by which is designated the activities, prohibition of activities, or references which result from the acceptance or affirmation of a theme in a society. The expressions of a theme, of course, aid us in discovering it.

Expressions of a theme are not all of one piece. The quest for "long life" is an important Chiricahua Apache concern and theme. During the girl's puberty rite, in keeping with this theme, the adolescent *always* walks through a "life-trail" of pollen footprints. There is no room for latitude or judgment in regard to the time of occurrence or the manner of performance of this act. At puberty every girl must pass through this rite, and this element is deemed essential to the completion of the ceremony. Its omission could not be rationalized in terms of the personalities involved or modified by special circumstances. Such a conventionalized and ordered response I name a *formalized expression of a theme*. This term refers to activities, prohibitions of activity, or references which have become fixed in time or place and to which everyone to whom they apply must respond without significant variation.

In contrast to this type of expression stands the variety which has the force of a more general guide to conduct rather than that of an undeviating rule. The Chiricahua woman, for example, is expected to be retiring and deferential in the presence of men

Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly, "The Concept of Culture," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 78-106.

and to allow them to make the first friendly overtures in speech or action. But what is considered becomingly modest in a woman is likely to depend on the ages of the persons involved, on whether the man and woman or their families are well acquainted, on the distance separating the two families, and on a number of other intrusive factors. The actual expression of the theme, consequently, becomes a function of a web of elements and therefore cannot be agreed on in advance. What is really expected of the woman is that she meet any novel or unexpected situation in which men are involved in the spirit of the theme. As far as specific behavior is concerned, she is allowed various solutions compatible with a socially accepted standard of conduct. Such fulfillments of a theme, which test the resourcefulness, ingenuity, and originality of those who devise them, I term *unformalized expressions*. These are the expressions of a theme whose precise character, time, or place are not carefully defined by the culture.

Expressions of a theme can be analyzed from still another direction. When the man always precedes the woman in walking or in eating, it is not difficult to establish the concept of superordination-subordination which is involved. Expressions such as these, which are so directly and obviously related to the theme, may be considered *primary expressions*. It may require more inquiry and more familiarity with the culture than is necessary for the recognition of primary themes to discover that excessive movement of a fetus during gestation is interpreted to mean that a male child is about to be born. Here the movement or activity *stands for* the male principle. Such substitutive realizations of a theme we may call *symbolic expressions*. These may be defined as substances, gestures, ideas, or figures of speech not necessarily logically related to themes but which have become recognized vehicles for their representation. Symbolic expressions may also be formalized or unformalized and may be of a material or a nonmaterial nature. Thus the "trail of pol-

len" of the girl's puberty rite is a formalized, symbolic, nonmaterial expression of the theme of the importance of long life.

As this suggests, the terms "formalized," "unformalized," "primary," "symbolic," "material," and "nonmaterial" are co-ordinate concepts. Thus a formalized expression can also be primary and material, symbolic and nonmaterial, symbolic and material, primary and nonmaterial, etc. There is no rank order involved; none of these concepts takes precedence over any other, as far as I can see. If there is any particular correlation or tendency to nexus, it is, for obvious reasons, between symbolic and nonmaterial expressions.

But to identify a theme is not to evaluate it. How is the importance of a theme to the culture to be measured and its place in comparison with other themes to be gauged?

One approach to this problem—the simplest and crudest because it avoids qualitative considerations—is to count the number of expressions of a theme. In general, a theme which is expressed many times in a culture, especially in a variety of contexts, is likely to be more fundamental and to exert more influence than one which is expressed infrequently. In fact, to be considered a valid theme in the sense in which the term has been defined here, an interest must be expressed quite a few times in the cultural round. In the study of Jicarilla Apache culture, for example, I have been interested in a theme which I tentatively call "the affirmation of the family chain of responsibility." As a result of the workings of this theme, family members share responsibility for what happens to each other and believe that their actions influence the outcome of the ventures of close kin. Thus the behavior of the father and mother before the birth of a child determines many of his characteristics. The fortunes of the Jicarilla hunter, raider, and warrior are thought to fluctuate in accordance with the conduct at home of family representatives, who obey many restrictions while the men are engaged in these missions. The expressions of this theme are many and varied in Jicarilla society. But in

Chiricahua Apache culture there are only one or two usages which are vaguely reminiscent of the Jicarilla development. And these are so few in number and so lightly considered that it would be obviously improper to treat them as expressions of a Chiricahua theme.

Even the task of determining the number of expressions of a theme which pervade a culture may not be as easy as it at first seems. Formalized expressions, because of the regularity or inevitability of their appearance, are relatively simple to note; a full outline of the traditional aspects of a culture usually throws most of them into relief. Where a culture tends to emphasize tradition and prescribes the details of behavior and etiquette for many occasions, the search for formalized expressions of a theme is likely to be most rewarding. But for the identification of unformalized expressions of a theme, close observation, accounts of personal experiences, and autobiographical materials must be utilized in addition. Also it requires a better acquaintance with the culture to interpret symbolic expressions correctly than it does to recognize the derivation of the more explicit primary expressions. Moreover, nonmaterial expressions are generally more elusive than material evidences of a theme.

Another rough indication of the importance of a theme is the degree to which a group shows concern when its terms are violated. The intensity of the reaction and the character of the sanctions invoked are significant clues.

In assessing the position of a theme in a given culture, it is also well to determine in how many facets of the total system of ideas and practices it appears. The theme of male dominance is not by any means the most striking or important affirmation of its kind in Chiricahua culture. Yet it is represented in more than one branch of tribal thought and endeavor. We have already cited evidence to show that a woman has certain religious disabilities in Chiricahua society. In addition, it is considered wrong, because of her greater "weakness," for a woman to

accompany a man on the hunt. Even to bring a woven basket, the symbol of woman's handiwork, on the hunt will result in bad luck. So at least two large "compartments" of Chiricahua culture—economic and ritualistic—are marked by expressions of this theme.

But more important than anything else in judging the place of a theme in the cultural whole is the recognition of the restraints which exist to its extreme and unimpeded expression. These are the *limiting factors*, the circumstances (often the existence of other opposed or circumscribing themes and their extensions) which control the number, force, and variety of a theme's expressions. Unless I am mistaken, the concept of limiting factors is the key to the understanding of the integration or equilibrium that is achieved or approximated in the structure of most cultures.

The pertinence of these guides to the evaluation of a theme can best be illustrated by applying them. Is the doctrine of male superiority a dominant and overshadowing tenet of Chiricahua society? Is the Chiricahua woman a virtual slave to man in this culture and may man play the bully with impunity? In terms of the criteria which have been introduced, I believe it can be established that the superiority attributed to men is comparatively slight, that the disabilities of women are minor, and that women are relatively well treated and protected in this setting.

In the first place, there actually are not a very large number of expressions of the theme of male dominance and female inferiority. I have mentioned all of them that I can find or that I can recall. Moreover, those expressions of the theme that do exist are not too important in context. Women may not use the sweat lodge, but the sweat lodge is not a particularly vital element of Chiricahua ceremonialism. Again, a woman may not impersonate the mountain spirits, that is, she may not act as a masked dancer. Yet she may seek and obtain supernatural power on a plane of equality with men and accordingly may become a powerful shaman

—something much more fundamental to the ritual life. To turn to the economy, women should not accompany men on the hunt. But this is hardly a serious penalty, for the division of labor has left women many essential and esteemed tasks to perform.

Further, the sanctions against violating the spirit or the letter of this theme are not very drastic. If a woman walks too near the grounds of the hoop-and-pole game, the men stop their play and stand with poles erect until she is out of sight. Her punishment, if she has watched the game, is left to the supernaturals. A woman who is brash in her contacts with men or who usurps her husband's place in council or in dealings with her neighbors invites ridicule and perhaps a certain amount of ostracism. But nothing more severe is done to her. In short, Chiricahua women do labor under some handicaps and disqualifications, but these are not too serious or overrestrictive.

When we examine the limiting factors which prevent the theme of male dominance from becoming too powerful, the structural reasons for the mildness of the expressions of the theme become apparent.

To begin with, residence after marriage among the Chiricahua is matrilineal. The husband comes to live at the encampment of his bride's family and by his presence and his labor makes good the loss sustained when a young man of this family weds and moves away. The Chiricahua husband is expected to work for his parents-in-law, and out of respect he avoids or "hides from" them. Obviously, he cannot abuse his wife without inviting retaliation from affinal kin to whom he owes obedience and deference. The Chiricahua woman remains with or near her closest relatives all her life. She is protected by them before marriage, she stays among them after marriage, and if she should be widowed or if her marriage should end in divorce, they continue to offer her a haven.

Also, because men leave the paternal encampment at marriage while girls attract strong sons-in-law to provide for the older relatives, girls are quite as welcome as boys in the Chiricahua household. There is no

tendency to female infanticide. The girl's puberty rite, which marks a girl's approach to marriageable age, is an occasion of public rejoicing. Tribesmen come from all over the surrounding region to congratulate the family on having reared their daughter to maturity.

Nor is the woman at great disadvantage in economic activities. Chiricahua food economy is based on hunting and gathering techniques. The wild-plants which the woman gathers and prepares are a source of food rivaling the products of the hunt in importance. Any restrictions which would seriously limit the mobility of the woman or would interfere with her ability to carry out her part of the food quest would strike at the very subsistence of the group.

Because of the highly mobile life and the extreme fear of the dead or their possessions, property was exclusively personal among the Chiricahua and was destroyed at the death of the owner. Since women made and used quite as many objects as men, their list of possessions was just as long. As a result of the destruction of all the individual's property at death, there was no way for men as a group to accumulate more wealth than did women.

Without multiplying examples, it is not difficult to see that the theme of male superiority and female subordination could never become a pre-eminent note of Chiricahua culture unless decided shifts occurred in other aspects of the culture as well. It is apparent that the Chiricahua conception of the place of women and of the proper behavior of women in relation to men crosses other themes and expressions of themes, and these act as limiting factors and moderating influences.

Such a view of the interplay of theme and countertheme has important implications for social theory. It is probable that much of what we have loosely called "structure" in culture is essentially the interrelation and balance of themes. Also this analysis of the nature of themes offers a clue to the unformulated but real dissatisfaction of social scientists with writers who present ex-

treme aspects of "exotic" cultures as typical, and who arrive at a caricature of a culture because they overemphasize unusual themes and pay far too little attention to the limiting factors which provide equilibrium.

Moreover, the approach points to the essential weakness in the theoretical views of social anthropologists and sociologists who limit inquiry into the nature of the structure of culture to the study of the realm of social organization. Even from the few examples given above it should be clear that themes important to the structure and ordering of a society are not delimited by kinship or its extensions. Familial structure is not more important by definition than, say, religious structure, and both of these respond to the more comprehensive system of themes. Structure is not something to be abstracted from one aspect of a culture. Rather it is the organization of fundamental ideas and their derivatives revealed by empirical study of actual behavior.

In order to illustrate how the expressions of a theme are distributed throughout the various fields of interest and how the limiting factors operate, it may be well to examine a theme of Chiricahua Apache culture which can be summed up in these words: "Long life and old age are important goals."

The desire for long life is common to much of humanity, of course, and not infrequently we of Western culture offer a toast to a friend's longevity and health. For the Apache, however, long life is not a vague desideratum but a condition to be achieved by the incessant manipulation of supernatural power and the unflagging efforts of men. It is an end-product of constant strivings, punctuated by a number of definite steps.

The process begins as soon as the Chiricahua child is born. Shortly after delivery, the umbilical cord and the afterbirth are placed in a young tree, so that the life and growth of the child may parallel that of a natural object which ordinarily reaches a great age. Later, when the child wears his first moccasins, he is led through four footprints outlined in pollen, a symbol of the path of long

life. Not long afterward a spring hair-cutting ceremony is performed for the child, a rite that is in large part a prayer for his continued health and longevity. Parents are especially pleased when an old person whom they have befriended blesses their child, for the youngster is then likely to live to the age of the one who voices the blessing. Also, it is fortunate to have an old person conduct a ceremony over a child; the child is then likely to attain a like age.

The girl's puberty rite serves as a focus for many expressions of the theme. If a girl does not undergo a puberty rite, she is doomed to a short life. The priest of the puberty rite always prays earnestly for the long life of the adolescent, and his reputation depends in good measure on the continued existence and health of the girls for whom he has "sung." At one point in the rite, the girl's body is rubbed and massaged in order "to straighten out her life and make it long." To be assured of old age, she walks through a trail of pollen footprints and runs to the east along a symbolic trail of long life. Needless to say, nearly every song and prayer of the puberty rite mentions long life, and old women who are present burst into a call of reverent applause when the word for "long life" is uttered. The fire poker used by the ceremonialist during the rite is termed the "age stick" and represents the cane on which the girl will lean when she has attained old age. Allusion is made to the "age stick" in many of the songs, and one of the most important of the songs has the "age stick" for its title and subject. In fact, the song cycle offers safeguards for every stage and condition of life and is considered a means by which a girl can be brought without mishap to old age.

There are other indications of the quest for old age. A first cigarette is rolled for a youth by an old person, so that the smoker may reach the age of the one who has acted for him. One of the central anxieties of the Apache is that witches and ghosts are trying to shorten their lives. Existence is conceived of as a struggle for long life, with good men and beneficent supernatural pow-

er on one side and witches, ghosts, and evil power on the other. So frequent are references to old age and long life that mere children respond to the theme as an ideal and a goal: I have a record of a child of eight who dreamed that the supernaturals had promised him long life!

Quite naturally, the great importance attributed to old age as such has resulted in deference to those who have attained it. An old person is respectfully permitted to open conversations and to take the initiative in greetings. The older person always takes the lead in embracing, the Apache form of greeting at a time of great emotional stress or when returning after a long absence.

It may appear to some that such intense concern for long life and old age must result in a gerontocracy. We may well ask whether those who survive to old age are unchecked in their control of Chiricahua society. They are not. Again there are limiting factors which offset and moderate the workings of this particular theme.

One theme which checks any tendency to the predominant influence of the aged is one which I call "validation by participation." Chiricahua society is particularly congenial to activists. Wisdom and sagacity are valued, but they are subordinate to and must be linked with performance. A leader is one who actually commands in warfare or on raiding or hunting expeditions. When failing health or old age interferes with success, the leader yields to someone younger and better equipped. As long as a man is physically fit and active, age is an asset, for it denotes experience and wisdom in addition to the other virtues. But when a leader can no longer keep pace with the strenuous young men, his years and his knowledge do not prevent his retirement.

It is much the same in matters of ceremonial. The relationship between the shaman and the supernatural power through which he works is an extremely close and personal one. The shaman draws the power's attention to the rite and to the patient's plight by prayer and song and then pleads with his power for help. He does not shrink

from reminding his power of its past promises to him or from threatening henceforth to ignore the power if it does not comply with his wishes. In dealing with his source of power, the shaman benefits by abundant self-confidence, a strong voice, and a rich vocabulary. Age often blurs this control and dissolves the relationship. "The older you get," an informant has told me, "the weaker you become with your ceremony. Your mind is weak. Your praying is mixed up. You get the lines in the wrong order in the songs and prayers. . . . Your voice is feeble and you can't sing as you used to. You can't have a good vigorous talk with your power any more." Thus, despite the theoretical prerogatives of age, the inability of a very old person to enter into ceremonial life with the former gusto may result in his gradual withdrawal from ritual life.⁴

The theme that affirms the existence of sorcerers capable of causing trouble, sickness, and death also operates against unqualified approbation for the aged. If all goes moderately well with the affairs of an elderly person and those associated with him, there will be no tendency to suspect him of sorcery. But if an individual lives on to a great age while young and seemingly healthy individuals inexplicably become ill and die around him, it may be rumored that this occurs because, when his turn to die approaches, he bargains with evil power and "sacrifices" a younger victim in his stead. Such stories are especially likely to arise if the elderly person is aberrant or queer or if he has become crabbed or difficult with the years. Thus the respect owed to the aged is often tempered by the latent fear that the "long life" has been purchased at the cost of the lives of the innocent and young.

I do not wish to give the impression that I consider a culture always to be in a perfect

⁴ It must be remembered, however, that ordinarily the tendency is for the old to be eliminated from raiding and from those activities which demand physical exertion before they lose prestige as ceremonialists. An old person who retains his memory and commanding way in the performance of ritual may function as a shaman until the end of his life.

state of equilibrium as a result of the balancing of themes and that I do not take cognizance of the predominant role that any one theme may occasionally play. Although I believe that some kind of equilibrium in the structure of a culture must prevail unless there is to be total chaos, I am well aware that there are instances where no adequate restraints upon an emergent theme exist or are created. There are periods when the system of equilibrium is in flux. There are times when a theme, because of changes which weaken or remove the ordinary limiting factors, becomes abnormally influential. These conditions can be illustrated by reference to a single Chiricahua theme.

Even before the historical period, one of the most poorly adjusted areas in the structure of Chiricahua culture was that which dealt with sorcery. Around this concept were organized some of the most serious tensions and anxieties of the culture. A Chiricahua usually relied upon his kin to defend him against injustice. But witchcraft was so horrible a subject that no one, it was said, would prefer accusations of witchcraft unless he were "sure." And, since witches were reputed to make a specialty of victimizing their own relatives, the kin of the accused had reason to treat the charges with some respect. Then, too, witches were usually identified in ceremonies by shamans. To refuse to heed the message was to fly in the face of religion. Moreover, to defend a witch was most unprofitable and dangerous, for, on the theory that witches defend one another, it placed the advocate under suspicion for the same offense. As a result of all this, the principal barrier to the unhealthy growth of the witchcraft theme was a sense of proportion and a general state of good will among the Chiricahua themselves. As long as reverses were overbalanced by successes and a sense of security prevailed, morbid preoccupation with ideas of witchcraft did not menace the welfare of the tribe.

With the coming of the white man and the beginning of the Indian wars, the situation changed drastically. The tribe was

plunged into a series of conflicts and suffered an enormous number of casualties. The tribal territories were lost. During this period the group was decimated by epidemics. Because of the frustrations, the uncertainties, and the pressures, factionalism flourished. In keeping with the religious pattern, shamans sought explanations for the misfortunes and found them in the usual revelations concerning the activities of sorcerers. Charges and countercharges increased. Murders, executions, and retaliations were common, and feuds raged. The furor over witchcraft threatened for a time to complete what the white man's weapons and diseases had begun.

Thus a study of the themes in culture can often illuminate the history of the cultural dynamic. It can also offer clues to the direction of the cultural dynamic and to problems of acculturation. Another comparison between Chiricahua Apache and Jicarilla Apache practices will perhaps make this clear.

According to the major religious theme in Chiricahua culture, the universe is pervaded by supernatural power accessible to any man or woman who earnestly wishes to become a shaman and "to know something to live by." On the other hand, the Jicarilla Apache in their religious thinking emphasize traditional or "long-life" ceremonies. These are not the result of an individual power quest but were supposedly taught by the supernaturals in the early days of mankind. Consequently, they should be continued without change or personal interpretation by successive generations of practitioners who learn them by rote.

The shamanistic Chiricahua religious round, because it rests on personal experiences, is flexible and adaptive. Christianity can be accepted, for instance, as simply another "power," with Jesus as its source. As a result of the adjustments and rationalizations which its themal form has permitted it to take, Chiricahua ritual life has retained its vitality to a remarkable degree.

The Jicarilla Apache have been more isolated than the Chiricahua and less subject

to the white man's influence. A reasonable guess would be that aboriginal Jicarilla religious practices are better preserved than are those of the Chiricahua. Yet, because of the insistence on a faithful reproduction of former observances, when proper materials are lacking or when conditions are not satisfactory, discouragement mounts and Jicarilla ritual life deteriorates. Consequently, instead of substitution or realistic compromise there is a greater loss of content and detail in Jicarilla than in Chiricahua culture. According to Jicarilla legend, to give an illustration, the long, flowing hair of the members of a certain dance group symbolizes the clouds and the rain. The tale threatens the tribe with drought and sorrow if anyone who has had his hair cut (unless ritually in

childhood or for mourning) should perform this dance. This injunction is still honored in spite of altered conditions. Because the Jicarilla boys were forced to have their hair cropped when they were sent to schools, the great ceremony in which such dancers appear has not taken place for many years and may never again be presented.

This paper represents a very short excursion into the vast domain of structural analysis and cultural dynamics. It is meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive and provocative rather than definitive. Yet it does seek to explore concepts in which the social scientist is becoming increasingly interested.

CLAREMONT COLLEGES (*on leave*)
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

THE RELIGIOUS SECT IN CANADIAN POLITICS

S. D. CLARK

ABSTRACT

It has been assumed that the evangelical churches in Canada have supported liberal principles of government. If the political activities of the Baptists in Nova Scotia, the Methodists in Upper Canada, and the followers of William Aberhart in Alberta are examined, it will be found that, while a number of conditions favored their alignment with radical political forces, other circumstances favored their alignment with conservative forces. Opportunism determined their political affiliations. The explanation for this lies in the development of these churches from religious sects. The sect, forced into politics, lacked a political philosophy. The real contribution to liberal principles of government must be sought in the peculiar role of the religious sect itself.

This paper is concerned with the part played by evangelistic religious movements in Canadian politics and, more particularly, with their influence upon the development of liberal political thought in the country. It has been assumed by most students of Canadian church history that the evangelistic religious movements, through the support of radical programs of political reform, have made substantial contributions to liberal thought. This paper contends that such a view has been based upon a superficial examination of the facts. While it is true that the evangelical churches have at times lent support to the cause of political radicalism, it is questionable whether such support has been nearly as significant as supposed in revealing their political thinking. It is argued here that the political activities of the evangelical churches have not grown out of a deeply imbedded political philosophy and that the real contribution to the development of liberal principles of government must be sought not in their activities but rather in the peculiar role of the religious sect out of which the evangelical churches had developed. Discussion of the part played by evangelistic religious movements in politics compels consideration of the political influence of the sect as well as the church.

For the purposes of this paper, it seems best to confine the discussion to three evangelical groups which have played an important role in Canadian politics: the Baptists in Nova Scotia, the Methodists in Upper

Canada (now the province of Ontario), and the followers of William Aberhart in Alberta. The contribution of these groups to the cause of political radicalism has been well recognized.

In Nova Scotia the Baptists constituted a distinctive revolutionary force in religious and social life toward the close of the eighteenth century, and early movements of political reform owed much to their indirect and direct support.¹ Similarly, in Upper Canada, the Methodists, in the two decades of political turmoil after the war of 1812-14, strongly supported radical political movements in the country in opposition to the Family Compact; and the close working alliance which grew up between Egerton Ryerson, the acknowledged leader of the Methodist church, and William Lyon Mackenzie, the leader of the Reform party, was indicative of the increasing active participation of Methodists in politics.² The radical political implications of the religious movement in Alberta founded by William Aberhart are obvious: the Social Credit party, with its sweeping program of monetary reform, grew directly out of Aberhart's Prophetic Bible Institute. Here, very definitely, political revolt was born out of a movement which had grown up on a religious foundation.

A combination of forces led to this alignment of the evangelical churches with radi-

¹ E. M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, 1902).

² Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto and New Haven, 1941).

cal movements in the country. In the first place, vested interests of denominationalism tended to produce such an alignment. The evangelical churches found themselves opposed by the old, traditional churches closely associated with the state or with ruling parties in the state. The Baptists in Nova Scotia and the Methodists in Upper Canada were compelled to fight church establishment to secure the rights to which they felt themselves entitled as religious denominations, and, in fighting church establishment, they inevitably found themselves fighting all the forces of special privilege and reaction in the country. Somewhat similarly, William Aberhart, in attacking the claims of the powerful and wealthy churches represented in Alberta, many of them with strong creditor interests in the province, found himself launching out in an attack upon those business and political interests which largely supported, and in turn were supported by, these churches. The evangelical church, the moment it became denominationally conscious, very naturally championed the cause of religious freedom in one form or another, and such championship threw it on the side of political radicalism in the country.

Strong social forces as well, however, tended to an identification of the evangelical churches with the cause of political radicalism. Of these, regional-economic interests were by far the most important. Their effect was to strengthen greatly the tendencies deriving from denominational interests.

The political affiliations of the evangelical churches were determined by the kind of area from which they drew their support. The established or traditional churches were the churches of the metropolis. Their most imposing houses of worship were located in the better residential sections of the larger centers of population; their most successful ministers occupied city pulpits. Within the state capital, in particular, their influence tended to be dominant. They gave expression to the interests of empire or nation. The evangelical churches, on the other hand, grew up as religious sects on the social

fringes of the community. Their emergence as new sects represented efforts of scattered or downtrodden folk, neglected by the traditional churches, to develop a form of religious fellowship on their own. It was in outlying areas of the country, or within working-class sections of the city, that sectarian activity flourished.

Thus the separatism of the sect, its efforts to separate itself from the worldly society, became, within the evangelical church, closely related to political separatist movements in the hinterland or in marginal urban areas. The political reaction against the control of the metropolis—the struggle to secure a greater measure of local political autonomy—found support in, and in turn supported, the isolationism of the religious sect. Rebellion in the backlands expressed itself usually in religious as well as in political form;³ few movements of political independence in history have been unrelated to movements of religious schism. The attempt of Brigham Young in Utah to bring into being a theocratic state largely independent of the federal authority provides possibly the best example on this continent of the combination of sectarian religious and frontier political separatism,⁴ but similar forces in Canada led to like forms of political and religious expression.

The struggle of the Baptists in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century to secure an independent religious life was simply a part of the much larger struggle of the Nova Scotian out-settlements to resist the domination of Halifax and to free themselves from the restrictions of the British colonial system. The collapse of Congregationalism had followed upon the break of Nova Scotia from New England with the American Revolution, and the rise of the Newlight-Baptist movement represented an effort to strengthen the position of the out-settlements which had lost the support of

³ Euclides de Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, trans. from *Os Sertões*, with Introduction and Notes, by Samuel Putnam (Chicago, 1944).

⁴ Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1942).

the tie with New England. The aggressive separatism of the new religious sect was not unrelated to the efforts of the town meeting to control local village affairs, to the refusal of local magistrates to convict for offenses against unpopular Colonial laws, and, during the Revolution, to smuggling and tax evasion, and, after the Revolution, to the conflict between the assembly and the council and the growing demand for responsible government.⁵

Similarly, the struggle of Methodism in Upper Canada became closely tied up with efforts of the backwoods farm communities to free themselves from the controls of centralized land-granting, taxing, and road-building authorities. The chief strength of the traditional churches, and especially of the churches of England and Scotland, was in the larger towns and the provincial capital. These churches represented the official classes of the community—the classes which had a stake in the imperial connection—but made no effective effort to serve the outlying backwoods farm population. Political dissatisfactions of people who, because of their isolation had little voice in government, found expression in religious separatism. Methodism grew rapidly in outlying sections of the country and supported efforts to secure a greater measure of local independence and colonial autonomy.⁶

The close relationship between frontier political and religious sectarian separatism can be seen even more clearly in Alberta in the religious-political movement led by Aberhart. Aberhart's break with the traditional organization of religion forced him into an isolationist position. Dominance of the national churches became closely associated in his eyes, and in the eyes of his followers, with the dominance of the large

eastern cities and of the federal authority. On the other hand, the religious separatism of Aberhart's new sect—its attempt to stand apart from the worldly society—became closely associated with the political separatism of such a frontier area as Alberta. It was not difficult for Aberhart to translate the religious exclusiveness of the Prophetic Bible Institute into a political exclusiveness, once he became leader of the Social Credit party. The society of the elect found expression now in political terms. It was not without significance that some of the more prominent members of the Social Credit government belonged to the Mormon church in southern Alberta. The religious-political experiment in Alberta resembled very closely that tried much earlier in Utah; in both cases, religious separatism sought support in political separatism, and encroachments of the federal authority were viewed as encroachments of the worldly society.

Regional interests which found expression in movements of religious and political separatism were closely related to economic interests. The society of the backlands or of the urban working-class area was a debtor society. The religious sect attracted the support not only of the isolated but of the economically dispossessed. It provided a cheap religion in that it did not make heavy financial demands for the support of elaborate places of worship and highly educated clergymen. Furthermore, it provided, in the way of preaching appointments, occupational opportunities for young men (and, in some cases, young women) without the means of securing the training necessary for a professional career. It was the poor fishermen and farmers of Nova Scotia who largely comprised the early following of the Baptist church. The debt-ridden farmers of the Upper Canadian backwoods communities rallied about the banner of the Methodist itinerant preachers. Aberhart secured his greatest support, both as a religious evangelist and as a political campaigner, in that area of Alberta stretching northeast from Calgary to the Saskatchewan border, the ap-

⁵ J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937). See also S. D. Clark, *The Social Development of Canada* (Toronto, 1942); H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto and New Haven, 1940).

⁶ G. W. Brown, "The Early Methodist Church and the Canadian Point of View," *Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1938.

proximate center of which is the town of Hanna. It was here that the drought was most fully felt.

The message of the religious evangelist as a result became easily translated into economic panaceas of various sorts. Magical remedies were seized upon to solve problems of the economic system just as patent medicines and the prescriptions of the medical quack are seized upon to deal with bodily ills. Monetary experiments, in particular, have tended to be closely related to religious experiments in means of salvation. Resort to the use of scrip or to the establishment of special banks served the purpose of strengthening the isolation of the religious group and, at the same time, of offering a solution to the problem of debt. The close relationship between sectarian techniques of religious control and monetary techniques of economic and political control has been most evident, of course, in the Social Credit experiment in Alberta; here the Mormon members of the government in particular had a perfectly good historic example in the use of scrip and the carrying-on of banking operations by the Mormons in Utah. Awareness of monetary solutions of economic problems was less fully developed among the earlier evangelical religious groups in Canada, but the pressures of a rigid credit system in the hands of the merchant class in Nova Scotia and Upper Canada, and the shortage of money, led to economic dissatisfactions which found expression among Baptists and Methodists in demands for economic reforms not unlike those of Social Credit.

The denominational, regional, and economic interests of the evangelical churches were probably most responsible for their support of radical political movements in the community. To some extent, as well, the nature of the evangelical religious appeal in itself may have contributed to a fostering of an attitude of political radicalism. Such an appeal involved a sharp break from traditional theological systems; theological trappings, and an elaborate ritualistic system, were cut through to emphasize the elemen-

tary problem of man's relationship to his God. At the same time, conversion involved an equally sharp break with his past for the individual. The effect of this was to encourage an untraditional approach to problems of life in general.⁷ It was for this reason that followers of new religious sects often became the most active in promoting novel types of economic activity. Something of the experimental attitude was carried over into politics as well.

These considerations suggest the nature of some of the more important factors favoring the alignment of the evangelical churches with radical political forces in the community. It would be a mistake to conclude from this, however, that these churches have invariably lent support to the cause of radicalism. If the political activities of the Baptists in Nova Scotia, the Methodists in Upper Canada, and the followers of William Aberhart in Alberta are examined further, it will be found that these groups, while at times supporting radical political movements, have at other times constituted a distinctive conservative influence in the community. Indeed, in the decisive tests of strength between opposing political forces in the country, they have more often thrown their weight on the side of conservatism. This fact has to be recognized before any conclusion can be drawn respecting the relationship of the evangelical churches to political thought.

In Nova Scotia, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, opposition to the nonsectarian educational policy of Joseph Howe, the leader of the Reform party, led the Baptists to shift to the Conservatives in the province. It was a prominent Baptist—J. W. Johnson—who became the leader of the Conservative party, and the votes of the Baptist population were decisive in bringing about the defeat of the Reformers in the election of 1843. Likewise, in Upper Canada, the early alliance between the Methodists and Reformers was sharply broken in 1833, when Egerton Ryerson came

⁷ Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xvii.

out in opposition to William Lyon Mackenzie; and in the election of 1836, and again in the election of 1844, the Methodist vote was largely responsible for the Tory victories.⁸ Even moderate reform leaders, like the Baldwins, were unable to rely upon Methodist support. In Alberta today similar tendencies are evident within the combination erected by Aberhart out of religious and political materials. Aberhart himself never really ceased to be a conservative in political outlook, and the political party which he founded has moved steadily in a conservative direction. The radicalism which persists within the party comes very largely from elements which became a part of the political movement after 1935 but which were quite unrelated to the religious movement led by Aberhart. Frontier agrarianism continues to force the party into a radical position, but radical tendencies are sharply checked by the strength of sectarian religious influences.⁹

Factors which at one time favored the alignment of the evangelical churches with political reform in the community favored their alignment with conservative forces at another. Denominational vested interests changed in character as the evangelical church became less concerned about the privileges enjoyed by the older, established churches in the community and more concerned about protecting privileges which it itself had secured. The sect grew into the church and, in doing so, found its interests more closely identified with the interests of the traditional churches. Promotion of such objects as education, temperance, and Sabbath observance forced the evangelical church to oppose rival religious movements more evangelistically aggressive and secular movements which threatened the teachings of religion. Baptist church leaders in Nova

Scotia and Methodist church leaders in Upper Canada increasingly directed their fire against the new religious sects which sprang up in the community, while by 1935 Aberhart in Alberta was feeling very keenly the competition of rival radio evangelists in Calgary. Subsequently his churches in the country have steadily been crowded out by churches organized by the new sects. The threat of the loss of some of its members to other religious bodies weakened in the evangelical church an interest in the cause of religious freedom, and only in those churches, such as the Quakers and some of the smaller Baptist groups, where the spirit of the sect remained strong, have liberal principles been adhered to consistently. Denominationalism tended to make the more prosperous evangelical churches increasingly dependent upon the state and community at large.

At the same time the evangelical churches in gradually withdrawing from sectarianism became much more a part of the metropolitan structure. With the migration of their followers, they established themselves in the larger centers of population; and their leaders became much more sympathetic to the views of city residents. Their houses of worship began to rival in elegance those of the older churches, and most of their leading ministers came to occupy city pulpits. Country stations were increasingly neglected, and methods of organization such as itinerancy and street-preaching, which had been developed to make possible the serving of people in the country or in working-class districts of the city who could not be reached within regular places of worship, were abandoned. The evangelical churches came to draw most of their financial support from the cities, and from the better residential sections and, consequently, to identify their interests with the interests of the metropolitan population. They became churches of empire or nation rather than the churches of the social fringe.

Such a development was clearly evident with respect to the Baptists in Nova Scotia the Methodists in Upper Canada. The con-

⁸ C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters* (Toronto, 1937).

⁹ Indications are not lacking that a split will take place within the movement resembling in some respects the split in reform ranks in Upper Canada in 1833; indeed, that split actually seems to have occurred in the last provincial election.

siderable influence exerted within the Baptist denomination by the Granville Street Church in Halifax, after its break in 1827 from the Church of England, and the shift of denominational leadership from preachers and laymen attached to churches in the out-settlements to preachers and laymen attached to the church in the capital, were indicative of fundamental changes in the position of the Baptist group. The leadership of Dr. E. A. Crawley in Baptist educational endeavors reflected the greater dependence upon the resources of the metropolis. Likewise, with the Methodists in Upper Canada, the increasing importance of Toronto as a Methodist center, and the union in 1832 with the English Wesleyan Conference, reflected the closer identification with the political interests of the capital and with the British imperial system. New Methodist leaders emerged with much stronger urban ties, and new techniques, such as the religious journal, developed which strengthened the influence of churches in the larger centers. The change in the character of the Methodist camp meeting from a religious gathering held in the backwoods to a religious gathering held in summer resorts and attracting city people was suggestive of the new Methodist appeal.

At first glance it might seem that the religious-political movement founded by Aberhart in Alberta has escaped developments leading to a closer identification with metropolitan interests, but in actual fact it has not. The increasing competition of radio evangelists led Aberhart and his fellow-preachers to place less emphasis upon the appeal to country people and to think more in terms of the work of the large city churches in Calgary and Edmonton, while, the same time, the political party which grew out of the religious movement has steadily ceased to be a frontier party and has become more interested in building up a national following or, at least, in securing acceptance within the nation at large. The present efforts, in face of the forthcoming Dominion election, to place Social Credit candidates in the field in various parts of

the country suggest the extent of the shift away from the early position of sectarian and provincial separatism.

The change in the position of the evangelical churches in the cities was accompanied by a change in their relationship to the wealthier economic classes. Substantial men of business, though not necessarily changing their religious affiliations, began to make financial contributions to these churches on the theory that their teachings made for good citizens and for well-disciplined workers. At the same time, many of the adherents of the evangelical church became rich themselves. The asceticism cultivated within the religious sect tended to success in business enterprise, and religious nonconformists were likely to find their way into mercantile pursuits in particular. Commercialism favored the sort of qualities developed within the sect, while, on the other hand, members of the more traditional churches were likely to avoid commerce as something not becoming their social position.¹⁰

Commercial prosperity thus inevitably resulted in considerable changes in the economic status of the membership of the evangelical churches as over against the membership of the traditional churches. The evangelical churches ceased to be churches of the poor as an increasing number of their members became substantial citizens, and such a shift in social status led to a shift in political attachments. An anxiety to establish a claim to a position of respectability led these churches to repudiate their earlier connections with the socially humble and politically radical. The increasing conservatism of the Baptists in Nova Scotia and the Methodists in Upper Canada can be explained at least in part on these grounds. By the middle of the nineteenth century these churches had many wealthy members. In Alberta the same sort of thing has hap-

¹⁰ See Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay: An Essay on History* (London, 1895), esp. pp. 129, 150, and 157. See also Harold A. Innis, "On the Economic Significance of Culture," *The Tasks of Economic History*, Supplement IV to the *Journal of Economic History*, December, 1944.

pened, but it has been more evident within the Social Credit party than within the Prophetic Bible Institute. In the election of 1944 many prominent Alberta businessmen—and, there is reason to believe, a number of large business firms outside—lent their active support to the party which nine years earlier had advocated a radical program of monetary reform.

In the end the evangelistic religious appeal also tended to the development of attitudes of conservatism among the followers of the evangelical churches. While such an appeal did promote, on the one hand, a more rationalist approach to the problems of life, it promoted, on the other hand, a narrow intolerance which increasingly found expression in antiliberal forms of behavior. Religious sectarianism involved a shift to a more fundamentalist, elementary conception of religion; it represented a reversion to a simpler form of Christianity. Its appeal, therefore, was essentially reactionary in character. New movements within theological thought were strongly resisted by the religious sect, and it was almost inevitable that something of this theological illiberalism would be carried over and become identified with political illiberalism. The feeling developed by the evangelistic religious sect that it possessed the only true means of salvation led to a type of bigotry which found expression in politics as well as in religion. Reliance upon special revelation ruled out discussion as a way of arriving at decisions, and the religious evangelist was likely to prove highly impatient when caught within the checks and balances of democratic political processes.

Consideration of the influences which tended to force the evangelical churches into a conservative position in politics, as over against those influences which tended to force them into a radical position, suggests that the nature of their political alignments at most can only in part be explained in terms of a fundamental political philosophy. Evangelical church leaders displayed considerable capacity to change their minds, and the minds of their followers, to suit cir-

cumstances; and it was never possible to predict what political program they would support at any particular time. They developed no consistent body of political principles.

The explanation for this would seem to lie in the sectarian origin of the evangelical church. Religious sectarianism as such tended to foster an attitude of political indifference. The whole attention of the individual was directed to the state of his (and of his neighbor's) soul. So long as the sect remained truly evangelical in character, it avoided any connection whatsoever with secular groups or associations, remaining wholly otherworldly. This was true of the Baptists in Nova Scotia, of the Methodists in Upper Canada, and of the religious movement led by Aberhart in Alberta, as it has been true of all other sects.²²

Although the preaching career of Henry Alline, the founder of the Newlight Baptist church in Nova Scotia, coincided almost exactly with the period of the American Revolutionary War, he referred only twice to it in his journal, and then quite incidentally. The Newlight movement grew out of the unrest created by the Revolution, but the Newlights carefully avoided any identification with political interests. Their strength as a religious sect largely derived from this act. Similarly, the Methodists in Upper Canada made their greatest gains just before and after the war of 1812-14, but few Methodist preachers expressed any interest in the controversies growing out of war or in the subsequent fierce political conflicts. Methodist preachers and Methodist converts subordinated political allegiances to what they considered the much more important allegiance to their God. Likewise, during the period in which Aberhart gained his greatest influence as a religious leader in Alberta, he had no interest whatsoever in politics, and his followers tended to be those people who engaged very little in political

²² Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (2 vols.; London, 1931).

activities and who were little informed respecting political issues.

The effect of the sectarian religious appeal thus was virtually to disenfranchise a considerable section of the population. The religious sectarian in many cases did not vote; if he did vote, he very often took no other interest in public questions. His political allegiances were of a tenuous sort; he made a poor party member because he was seldom prepared to accept the obligations of party loyalty. His religious conscience too often served to justify an attitude of nonco-operation. This resulted in fostering a state of political illiteracy. For the most part, the membership of religious sects was drawn from the least-educated sections of the population, and no attempt was made, within religious teachings, to correct this initial disadvantage in exercising the privileges of citizenship. Rather, ignorance of political matters was considered a virtue of the evangelistically minded person; it was indicative of his complete break from the fellowship of the ungodly and his full participation in the fellowship of the elect. Thus political illiteracy was deliberately promoted by discouraging contact with people outside the group and by discouraging the reading of nonreligious publications. Theological commentaries and religious journals, as well as the evangelical sermon, served to weaken efforts of the secular press to build up party loyalties and a political consciousness.

Political indifference gave way to an interest in public issues only when the position of the religious sect was threatened by public policy. It was the leaders who were most alive to the effects of public policy and who, therefore, were most likely to initiate political action to protect the interests of the sect. Indeed, the followers of the religious sect tended to be little more concerned about its interests as a religious denomination than they were about the interests of any secular institution; sectarianism encouraged an attitude of nondenominationalism. The truly saved were members of the spiritual elect, and the preservation of that connection depended upon no formal institutional organi-

zation, a common experience of faith being sufficient bond of attachment. The leaders, however—those whose livelihood or prestige depended upon the continued existence of the sect as a religious denomination—became increasingly jealous of its rights and privileges. They built it into a church because their security depended upon the security of denominational attachments. Efforts to strengthen the social position of the church led to the promotion of activities, such as education and temperance, which brought it more closely into contact with other groups. Challenges to such activities compelled the leaders to mobilize their following for collective political action.

It was such vested interests of office which led to the active political participation of the followers of religious sects. Baptist leaders in Nova Scotia, after the turn of the nineteenth century, could not afford to adhere to the position of political neutrality taken earlier by Henry Alline. Attacks upon denominational enterprises which they promoted, in particular a Baptist college, compelled them to interest themselves in matters of politics. If effective political pressure was to be exerted, they had, in addition, to arouse a strong political interest in their followers. Similarly, Methodist leaders in Upper Canada after 1828, in contrast with the earlier Methodist itinerants, found themselves becoming involved in political controversies in support of their denominational claims. Attacks upon Methodist undertakings were in the nature of attacks upon the vested interests of leadership; a denominational college, Sabbath observance, and the cause of temperance were issues which continued to force Methodist leaders into politics in the provincial and municipal as well as the federal field. Aberhart's sudden break into politics can be explained likewise. Increasing competition from rival radio evangelists led him to search for something new in his appeal, and he seized upon the message of Social Credit. Attacks upon his political teachings forced him into politics in their defense. What he did was to convert a religious crusade into a

political crusade; political allegiances were forged to take the place of weakening religious allegiances. None of this, of course, was done with a clear consciousness of the effect. Leadership very seldom appreciated the nature of the forces which drove it into certain lines of action, and in no case, perhaps, was this more evident than in the emergence of the Social Credit movement out of the evangelical preaching of Mr. Aberhart.¹²

The way in which the evangelical church was drawn into the field of politics explains its failure to develop any consistent program of political action. Lacking any clearly defined political principles, opportunism was the most natural determinant of political action on the part of leaders and followers alike. The nature of the evangelistic religious appeal placed the leaders in a particularly powerful position in mobilizing the support of the following for political action.

The religious evangelist escaped the checks upon leadership secured through an elaborate denominational organization and an accepted ritual. His relationship to the convert was a purely personal one; it was he rather than any formal church which offered the means of salvation.¹³ The result was that the religious evangelist came to as-

sume a very considerable dominance over those whom he converted. The democratization of the institution of religion made possible the concentration of authority in one who enjoyed the privilege of divine revelation. When the religious evangelist moved into the political field, he lost little of his charismatic influence. His strong personal authority made it possible to carry his followers with him no matter what political line he might take. No Roman Catholic bishop could, in fact, ever hope to exert the personal influence over his following as was exerted by Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon church, or by Brigham Young, his successor.

Although Ryerson in Upper Canada was never able to command the support of the whole membership of the Wesleyan Methodist church, he nevertheless achieved striking success in swinging the Methodist body behind whatever political party he favored. The Methodists became a powerful pressure group in Canadian politics about the middle of the nineteenth century simply because expediency determined to a considerable extent their actions; they tended to vote in terms of the interests of their denomination without regard to wider public issues, and political solidarity was maintained by effective leadership, at any rate during the period of ascendancy of Egerton Ryerson. Similarly, Aberhart in Alberta could mobilize his following in support of a personally sponsored political program because of the peculiar type of influence which he had built up as a religious evangelist. It was his boast that he was completely ignorant of economics before his advocacy of Social Credit ideas, but his economic pronouncements were readily accepted because of the claim to divine revelation which he had established as a religious evangelist.

It would be an exaggeration to conclude from this that the influence of the evangelical churches in Canadian political life has been to produce a citizen body politically illiterate or unprincipled, but such a conclusion would contain an element of truth. An indifference to politics which religious

¹² It was, indeed, one of the paradoxes in the role of the sectarian leader that his evangelical message should lead him, in the end, into political controversy. To arouse concern in the cause of religious salvation—that is to say, to win converts—the evangelical preacher had to resort to the spectacular, and, as the spectacular in religion ceased to be effective in meeting the competition of more aggressive evangelists or of more highly organized religious institutions, the spectacular in politics was sometimes turned to. It is not in any way remarkable that the Rev. T. T. Shields of Toronto, who broke from the main Baptist body on religious fundamentalist grounds, should seek to maintain the support of his following by discussing in the pulpit highly controversial political issues. Violent attacks upon public men, like the noise of a brass band, create something of a sensation and provide effective advertising. Such attacks, in the end, can only be sustained by pulling the whole following of the church into politics in support of certain lines of action.

¹³ Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago, 1944).

sectarianism engendered has checked the growth of political thought, and the weakness of political thought, in turn, in contributing to a political opportunism on the part of evangelical church leaders, has checked the growth of political statesmanship. It is significant that leadership in politics from the Protestant group in the country has come very largely from people with a Scottish Presbyterian or Scottish Baptist background. Denominationalism and religious fundamentalism have exerted too strong a hold upon members of the evangelical churches for them to go far in a career of politics. Much of their energy has been dissipated in support of programs of moral reform sponsored by religious groups. They have as a result tended to be more successful in municipal or provincial politics, where party organization has been weak and where voting blocs have exerted a much greater influence, than in federal politics. The repeated failure, in Canada as well as in the United States, to build a national party around the prohibition issue was an indication of the limitations of evangelistic religious thinking in politics.

It is questionable, however, whether the political influence exerted by the evangelical church reveals the real contribution of the religious sect to the development of political thought. That is to say, the contribution of the sect should not be sought in the political activities of the evangelical church, whether those activities were in the way of supporting radical or conservative political movements in the community, but rather it should be sought in the *religious* influence of the sect as such before it developed into the evangelical church. Its political contribution lay in its very emphasis upon the separation of the religious from the political. The indifference of the religious sect to politics provided a healthy corrective to tendencies within the church to become greatly occupied with political matters and so entrenched in the political interests of the state. It was in the teachings of religious sectarianism that the threat to liberal principles through

the alliance of church and state was most effectively met. The religious sect, by concentrating upon the purely religious message of salvation, escaped the demands of nationalism so evident in times of war. Moreover, by placing the emphasis upon spiritual values in the making of preaching appointments, the sect was freed from social pressures making for the development of a denominational bureaucracy which sought support in the bureaucracy of big business and the state. In Canada the maintenance of a successful federal system in particular has depended upon the strength of forces of decentralization, secured, within religious organization, through the influence of new religious sects.

As the sect has grown into the church, new sects have grown out of the church. Thus the effect of the increasing participation of evangelical church leaders in politics has been offset by secession and the emergence of new sects which have withdrawn completely from political activity.¹⁴ In Nova Scotia the rapid growth of the Freewill Baptist movement after 1820 emphasized the weaknesses of the Baptist church as a result of its shift away from an evangelical position. The entry of the Methodists in Upper Canada into politics under the leadership of Egerton Ryerson was followed almost immediately by the break of the local preachers and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church. In Alberta, likewise, the participation of Aberhart in politics led very quickly to the weakening of his religious influence and to the shift of evangelical leadership to new religious sects. It is this persistence of the sectarian spirit in religious organization which has given religion its dynamic force in society. It has exerted a decisive influence upon determining the relationship of the church to the state and thereby upon determining the contribution of religion to political thought.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

¹⁴ S. D. Clark, "Religious Organization and the Rise of the Canadian Nation, 1850-1885," *Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1944.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN A SMALL CITY

FREDERICK A. BUSHEE

ABSTRACT

Boulder, Colorado, has 268 adult social organizations, which is a relatively large number when compared with other places. Yet 29 per cent of adults do not belong to any social group, while the remaining 71 per cent have joined from one to sixteen social groups. Notwithstanding the number of societies, attendance is good. In the total membership, women exceed men in the ratio of 3 to 2, and they attend more frequently than men, which implies that there is no overorganization. Judging from both membership and attendance, popular interest centers on religious and educational societies, followed closely by social and recreational. The luncheon clubs have the highest attendance record. There appears to be a shift of interest from fraternal organizations to other groups and other activities. That such a large percentage of the population probably lacks adequate social life presents a major social problem.

A study of social organizations is instructive for two reasons. First, inasmuch as these organizations are purposive, it indicates the major social interests of the population. Second, it furnishes a measure of one form of social life. Social contacts are either casual and temporary or organized and more permanent. The amount of casual association cannot be measured, but the extent of formal association may be shown by a study of purposive organizations. A certain amount of social intercourse always forms a part, and sometimes an important part, of organized social life whatever its primary purpose may be.

In connection with a partial survey of Boulder, Colorado, a study of all adult organizations was made.¹ The material was collected before the population disturbances caused by the war; and it is therefore a picture of conditions in a normal year rather than a study of the effects of war on the population. The material was obtained from membership lists furnished by the organizations and not from a house-to-house canvass.

The census statement of population figures for the city required some altering to provide a fair basis of comparison. The po-

litical boundaries of Boulder are so restricted that the area included is of no social significance. Outlying districts had to be added in order to get a population comprising a fairly complete center of social life. The adult population—over nineteen years of age—of this larger district is 11,985. University student organizations were not included in the survey, and consequently non-resident students were omitted from the population count.

Boulder has a total of 268 organizations with an aggregate membership of 17,324, or an average of 65 members for each organization. If for purposes of comparison the churches are omitted, there are 245 organizations with a total membership of 11,952, or 49 members each. A comparison from a different angle gives one organization for every 48 adult inhabitants. This exceeds the number reported for "Middletown,"² where 363 adult organizations were counted; or one for approximately 73 adult inhabitants. The Lynds state that their study probably includes four-fifths of all organized clubs; but even if we should add one-fifth to the clubs in Middletown and assume that all were included in Boulder (which would be some strain on our accuracy), it would still give one for 58 of the population in Middletown as against one for 48 in Boulder. Of

¹ A study of religious organizations has already been published, and some of the statistics are repeated here for comparison. These statistics are not identical in the two articles because this study is confined to adults, whereas the other included the teen-age group (see Frederick A. Bushee, "The Church in a Small City," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX, No. 3 [November, 1943], 223-32).

² Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929), pp. 286 and 527.

course, small cities may have a comparatively larger number of organizations than large cities; but I am inclined to think that Boulder, perhaps because it is a university city, has more organized clubs than the average city of less than 20,000 inhabitants. From material given in Brunner and Kolb's study of 140 villages, there appears to be one organization for every 165 of the population;³ so we cannot conclude that small places have a relatively larger number of organizations than cities.

TABLE 1

RELATIVE PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

No. of Organizations	No. Joining	No. of Organizations	No. Joining
1.....	4,584	8.....	51
2.....	1,969	9.....	24
3.....	953	10.....	16
4.....	457	11.....	5
5.....	275	12.....	3
6.....	125	14.....	1
7.....	78	16.....	1

While the aggregate membership of organizations in Boulder would mean an average of about one and one-half per individual, the actual distribution is naturally quite different. The 17,324 memberships represent only 8,542 separate individuals. In other words, while 71 per cent of the population belong, on an average, to two groups each, 29 per cent belong to none. This means that almost 3,500 adults take no part in community enterprises even as members of churches, and probably most of them lack adequate social life. Those who do join organizations participate in them in varying degrees, as shown in Table 1.

Over half the number belong to but one organization, and over half of these—2,374—give church membership as their only social affiliation, and church membership alone may afford little social life. Nearly half the adult population (48 per cent) either does not belong to any organized group or be-

longs to a church only; 1,969 belong to two organizations and 953 to three; and the decline is rapid in the numbers belonging to more. However, 5 persons belong to eleven organizations, 3 to twelve, and 1 each to fourteen and sixteen. Curiously enough, the number of persons belonging to organized groups declines roughly one-half as the number of groups increases; that is, one-half as many persons belong to three organizations as belong to two, or twice as many persons belong to three organizations as belong to four. This rate of decline is, of course, not exact and probably has no special significance. The number of persons joining more than five organizations is few—only 2.5 per cent of the total population, or 3.5 per cent of those belonging to any organized group.

TABLE 2

ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP BY SEX

Type of Organization	Total Number	Total Adult Membership	Males	Females	Per Cent Females
Churches.....	23	5,372	2,046	3,326	61.9
Other religious.....	46	2,339	572	1,767	75.5
Fraternal.....	21	2,208	1,264	1,034	45.0
Educational.....	41	2,005	293	1,712	85.4
Social.....	41	1,350	180	1,170	86.6
Economic.....	21	1,337	1,077	260	19.4
Recreational.....	36	890	508	382	42.8
Social service.....	16	779	245	534	68.5
Patriotic.....	9	572	235	337	58.8
Cultural.....	14	382	79	303	79.3
Total.....	268	17,324	6,499	10,825	62.4
Total less churches.....	245	11,952	4,453	7,499	62.7
Total less all religious.....	199	9,603	3,881	5,722	59.6

The organizations themselves may be conveniently classified into ten groups, and for some purposes eight are sufficient. The total number of organizations and their aggregate membership are given in Table 2.

The churches with the largest membership of any group are separated from the other religious societies within the churches. The fraternal group includes all lodges for both men and women and also some purely social clubs composed of members or past officers of these lodges. The educational group comprises both the organizations intended to educate its own members and also

³ Edmund de S. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), pp. 102 and 244.

those designed to assist and improve the educational agencies in the community. The latter embrace clubs with large memberships, such as the P.E.O.'s and the parent-teachers associations. The economic group includes trade-unions and professional associations as well as the Senior and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. The social includes all those organizations which, according to the declaration of their officers, were started for purely social purposes. The fact that they may do some Red Cross work or engage in other forms of social service does not affect the classification. Similarly the recreational group is composed of those clubs that meet regularly to engage in some form of recreation. Membership is small compared with the number of organizations because it contains so many little card clubs. Functionally there is no reason for separating the social and recreational groups. Other surveys have not done so; consequently, for comparative purposes they must be combined. They have been separated in this study because, curiously enough, their composition is quite different, and the contrast is of some interest. For example, the social group contains a high percentage of women, whereas the recreational has more male than female members, and the attendance, as will appear later, is much better in the recreational group. The social service group embraces the luncheon clubs, the women's club, and miscellaneous clubs, like health organizations, formed especially to promote community welfare. The patriotic group is composed of all veterans' organizations, their auxiliaries, and the local chapter of the D.A.R. The cultural group comprises musical, art, and literary associations. These are, of course, educative, though in particular lines; and they might be combined with the educational group because the two show no marked differences in composition except that attendance in the cultural group is better. Comparison with other surveys, however, requires their separation.

This table shows that, from the point of view of the number of organizations established, the interests of the community are

centered on social and recreational life and on religious and educational activities. But, from the point of view of total membership, which is perhaps more significant, fraternal associations should be added to the list.

A study of these organizations throws some light on the basic motives which induce individuals to join associations, though it would be impossible to arrange motives exactly in order of importance, because different individuals may join the same organization for different reasons and because any one individual may be prompted by a combination of motives.

The religious interest would seem to be the strongest of any in causing the formation of groups. Religious societies are more numerous than any other except the social and recreational combined, and the total membership far surpasses that of any other group. Some persons feel that the religious interest is weakening, and over a long period of time this may be true; but the decline in interest may be relative rather than absolute, owing to the growth in variety of organizations which might compete with the religious. At least any decline in religious interest has not been sufficient to remove it from first place. Nor is it true that this interest is confined largely to women. Compared with women, men join churches in approximately the same ratio that they join all other organizations, though they participate in the subordinate religious societies to a much smaller extent than women.

A strong, if not the second, motive for organization is the desire for self-improvement. This animates the educational and the cultural groups and also the programs and meetings of a considerable number of organizations not classified as educational. The urge for improvement, as shown by listening to speakers, reading papers, and discussing topics of current interest, is a special characteristic of women's organizations. The men seem fairly well satisfied with themselves as they are. Perhaps the motive here is not actually educational. It may be merely an excuse for consuming leisure time or for getting together socially; but on the sur-

face, at least, a strong desire for self-improvement motivates the majority of these associations.

Of equal, and perhaps of even greater, importance is the desire for social relations. This motive is not confined to the social or recreational organizations alone but is a strong if subordinate influence in a large number of other groups. It is impossible to estimate its strength in these other groups, because different individuals are influenced in different degrees by this desire and because the social element varies greatly in the nonsocial groups; but undoubtedly it is present as a perceptible force in all kinds of organizations. The character of the societies formed indicates again that this motive is much stronger with women than with men. Men seldom organize for the sole purpose of promoting social life, though to some extent they join mixed groups whose primary purpose is social. However, it is possible that the strength of the desire for social relationships is not as different in the sexes as might be assumed from the relative numbers of their organizations. For men may find satisfactory social contacts in connection with their daily business, which are missed by women, whose work is in the home; and the women therefore make up the deficiency by informal calls and by the organization of social groups.

A motive which is most difficult to evaluate may be called "the desire for recognition," the wish to be admitted into certain groups, or, negatively, the dread of being excluded from them. In addition to the satisfaction derived from membership in particular associations, many gain a feeling of importance or social superiority in belonging to a large number of organizations, though it is not believed that this is a very strong force in the calculation of those who join more than five organizations.

Finally, the desire for social or community improvement is a real force in the formation of social groups. Although this motive appears to be much weaker than the desire for individual improvement, it is, however, stronger than would appear from the num-

ber of organizations in that group, because many other societies, including, of course, the religious, engage in occasional if not continuous social work. It is probable also that more private organizations would be formed if governmental agencies were not so much relied on to perform social welfare work.

An analysis of all organizations according to sex shows a strong preponderance of women. Of the total number, 151 (61.6 per cent) are for women only, 63 (25.7 per cent) are for both sexes, and only 31 (12.7 per cent) are for men. In Middletown there was the same percentage of clubs for women as in Boulder,⁴ but only 15 per cent are mixed clubs and 23 per cent are for men only. The membership has a different distribution, however, because many clubs, especially those for women, are very small. Of the total membership, 47 per cent belong to organizations for women only, 29.7 per cent to those for both sexes, and 23.3 per cent to those for men only. Apportioning the sexes from the mixed clubs, we find that 62.4 per cent of the total membership are women and 37.6 per cent are men. Groups showing the greatest excess of women are the social, the educational, the cultural, and the religious. Groups in which men predominate are the economic and the fraternal.

It can no longer be said that, when men go out to club meetings, they leave their wives at home to entertain themselves. There are almost five times as many clubs for women as for men. Even lodge meetings are no longer diversions merely for men. There are now more fraternal organizations for women than for men, although the membership of men's organizations is larger, which is partly compensated for by the better attendance at women's organizations. On the other hand, it would not be true to say that women desert their families to attend club meetings, because nearly three-quarters of the organizations for women meet in the afternoon. Women's lodges and several patriotic organizations, however, ordinarily meet in the evening.

The excess of women in Boulder organi-

⁴ Lynd and Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

zations may be a local characteristic, seeing that Brunner and Kolb, omitting religious organizations, found that 58.1 per cent of the members of village clubs were men;⁵ in Boulder 59.6 per cent are women. In Middletown the membership of all organizations, including the religious, is approximately two-thirds men and one-third women. The number of clubs for women in Middletown was more than two and one-half times that for men, but the membership was a little less than one-half.⁶ Even in the mixed clubs the male membership exceeded the female, whereas in Boulder it is the opposite. This study has no explanation for the excess of women in Boulder organizations; the presence of a university and the interest of faculty women in social and civic affairs may, in part, explain it.

Attendance at meetings is in some ways a better indication of interest in social activities than is the total membership. Brunner and Kolb give attendance records for 140 villages;⁷ but the two groups are not strictly comparable (1) because the organizations are not identical and (2) because the classifications are not quite the same (Table 3).⁸

On the whole, attendance for Boulder organizations is greater than for those in Brunner and Kolb's 140 villages, the average attendance for all types in Boulder being 51.4 per cent and for the 140 villages 37.4 per cent. One explanation for the higher average might be that the population is more concentrated in the city and that many of the small clubs are neighborhood affairs. But this reason does not fully suffice, be-

cause attendance is not uniformly larger in all the groups in Boulder. For example, musical societies in the villages report an attendance of 81.4 per cent. This would be comparable to the cultural group in Boulder, which has an attendance of 68.6 per cent. While this is considerably above the average, it is far below the attendance of the musical societies in the villages. The few musical societies included in the cultural group in Boulder do not have an attendance record perceptibly higher than the other cultural societies. Social clubs in the villages

TABLE 3
ATTENDANCE AT ORGANIZATIONS IN
BOULDER AND 140 VILLAGES

Type of Organization	Boulder	Boulder Rearranged	140 Villages
All types.....	51.4	.....	37.4
Religious.....	58.0	.....	.....
Fraternal.....	35.0	.....	23.9
Educational.....	52.0	.....	57.7
Economic.....	47.0	52.4	44.1*
Social.....	59.0	64.0	74.0
Recreational.....	72.0		
Social service.....	58.0	43.0	44.4†
Patriotic.....	51.0	.....	35.4
Cultural.....	68.6	.....	81.4‡

*Socioeconomic. †Civic. ‡Musical.

also have a higher attendance record than the combined social and recreational groups in Boulder. The former is 74 per cent and the latter 64 per cent, though the recreational group by itself has an attendance record of 72 per cent. Finally, attendance in the educational group in the 140 villages is 57.7 per cent as against 52 per cent for Boulder. In all other groups the attendance is higher in Boulder and in some cases considerably higher.

Next to the groups mentioned above, the largest attendance in Boulder is found in the social service and the religious groups, the latter not being included in Brunner and Kolb's survey. In the economic group, attendance is only moderate in both districts, notwithstanding the fact that in the villages this group includes the luncheon clubs.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

⁶ Lynd and Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁸ To overcome the second difference, some of the groups have been rearranged to make them more nearly comparable. The first column of Table 3 gives the percentages of attendance in Boulder groups as they have been presented, while column 2 gives the attendance of organizations rearranged to conform to Brunner and Kolb's classification, given in column 3. Even then, however, allowance must be made for the different types of societies and clubs existing in rural and urban communities.

The Boulder luncheon clubs, with an average attendance of 88 per cent, would perceptibly affect any group in which they were placed. Shifting them from the social service to the economic group raises the attendance to 54.2 per cent as compared with 44.1 per cent in the villages; and the attendance in the social service groups is lowered from 58 to 48 per cent, which is below average.

The lowest average attendance is in the fraternal group, and this is confirmed both in Brunner and Kolb's survey and in the Lynd's study of Middletown. Brunner and Kolb found a decline over a six-year period both in the number of lodges and in total membership, the decline being greater among men than among women.⁹ And the Lynds found from conversations and from a limited survey that interest had declined both among businessmen and laborers, though workingmen joined few organizations except lodges and trade-unions.¹⁰ Various reasons are given for the decline in interest. Some claim that the lodges have become so large and all inclusive as to impair the fraternal feeling of the members. Others think that the luncheon clubs and educational organizations have encroached upon the fraternal organizations. Still others believe that movies, the radio, and other forms of entertainment absorb the time that businessmen formally devoted to lodges. The patriotic societies are another group with an attendance record below average in both Boulder and the 140 villages; but it is probable that the influence of the war will increase the number of these societies and revive interest for a time at least.

If we compare the two standards—total membership and attendance at meetings—we find only occasional conformity. For example, the fraternal organizations have a large membership but a poor record of attendance, and the educational group is also large with only average attendance. At the other end of the list the cultural and social service groups attract few members, but

both have excellent attendance records. However, in some cases these standards do conform. The religious societies are numerous and attract a large membership, and the attendance is above average. And at the other extreme patriotic societies are few in number with a small membership, and their attendance record below average. In addition, it might be pointed out that the social group is of medium size with attendance above average, whereas recreational clubs with fewer members have the highest attendance of any group.

Although attendance at meetings might seem to be the better measure of interest, it is not perfect. Many organizations have a value independent of the programs at the meetings. Businessmen gain useful social and business contacts merely from their membership in fraternal societies. And many religious, educational, and social service organizations are carrying out programs of betterment not immediately affected by attendance. On the other hand, benefits from social and recreational clubs are derived wholly from the meetings themselves.

Several factors other than the type of organization also affect attendance. First, large organizations, when compared with small, attract relatively few of their members to meetings. This is one reason for the moderate attendance in the educational group. Actually, attendance at the smaller educational organizations—those with less than fifty members—is 73 per cent instead of 59 per cent for the whole group. A few large societies in the social group also lower the attendance record there. Second, meetings which offer social attractions seem to be better attended than those which are restricted to formal programs or the transaction of business. For example, a number of purely social organizations formed within the fraternal group have an attendance of 57 per cent as against 35 per cent for the group as a whole. On the other hand, several of the patriotic societies feature social programs, and their average attendance is only slightly above that for the whole group. It

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 247 and 262.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 306-8.

is not easy to give statistical proof of the effect of this social feature because of the complex motives for attendance; but, nevertheless, it seems to attract both membership and attendance. Finally, the attendance of women is a little better than that of men. The figures for all groups are 53 per cent for women, 51.4 per cent for the mixed clubs, and 50 per cent for men. These differences, to be sure, are slight; but the attendance of women is perceptibly higher in specific groups, particularly the social, recreational, and cultural; while the attendance of men is greater in the social service group only, which includes the luncheon clubs. Outside this group, attendance of men is only 47 per cent. The mixed clubs have the highest attendance in the educational and the religious groups. And it seems highly probable, though there are no statistics, that attendance of women is better than that of men in these mixed clubs.

A detailed study of persons belonging to five or more organizations shows that the percentage of women in this selected group is larger than the average for all organizations. While 62 per cent of persons belonging to all organizations are women, 65 per cent of those belonging to five or more are women, as are 72 per cent of those belonging to six or more. In other words, the proportion of women increases with the number of organizations joined.

There is some tendency for both husband and wife to belong to many societies. In the case of 115 couples in which one member belongs to seven or more organizations, the other belongs to five or more in 48 per cent of the cases. And the uniformity increases with the number of organizations. If one belongs to eight or more, the other belongs to five or more in 58 per cent of the cases. And if one belongs to nine or more, the other belongs to five or more in 71 per cent of the cases. However, there are a number of instances in which one will belong to several organizations and the other will belong to none or possibly one or two. It is much more likely to be the husband than the wife who shows a disinclination to join organizations.

The professions are represented to a much greater extent than is business among those joining many organizations. No exact percentages can be given, because the total population represented in various occupations is not known. The university faculty and the professions in the city are represented equally among those joining six or more organizations; and this probably means little difference in proportional representation. Although the absolute number of members representing business is greater than either of the other two classes, the relative number is not greater except among those belonging to five or possibly fewer organizations.

No material is available to show the economic status of persons who join organizations; but results obtained from the Boulder housing survey give an indication of the types of houses they occupy.¹¹ This is of interest in itself, though the quality of the house occupied is a very inexact index of income. Of 278 persons belonging to six or more organizations, 118 (42 per cent) occupy best-grade houses. Inasmuch as dwellings of this grade constitute only 17.6 per cent of the total, a preponderance of persons active in organizations occupy them. Of this group, 49 per cent occupy medium-grade dwellings, which is about a proportional number, inasmuch as this grade represents 47.6 per cent of all dwellings. Only 8 per cent of persons belonging to six or more organizations live in inferior dwellings.

Further analysis of these occupants of inferior dwellings shows the extent of their participation in all organizations. Of 354 adults occupying houses below standard of desirability, 232, or 65 per cent, have not joined any organization, as compared with 29 per cent of the total adult population. Of the 35 per cent which belong to some organization, almost half belong to a church only, leaving 66, or 18 per cent of the total number, belonging to some group other than a church. These results confirm the general opinion that organized social activity, and

¹¹ See Frederick A. Bushee, "Housing Conditions in a Small City," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XXVI, No. 5 (May-June, 1943).

probably also informal social relations, are primarily a phenomenon of the higher-income group and that the poorer classes take part in organized social life only to a small extent.

A special analysis of the chief professional groups is given in Table 4. The first column shows the average number of organizations which the members join, and the second indicates the extent to which they join their own professional groups. These professional societies are county-wide except for ministerial association, which is confined to the city. The Chamber of Commerce is included merely as a community enterprise which it

TABLE 4
THE PROFESSIONS IN ORGANIZATIONS

Profession	Average No. Societies Joined	Per Cent Joining in Professional Group	Per Cent Joining Chamber of Commerce	Per Cent Joining Fraternal Organizations
Dentist.....	4.12	81.2	75	25
Lawyer.....	3.90	60.0	66	40
Physician...	3.80	69.0	69	24
Clergyman..	2.80	50.0	23	14

is considered public-spirited to support. Membership in fraternal organizations may be of no great significance, because persons join from a variety of motives, one of which is a supposed business advantage.

Of the professions, the dentists lead in membership in all but fraternal organizations. They join organizations in general to a greater extent than do other groups; four-fifths belong to their own professional society, and three-quarters of them support the Chamber of Commerce. There is comparatively little difference in the activities of physicians and lawyers. Physicians belong to their professional organization to a greater extent than lawyers, but the latter find more advantage from membership in lodges than any other group. Clergymen seem to enter social activities to a small extent compared to other professions. While they average 2.8 organizations per person, one-half of

these are religious societies within their own churches, joined in the performance of their duties. If we omit these, it appears that clergymen join only 1.4 nonreligious organizations on the average; and the joiners all come from one-third of their number. In other words, two-thirds of the clergymen belong to no nonreligious organizations. No doubt there are good reasons for this. Some have very small salaries and cannot afford membership fees. Others have rather short assignments and may feel more loyalty to and interest in their denominations than in the community itself. These reasons, however, do not apply to membership in the ministerial alliance, which was organized for professional improvement and co-operative community work. Only half the clergymen belong to it, and the outsider may wonder if sectarianism in itself creates a feeling of self-sufficiency which keeps clergymen from uniting with others.

It seems evident that over one-quarter of all adults in Boulder lack normal social life and community interests. They do not attend church; they have no organized recreational or social life; they do not join occupational or educational groups. They can have little sense of social solidarity and perhaps no feeling of permanence in the community. In addition, most of them lack any form of social life. Of course, it would be possible for those who do not join organizations still to have plenty of informal social life; but it is not believed that this is so in most instances. If they do not desire social contacts, it only makes the problem more difficult. But there is a report that there are many lonely persons in the city.

The situation could be improved by the establishment of a social center, or perhaps better by the formation of several small neighborhood centers of social and recreational life. Of the institutions already existing, some of the churches might be in a position to arrange for more neighborhood social life apart from church affiliations. There may be business concerns which could render service of this kind. A notable example is that of the Public Service Company,

which has an organization of all male employees for social and recreational purposes. Among other activities it holds three meetings a year for the families of members; and the large attendance, especially at the summer outing, proves its success. The idea might advantageously be copied by other business units. Among the social organizations the Elks Club, which does not limit its membership, is probably doing more than any other to extend social life to those who lack it.

A question frequently asked is: "Are there too many organizations in the city?" No standard exists to furnish an answer, and perhaps none is possible, because the problem is largely local and personal. There are two considerations involved: the social and the individual. From the social point of view the question is whether community needs are fairly well met by existing private and governmental agencies. And the individual problem is whether persons are joining more societies than they can easily support.

Other parts of the Boulder survey shed light on the social aspect of the problem. A review of conditions in accordance with Thorndike's standards of measurement¹² shows that, while in most items the city rates high, it is below the standard of superior cities in public library and recreational facilities. And, without comparing city programs, it may be said that no community is doing all it might in the sphere of public health. Efficient committees already exist, but lack of funds rather than public indifference may limit their activities. However, it seems that something further could be accomplished by private agencies, especially in recreational and social lines. Perhaps there are too few instead of too many social groups; but, if so, the problem is not solved by the creation of more recreational clubs for those who already enjoy adequate social life. And the organization of clubs for those who lack it involves the difficult problem of leadership.

The second part of the problem—that of individual participation—is, after all, a matter for each person to decide. Some can devote much more time than others to club work, and organizations vary in the amount of time and energy they entail. For example, a person can belong to the Chamber of Commerce with no more obligation than financial support, or possibly attendance at one meeting a year. And many seem able to negotiate a church membership with no greater prodigality of time or money. On the other hand, a few organizations drop members who do not attend regularly.

A review of club programs reveals their demands on members. Representative persons belonging to eleven or twelve organizations would spend 36-41 hours per month in meetings if they attended all that were scheduled. This does not allow for time spent in going to and from the meetings, nor does it consider work spent on committees or that required of office-holders. Sample programs of persons belonging to five or ten organizations would indicate 28-34 hours per month in meetings. A few belonging to seven or eight organizations would have their time as fully occupied, though for most of them only 20-24 hours would be expected; and, from those belonging to six organizations, 17-24 hours. The individual who belongs to sixteen organizations selected an active list. If he fulfilled all his obligations, he would attend 65 hours or meetings per month, or a daily average of 2 hours. This is not a representative case at all, but it does reveal what could happen.

There is a great deal of difference in frequency of meetings of various societies as well as some irregularity in their duration. Most of the organizations meet from once a week to once a month; but a few meet less frequently than once a month, and, of course, such groups take much less time. This is the reason why some who have joined only six organizations have a fuller program than others who belong to eight or nine. Actually the number of month-hours involved in a program is more important than the number of societies joined. From

¹² E. L. Thorndike, *Your City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939), chap. x.

this point of view persons belonging to five or six groups with programs of not over 20 hours per month would seem to have a more reasonable schedule than those who have undertaken more. It is doubtful if many persons can manage 28 or more hours per month in social activities, and, if not, they must become inactive members in some of their clubs. This again is a problem of the individual and of the organization. Some dislike to withdraw from a club even though they can devote little time to it. And a few organizations are content to retain certain persons on their membership lists even though they are members in name only. Ordinarily, however, a person joins an organization on the supposition that he will devote a normal amount of time to its work.

The overlapping and duplication of work among social groups is not a serious problem in Boulder. Of course, many societies, such as the social and the recreational, have similar objectives; but they do not compete. In-

stead of being restricted, their activities could well be extended to include the less privileged part of the population. The only threat of serious overlapping occurs in the social service group. Here several organizations are doing similar work, and the boundaries between them are not rigid. It is not a matter of rivalry, however, and so far no duplication of effort has appeared which could not be amicably adjusted. There is no strong evidence that more organizations exist then are needed in this field, although recently, because of a decrease in the demands upon them, two bureaus were combined for economy. However, the consensus would be that new tasks should be undertaken if possible by existing organizations instead of by new ones. The fundamental problem of social organizations in Boulder is whether, with the number of persons participating so limited, they serve the best interests of the community.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE ONLY CHILD

LOUIS TAYLOR

ABSTRACT

The apparently normal social adjustment of only children is correlated with neurasthenic symptoms usually associated with personality disorders. The development of racial motives and the integration of these motives with ego- and somato-motives is dependent upon contact in the primary group in extremely early childhood with individuals of the child's own age index. Denied these contacts, the only child's scheme of reference is not that of his secondary group; modification requires maturer reasoning than he is capable of. His apparent, but not basic, adjustment is the source of his personality disorder.

Study of the only child and his adjustment in the small families typical of our society is pertinent to certain problems of a postwar society in America, in which, in all probability,¹ the democratic type family, the one- or two-child family, and the day nursery for the preschool child will be on the increase.

PROCEDURE OF STUDY

Case histories of only children in the present and the immediate past have been studied by the author over a period of some years. An individual's life-history was recorded in his own words whenever possible and preferably at various stages in his development. Additional accounts were obtained from time to time from his family and from his friends. Supplementary material has, in most cases, been drawn from the author's own observations. When possible, control histories of members of large families were used. The case histories of the only children were sifted and classified on various bases, but this discussion is of their classification on the basis of normal social adjustment.²

¹ For discussion of this probability see Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family," in *American Society in Wartime*, ed. William F. Ogburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

² See Winifred Rand, Mary E. Sweeney, and E. Lee Vincent, *Growth and Development of the Young Child* (3d ed.; Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders & Co., 1940), pp. 288-89; John B. Morgan, *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936), chap. xvi; and Edward B. Reuter, *Handbook of Sociology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1941), pp. 81-82.

There was, of course, a group of cases in which the social adjustment was apparently normal. In contrast there were several in which there was almost no social adjustment, the individual being completely unassertive; while in a third class the individual tended toward such aggressive exhibitionism as to be antisocial. This, perhaps, is not surprising, for if a large number of such cases could be studied, they might be expected to make a normal probability or distribution curve.³

Those cases in which the social adjustment was apparently normal were segregated for further study. No correlation was found as to community or economic groups. However, one theme—namely, that of minor physical disabilities—occurred repeatedly. The disorders were found to fall into groups: (1) general fatigue sensations, feeling of drowsiness with inability to sleep; (2) chronic digestive disorders, usually constipation, sometimes loss of appetite; (3) body aches and pains, usually headaches; (4) urticaria—eczema, hives, acne. Typically one or more of these disorders were found; in only one case was there no mention of any physical disorder.

A study of two groups lying outside the apparently normally adjusted only children revealed that such physical disorders were unusual.

This correlation of physical complaints

³ For descriptive definition see H. O. Rugg, *Statistical Methods Applied to Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917), p. 168, or Lewis M. Terman, *The Intelligence of School Children* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919).

characteristic of the neurasthenic⁴ with the apparently normally adjusted only children led the author to collect control histories of their contemporaries who were from larger families to determine whether a similar correlation existed. In this new group physical disorders were rarely mentioned unless of a specific nature and then quite frequently only upon questioning by the author; whereas the neurasthenic disorders of the only child were mentioned voluntarily both by the individuals studied and by friends and family. Physical disorders of this contemporary group fell into the following order: (1) colds, grippe, influenza, etc.; (2) measles, mumps, etc.; and (3) broken bones. There were only two cases of neurasthenic disorders. In both the disorders were digestive, and in one constant tiredness was also mentioned.

The correlation of neurasthenia with apparently normal social adjustment in only children led the author to make further case studies and to arrive at the conclusions presented here.

CASE HISTORIES

The following outlines indicate typical cases:

D., daughter of a professional man and "outdoor enthusiast" and of an active woman, an efficient housekeeper and lover of outdoor life, was moved to a new, rather isolated home in the desert country of a southwestern state at the age of two. D., at two, was lively, active, curious, and healthy. During her preschool years her personality development followed a normal pattern, though her contacts with children of guests gave evidence of adult identification. Before entering school, she led a very active outdoor life and was a hardy child. No importance seems to have been attached to school, yet on returning home the first day she complained of having been sick. Her father thought perhaps she meant car-sick and asked her if she had vomited. She had not, but the next

day she was ill in the car which brought her and others home, and on the following two mornings she vomited on the way to school. Finally, her father had to take her in his car to school. After she started to school, she was never strong and tired very easily. A physician pronounced her organically sound but said that her body tone seemed poor and suggested that she get out of doors more. Her family bought her a horse, and she roamed the desert for long hours in the saddle without complaining of tiredness.

D.'s school history remained fairly constant, showing excellent scholastic work and group participation and approval but an apparent physical inability to participate to the limit of her abilities and desires. During high school she had a troublesome eczema on her hands, which appeared from time to time and did not yield to medical treatment. As a home-economics major in college, she managed during her first quarter to live rather apart, and her tiredness and the eczema seem not to have bothered her. But at the beginning of the second quarter the eczema became so severe that she was unable to participate in a project of co-operative meal cooking and planning. She eventually married a fellow-student, the son of a cattleman, exhibitionistic in his disregard of social approval. They live in a remote cabin on a southwestern cattle range where there are no conveniences, and D. must do a great deal of physical work, yet she finds time and energy to ride the range frequently. Her eczema has disappeared except for an occasional light attack when she comes into town for a week or two at a hotel to transact business and see old friends.

R., son of a clerk and accountant, whose neighbors sought and respected his views, and of a small energetic woman interested in her home and in social and charitable projects, lived in a lower-middle-class residential community of a midwestern city. A laughing chubby baby, he grew into a freckle-faced, active, self-sufficient boy.

R.'s first few weeks at school were a series of fist fights. His school principal remembers him then as aggressive and sometimes sullen. Eventually, R. became a part of his class and group; and when he entered high school, he joined what high-school students considered the "best" fraternity. In college, again, he joined what students term one of the "best" fraternities

⁴ John B. Morgan, *Psychology of Abnormal People* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936), pp. 35, 455, 488; V. E. Fisher, *An Introduction to Abnormal Psychology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), chap. ix; Luella Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942), pp. 164-70.

and was considered a distinct social asset, since he was labeled a very eligible "date" by the "top girls in the better sororities." However, during his high-school and college days he was the victim of severe attacks of migraine. Physical checkups revealed no organic cause, and R. eventually termed these attacks as "hereditary migraine." This terminology and a rather dilettante manner apparently lent him a certain prestige. But these migraines became a serious handicap later in the world of business. R. was a personable young man and found no difficulty in obtaining work, but he was rarely able to hold a job for any length of time because of his recurring and incapacitating headaches. However, he finally became a traveling salesman for a firm dealing in art works. Here his manner and appearance were sufficiently desirable to outweigh the incapacitating migraines, which still persist.

TERMINOLOGY

Personality disorders indicated by neuroathenic symptoms among apparently normally adjusted only children may be assumed to involve some motive or motive complex which supports the sense of individuality⁵ which has been called by Cooley "the reflected looking-glass self," by McDougall "the self-regarding sentiment,"⁶ and by disciples of Freud "the conscious super-ego." The words "wishes," "drives," and "desires" have been somewhat variously and at times loosely used in the field of sociology to approximate the term "motive." While it is true that certain behavior patterns can *usually* be equated with certain motives, this is not always true. "Behavior pattern" and "motives" or "motive complexes" are not synonymous terms. The behavior pattern of the individual at any time results from a motive or motive complex contingent upon certain factors, some environmental, some involving the immediate social situation. Various classifications of motives have been made from various viewpoints; however, the classification of Fisher, because of his definitive viewpoint and

clarity of classification, lends itself best to this discussion.⁷

This classification is confined to three major classes of psychobiological significance: (1) *somato-motives*, subservient to the bodily needs of the individual (e.g., hunger, pain, etc.); (2) *allo-motives*, or racial motives, subservient to the welfare of the race or, more exactly, to a person or object other than self (e.g., the propensity to mate or to reproduce, affections, parental tendencies, sympathy, suggestibility); and (3) *ego-motives*—subservient to one's personal security, equality, personal aggrandizement, etc. (e.g., self-display, self-assertiveness, aspirations to personal distinction, superiority and attainment). This classification does not contradict classifications made from other viewpoints, and in fact other classifications can readily be regrouped under the above terminology.

It is important here again to point out that behavior pattern should not be confused with motivation. The situational approach is conducive to an understanding of and resolution into behavior pattern and motivation. Confusion of motives and activities is perhaps most usual in the case of the motives which, under the terminology defined above, are ego-motives. Self-display and self-assertion are usually recognized as ego-motivated; however, many a child and many an adult may engage in altruistic or humanitarian activities which, though usually racially motivated, are in his case ego-motivated; that is, it is the individual's sentiment of self-regard or of identification that drives him to appear generous or sympathetic. Ego-motivation is basic to a diversity of culture traits, since such motivations play a strong part in what Jung calls "the way of individuation."⁸

ANALYSIS

In the development of the child in the family with two or more children, well ad-

⁵ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶ William McDougall, *The Energies of Men* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 202.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁸ Jolan Jacobi, *The Psychology of Jung* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 100.

justed to the prevailing culture, ego-, racial-, and somato-motives become well integrated; and most of the child's social activity is an expression of such an integration.⁹ Such integration takes place under the influence of the family group¹⁰ or, for the very young child in our society, of the primary group. In the cases studied neurasthenic symptoms are prevalent; so we may assume that a balanced integration of somato-, racial-, and ego-motives is lacking; since a personality disturbance indicated by neurasthenic symptoms involves ego-motives which are inherently antagonistic to racial motives. As has been indicated, motives integrated into motive systems are derived from the primary group. The influence of the only child's primary group has tended toward the overdevelopment of the ego-motivation in the child. Underdevelopment of racial motivation has followed.

The case histories seem to indicate that such an overdevelopment of ego-motivation and an underdevelopment of racial motivation have in fact taken place.

Such evidences of overdevelopment of ego-motivation can readily be found in other studies. Woolley cites the case of an only child who, taken to nursery school at the age of three, showed no inclination to adjust to other children, whose first reaction was to hit, and who never became part of the group.¹¹ The boy had apparently strongly identified himself with adults, refusing to accept the limitations of childhood. His adjustment during the three years was practically nonexistent, showing to a very marked degree a lack of racial motivation (his lack of sympathetic tend-

encies toward his own group and of suggestibility) as contrasted with a very strong ego-motivation (his extreme identification with the adults within his family leading to self-display and self-assertiveness).

It is natural to inquire the reason for this overdevelopment of ego-motivation and underdevelopment of racial motivation, which, in the case of the only child who becomes apparently normally adjusted, creates personality disturbances symptomized by neurasthenia. Might there be a correlation between one-child families and a poor adjustment of the one-child family, itself indicative of strong ego- and poor racial-motivation? If so, the child's scheme of motivation would be purely derivative. To determine whether the families of the individuals studied showed a development of racial- and ego-motivation similar to that of the only child, a study of them was undertaken in which especial attention was paid to the social adjustment of the family as a whole and of the individuals involved in the child's early childhood. In only two cases was there evidence of definite maladjustment. In all other cases the range of family adjustment was from fair to excellent.

The family of D., in the case outlined, showed fair adjustment in her early childhood. While the home was isolated, the family visited neighbors and co-operated in community road-building and in the operation of school transportation and like projects common in sparsely settled regions. Though neither father nor mother was extremely active in the social milieu, both evidenced fair adjustment.

In R.'s early childhood his parents were respected members of a neighborhood group. Their tendency to assume social responsibilities was great, and, both with others and on their own, they took action against social ills. Their adjustment tended to be above average.

Apparently the social adjustment of the families of these only children follows a normal distribution, so that one may assume that the cultural pattern of the families was normal in being acceptable to the communi-

⁹ R. B. Cattell, "Fluctuation of Sentiments and Attitudes as a Measure of Character Integration and Temperament," *American Journal of Psychology*, LVI, No. 2 (April, 1943), 195-216.

¹⁰ See William F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940), p. 256; C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 26-28.

¹¹ A. B. T. Woolley, "Personality Trends in Children," in Jane Addams et al., *The Child, the Clinic and the Court* (New York: New Republic, 1925), pp. 59-62.

ty and that racial motivations were not lacking.

Since, as we know, the very young child derives his sentiments from the primary group and since we find no evidence of a lack of racial motivation in the primary groups studied, why, then, do we find indications of poorly developed racial motivations with strongly developed ego-motivation in the children? Observations made during the study and further observations of the preschool child in a wide variety of home situations lead the author to state that the development of culture traits based on racial motivation is dependent upon contact within the primary group in extremely early childhood with individuals of the child's own age index.

Anderson has observed that social behavior develops in the child between eighteen months and three years, through non-critical observation of (1) the way his parents react toward one another; (2) the way other children react to his parents; and (3) the way children react to one another in given situations and consequent use of behavior observed.¹² It is obvious that more situations will present themselves to the child in which the behavior pattern is determined by the second and third situations than by the first; and it is in the second and third situations that the child is most likely to observe behavior resulting from racial motivation. Furthermore, the elements involved in the second and third situations lie within the child's comprehension because the motivating complexes are likely to be relatively simple. When this is true, the motivation, as well as the behavior, becomes part of his scheme of reference; whereas, when it is not true, only the behavior is likely to become part of his scheme of reference, incorporated in deference to the ego-motivated sentiment of self-regard or of identification. It is important, then, that the child have contacts with persons of his own age group if racial motivation is

to become a well-integrated part of the hierarchy of sentiments.¹³

If we grant that development of racial motives is dependent upon contact with individuals of the child's own age index, why upon entering school or otherwise entering secondary groups of his own age index is there not a sufficient development of racial motivation to lead to normal integration? Why must this contact be made within the primary group? Racial motivation, developing later, may never be able to attain the strength of ego-motivation, which is fixed at an early date. By the time the child enters secondary groups, he is already using as a scheme of reference a pattern of motive complexes which determines the nature of his activity in any given situation; and, as has been shown, this pattern is lacking in motives of a racial nature. For the only child it is a scheme of reference which will not be similar to that of the secondary group, since we can assume that for the majority of the others, whether they have existed as a group already or are all being thrown together for the first time, a motive complex resulting from an integration of somato-, allo- (racial-), and ego-motivation functions as their scheme of reference. For most of the children in this group, contact with others of their own age will be a standard situation first coped with at an age when the development of social behavior is normal. Consequently, the basic assumptions of the only child are not coincident with those of the others in the secondary group. He is not faced with a standard situation.

The only child finds himself in a position very similar to that of Schuetz's stranger.¹⁴ The child's usual system of relevance fails him; and, as Schuetz points out concerning the stranger, a modification of orientation is the prerequisite of any possible adjustment. This modification requires a degree of abstract reasoning not possible to the

¹² John E. Anderson, "Genesis of Social Reactions," in *The Unconscious: A Symposium*, ed. C. M. Child et al. (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1929).

¹³ Douglas A. Thom, *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), pp. 109-11.

¹⁴ Alfred Schuetz, "The Stranger," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (May, 1944), 499-507.

preschool child.¹⁵ Consequently, in his attempts at adjustment, he may approach his problem through the field of motor activity (there is some evidence that this is more usual for the male) or by trial and error of ideas. In this manner he may (and evidently does) make an *apparent* adjustment. That it is only apparent is evidenced by the appearance of neurasthenic symptoms. His adjustment is not basic because he is not possessed of the ability voluntarily to shift from one aspect of a situation to another, as he must do to modify his interpretation of those sentiments peculiar to his scheme of reference. His apparent social adjustment, then, does not signify a development of racial motives and an integration of these with ego- and somato-motives toward the common goals of his various activities, either within or external to the group, but a repression of incompatible ego-motives and an assumption of the activities and manners growing for other group members out of racial motivations. This repression is at the source of the personality disorder indicated by his neurasthenic symptoms.

CONCLUSION

While the development of neurasthenic symptoms in only children whose social adjustment has apparently been normal may

not in itself pose a major social problem, the forces involved in the development of these symptoms are basic to what can become a major social problem in the near future.

It is generally assumed that in our post-war society in America the one- or two-child family and the day nursery for the preschool child will increase.¹⁶ While this increase of the day nursery with its socializing influence is spreading, there will be a period during which a number of children will not attend these nurseries. These children who do not attend nursery school will at school age be confronted with an adjustment problem similar in many respects to that of the only child of the present and of our immediate past. Their problem, like that of today's only child, will be adjustment to a secondary group whose members are activated by a scheme of reference not theirs.¹⁷ The child of preschool or early school age whose behavior derives from a scheme of reference unlike that of members of the secondary group is faced with a problem he cannot solve; and either social maladjustment or the development of personality disorders may be expected.

If the conditions producing such a problem be understood, both its social and its personal force may be mitigated.

MONTANA STATE COLLEGE

¹⁵ See E. Terry Prothro, "Egocentricity and Abstraction in Children and Aments," *American Journal of Psychology*, XLI, No. 1 (January, 1943), 66-67.

¹⁶ Burgess, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ For a lay view see Franklin P. Adams, *Nods and Becks* (New York: Whittlesey House [McGraw-Hill Book Co.], 1944), p. 27.

HOME ENVIRONMENT IN AMERICAN CITIES

H. H. REMMERS AND W. A. KERR

ABSTRACT

The home environment—cultural, aesthetic, and economic—of 16,445 eighth-grade children in 42 cities in 20 states was measured by means of the American Home Scale. The cities chosen were approximately equally spaced on Thorndike's G scale. Averages and standard deviations are reported. Correlations of city averages with Thorndike's G (goodness of living), I (income), and P (personality) indices yield low or substantially zero values. Thus, the American Home Scale has higher face validity and is a more direct and valid measure of goodness of living, functional income, and personal factors than the Thorndike scales.

I. THE PROBLEM

The American Home Scale¹ has been designed to measure cultural, aesthetic, and economic aspects of the home. Its construction has been described elsewhere.² The present study was undertaken to investigate home environment for a representative sample of American cities, as measured by the American Home Scale with respect to (1) individual pupil variation, (2) variation in individual schools, (3) variation in cities, and (4) relationship with important measures of "general goodness of life for good people" in American cities, as obtained by Thorndike.

II. THE SAMPLE OF 42 CITIES³

In 1939 Thorndike published his study of American cities,⁴ in which are described his measures labeled "G," "I," and "P," for "goodness of living for good people" in a community, income, and personality factors, respectively. From the list of 310 cities measured in terms of Thorndike's G, 50 cities were chosen in such a way as to be representative of the entire list of cities. That is, they were chosen in such a way as to be approximately equally spaced along Thorn-

dike's G scale. A letter was then addressed to the superintendent of schools in each of these cities, briefly explaining the proposed research and inviting him to participate, with the understanding that all costs were to be borne by the investigators from funds granted by the Purdue Research Foundation and the American Social Science Research Council.

A few superintendents of schools declined to participate in the research project, and for these a city on the G scale was chosen which was as near as possible on the Thorndike G scale to the one originally chosen. When a list of 50 cities had thus been obtained in which the superintendents of schools were willing to participate in the project, detailed instructions were sent them for the collection of the data.

When the American Home Scales,⁵ properly filled out, had all been returned, it was found necessary to eliminate from the total sample of 50 cities 8 cities for which there was internal evidence of unrepresentativeness of the sample. Hence, only 42 cities were finally retained for the main study.

Eighth-grade pupils were chosen for the measurements for the following reasons:

1. Few, if any, of the pupils drop out of school before the ninth grade.
2. At the eighth-grade level no vocabulary or reading difficulty is involved in the administration of the American Home Scale.
3. A better indication of sociological areas within a given city would be obtained from a sampling of grade children than from a sampling of senior high school pupils.

⁵ Kerr and Remmers, *op. cit.*

¹ W. A. Kerr and H. H. Remmers, *The American Home Scale: Preliminary Manual* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1942).

² W. A. Kerr, "The measurement of Home Environment and Its Relationship with Other Variables," *Further Studies in Attitudes, Ser. V* ("Studies in Higher Education," Vol. XLV) (Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University, June, 1942).

³ This study was supported in part by a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

⁴ E. L. Thorndike, *Your City* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1939).

Were we to repeat the study, we should choose the sixth grade, rather than the eighth grade, in order to get a still more precise indication of sociological areas. These are probably better indicated in the larger cities in our sample than they are in the smaller cities, since these larger cities have several different schools containing eighth-grade pupils even if the administrative organization is the 6-3-3 plan. We have since found that administration of the scale in the sixth grade is perfectly feasible.⁶ Where separate junior high schools exist, the sixth grade is uniformly found in "neighborhood" schools, which give a much more precise definition of the sociological areas than measurement of the eighth grade, since in the junior high school pupils are likely to be drawn from widely different areas.

III. HOME ENVIRONMENT IN 42 CITIES

A list of the 42 cities measured, together with their G, P, and I scores reported in Thorndike's *Your City*, the average American Home Scale score, and the variability of home environment as measured by the standard deviation, is given in Table 1. The total number of pupils measured in the 42 cities was 16,455, or an average of 392 per city.

It is interesting to note that Muncie, Indiana, chosen by the Lynds as a typical American city for intensive sociological study in *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, has an average American Home Scale score that differs insignificantly from the average of all averages—33.32 and 32.19, respectively, a difference of only 1.13.

A matter of considerable interest is, of course, the relationship between G, as measured by Thorndike, and the average city scores on the American Home Scale. Similar interest attaches to the correlations between average home environment and P (personality factors) and I (income), as defined by Thorndike.

⁶ H. H. Remmers, "Measured Aspects of the Richmond, Indiana, Schools" (unpublished). This was one section of a school survey of Richmond, Indiana, carried out in 1942 by the Division of Education and Applied Psychology of Purdue University for the Richmond School Board.

The correlation for the 42 cities between G and average home-environment scores was found to be $+.34 \pm .08$. While this is reliably greater than a correlation of zero, it indicates absence of any marked correspondence between the two sets of measures. If we assume the reliabilities of the two measures to be of the order of .9, the estimated true correlation would be of the order of .4. This means that, if both factors were perfectly measured, only approximately 23 per cent of the variance in the G would be attributable to the home-environment score. In terms of the fallible measures actually used, this percentage is only about 19.

This raises the interesting and fundamentally important question as to which of the two measures—Thorndike's G or average score on the American Home Environment Scale—is the more valid measure of "goodness of living." Thorndike's G scale is made of thirty-seven items, of which the following ten may serve as illustrative examples.

- Infant death rate (reversed)
- Per capita deaths from appendicitis (reversed)
- Per capita public expenditures for schools
- Per capita public expenditures for textbooks and supplies
- Per capita public park acreage
- Percentage of girls, ten to fourteen years old, gainfully employed (reversed)
- Per capita support of the Y.M.C.A.
- Per capita domestic installations of electricity
- Per capita deaths from automobile accidents (reversed)
- Value of public property minus public debt

On the face of the items, it would seem that they might very well vary widely, independent of the quality of the homes in the city, as measured by such an instrument as the American Home Scale. Per capita deaths from appendicitis, per capita support of the Y.M.C.A., and the like have not, on their face at least, any close and obvious connection with such things as the number of books in homes, membership in various types of organizations, whether or not the family takes an annual vacation, and the like. In

connection with annual vacations, it should be pointed out that our data were collected as of before Pearl Harbor.

In general, it can be said that goodness of living for the individual is much more closely associated with the individual home than it is with the kind of index of the city represented by G.

In response to an invitation to comment on the present paper, Dr. Thorndike, in a personal letter, writes in part as follows:

I think the low correlations with G, I, and P are perhaps caused by the imperfect correlation between your score from pupils' replies and the score that would be obtained if you and Dr. Kerr had yourselves measured directly the

TABLE 1
DATA FROM 42 CITIES

STATE AND CITY	AMERICAN HOME SCALE		THORNDIKE'S MEASURES		
	Average*	Standard Deviation†	G	I	P
Alabama, Montgomery	37.10	10.24	-18	-9	-25
Mobile	33.18	10.40	-16	-8	-22
California, Fresno	30.30	10.68	9	6	6
Long Beach	34.02	12.20	15	10	7
San Jose	32.70	10.52	13	6	7
Colorado, Pueblo	31.62	10.76	-1	-9	-1
Connecticut, Stamford	30.18	11.04	5	14	1
Illinois, Aurora	35.38	9.48	5	4	11
Oak Park	44.30	8.92	18	39	22
Quincy	31.42	10.72	-5	-5	5
Indiana, Muncie	33.32	10.56	-2	-3	5
Richmond	29.90	11.50	4	-3	4
Kentucky, Lexington	30.86	10.44	-13	2	-20
Louisiana, Baton Rouge	32.58	10.52	-9	-5	-10
Shreveport	33.02	10.56	-16	-3	-19
Massachusetts, Brockton	31.82	9.60	0	0	6
Chicopee	27.78	8.36	-9	-7	-4
Fitchburg	30.70	10.08	-2	-4	1
Michigan, Muskegon	33.42	8.96	6	0	11
Port Huron	33.66	9.48	4	-1	10
North Carolina, Winston-Salem	30.46	13.16	-17	-10	-22
New Jersey, Bloomfield	37.34	9.60	9	12	3
Elizabeth	30.10	9.44	0	10	-6
Lakewood	35.50	9.92			
Perth	29.98	9.48	-4	2	-5
New York, Elmira	32.46	9.96	6	3	7
Jamestown	33.94	9.40	6	4	1
Ohio, Steubenville	29.66	8.40	-2	7	-8
Youngstown	30.18	9.28	4	6	-3
Oklahoma, Oklahoma City	33.18	10.88	-6	-2	-5
Tulsa	31.54	11.00	2	6	-2
Pennsylvania, Altoona	32.18	8.84	0	-4	4
Erie	29.54	8.64	4	1	2
Hazeltown	27.86	9.32	-7	-9	3
Rhode Island, Providence	28.82	9.52	-3	3	-4
Texas, Beaumont	34.10	10.76	-11	-5	-12
El Paso	31.06	11.80	-12	-8	-22
West Virginia, Huntington	30.02	10.64	-5	1	-9
Wisconsin, Green Bay	32.58	9.92	5	-2	11
Kenosha	33.70	8.20	4	3	8
Racine	32.38	9.68	7	1	8
Superior	31.10	9.28	1	-5	9
Total	32.19	10.56			

* The arithmetic mean.

† The standard deviation of individual pupil scores.

status in five hundred homes in each of the fifty cities.

The correlations between the ratings from children's reports and the real status of homes *within* one city may well be very different from that for different communities.

The method of validation suggested in the first paragraph of Dr. Thorndike's letter is one of several methods that were used in the original construction and evaluation of the American Home Scale. The following quotation describes in substance the experiment in question.

A reply to "Do the respondents answer the questions truthfully or do they systematically falsify or distort their answers?" is brought out directly in the form of another coefficient of validity in the following experiment. The colored university women's organization in the administration city volunteered to make personal calls upon a sampling of the homes represented by the 202 scales which were marked by Roosevelt High-School seniors; these home-callers were instructed to go in each home, observe the home, interview a parent, and, while still in the home, fill out one of the home scales. The correlation between these 21 Negro home-call scores and 21 group administration scores is $.915 \pm .01$; this validity coefficient is an underestimate in that it is not corrected for either restricted range or for attenuation in criterion (home-call) scores.⁷

In the light of the evidence and the relatively objective nature of the items in the American Home Scale we must conclude that Thorndike's G and the American Home Scale measure different and largely independent factors.

Both measures doubtless have validity in different degrees for different purposes of social scientists or society in general.

The matter of possible lack of reliability of the two measures has already been mentioned, but this will account for relatively little of the absence of correlation. One further consideration that should be mentioned is the interval of time between the taking of the two sets of measurements. Thorndike's data were presumably collected about 1938, while the American Home Scale was ad-

ministered late in 1941 or early in 1942. It is unlikely that striking changes in the various items in Thorndike's G would have occurred during the two- or three-year interval in question.

The correlation between average home environment scores and Thorndike's I (income) score for our 42 cities was -0.12 ± 0.15 . The relationship here is obviously substantially zero. This may seem somewhat surprising in the light of the reflection that the American Home Scale score is undoubtedly very substantially related to family income. Thorndike's I is made up of nine items differentially weighted.⁸ It contains such items as the per capita number of income tax returns of \$2,500 or more (average of 1930 and 1931), the per capita number of income tax returns exceeding \$5,000 (estimated from the data for counties), the average salary of high-school teachers plus average salary of elementary-school teachers, and the per capita sales in retail, cigar, and drug stores. Again it would appear that there is no necessary relation between such items and the kinds of items in the American Home Scale.

It is interesting to note that the correlation between Thorndike's G and I indices for the 42 cities is 0.99 ± 0.02 . Evidently, whatever quality of living is measured by G is also measured by I, and conversely.

The correlation between the average home-environment score and Thorndike's P (personal qualities of a population) for our sample of 42 cities turned out to be $+0.16 \pm 0.15$. Here, again, the impressive fact is the absence of relationship. The P index is made up of eleven items,⁹ differentially weighted. Sample items are: per capita number of graduates from public high schools in 1934, per capita circulation of public libraries, per capita number of telephones, and per capita number deaths from syphilis (reversed).

Neither here nor in the absence of correlation between average home-environment scores and I is the lack of reliability any ma-

⁸ Thorndike, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-93.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-97.

⁷ Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

for factor in the absence of correlation. It must be concluded that, whatever personal qualities enter into the selection, equipment, and operation of a home—and these seem to us socially highly important—they are not related to the over-all index of personal qualities as defined by Thorndike's P index. In actual fact, the two factors measured are substantially independent of each other; i.e., two fundamentally different things are being measured. The question of validity is here raised even more sharply than it is in connection with G and American Home Scale scores.

The words "average" and "per capita" in Thorndike's items may, in part or *in toto*, contain the explanation for the observed absence of relationship. Such an average as is implied in the concept of per capita wealth, for example, can be and frequently is seriously misleading for the statistically naïve. The annual per capita income of Americans before the war (1935-38) was about \$600, but only about 15 per cent of Americans had incomes in this amount or above.¹⁰ The arithmetic mean which is used in computing per capita income is, of course, increased by the relatively few large incomes. The average actually describes very few individuals, and most of the population is well below the average. The median or modal (most frequent) income would be much more descriptive in this sense.

A further possible explanation lies in the fact that there may be a considerable gap between the attitudes of the citizenry of a city toward what is desirable in the way of civic betterment and what is actually achieved through a given set of local officials. The effects of political machines, for example, as actual and potential factors in the stultification of community aspirations are too well known to require documentation here.

¹⁰ National Resources Commission, *Consumer Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935-36* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.); Simon Kuznets, *National Income and Its Composition, 1919-1938* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1941), p. 153.

Whatever may be the causes of the lack of correspondence between measures of P and American Home Scale scores, it cannot be gainsaid that direct measurement of home environment is a more valid index of personal qualities of a citizenry than are the kinds of sums and averages included in Thorndike's P. The books in the home will more surely characterize John Doe than will those in the city library. The aesthetic and cultural characteristics of the individual home are more directly and truly the reflection of personal qualities than are such things as "per capita number of homes owned," "per capita number of male dentists divided by number of male lawyers," and "per capita number of deaths from homicide (reversed)." The American Home Scale is, therefore, the more valid measure of personal qualities of the population of a city.

In summary, the measurement of 16,455 eighth-grade pupils in 42 different cities by means of the American Home Scale and study of the averages of cities related to Thorndike's G, P, and I indices for cities support the following conclusions.

1. There is considerable variation among cities, as measured by the average American Home Scale score. The range of these averages was from 27.78 to 44.30. This range represents nearly two standard deviations of individual home scores.

2. There is a reliable but low correlation between the average American Home Scale score of cities and Thorndike's G. The two measures have about one-fifth communality in what they measure.

3. There is substantially zero relationship between average American Home Scale scores of cities and Thorndike's measures of personal factors (P) and income (I).

4. We believe that the American Home Scale has a higher face validity and is a more direct and valid measure of goodness of living, personal factors, and functional income than is the measure constructed by Thorndike.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
AND
UNITED STATES NAVY

BOOKS, PAPERS, AND ESSAYS BY GEORG SIMMEL

ERICH ROSENTHAL AND KURT OBERLAENDER

Georg Simmel, the philosopher and sociologist, is usually considered the founder of "formal" sociology—the analysis of social processes such as competition and conflict, subordination and superordination. His critics have repeatedly observed that he did not develop a rigid system of sociology. This criticism points to the fact that Simmel's interest is by no means limited to the establishment of sociology as a special discipline within the social sciences. A glance at Simmel's bibliography shows that, within the realm of his sociological endeavor, he paid attention to two additional and, to him, equally important fields of interest, namely, the effect of our modern economic and social structure on human personality and behavior and the analysis of contemporary social problems. A high level of sensitivity and insight combined with a thorough knowledge of the structure of modern society created many hypotheses that merit being tested by the use of methods which have been developed since Simmel's death.

The bibliography presented here was originally prepared for a study of the intellectual development of Simmel, a plan which had to be abandoned. The bibliography is divided into three parts: (A) books, papers, and essays by Georg Simmel; (B) anonymous articles attributed to Simmel; and (C) books and articles about Simmel.

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B. ANONYMOUS ARTICLES ATTRIBUTED TO SIMMEL

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NEWS AND NOTES

The American Historical Association.—The Historical Service Board of the American Historical Association announces that the pamphlets on current questions which it has prepared for the Army and Navy are now on sale to the public through the Superintendent of Documents, at fifteen cents each. The pamphlets, written by experts, are intended to guide discussion. Titles of interest to sociologists include: *What Is Propaganda?*; *Will There Be Work for All?*; *Can War Marriages Be Made To Work?*; *Do You Want Your Wife To Work after the War?*; *What Will Your Town Be Like?*; *Shall I Go Back to School?*

University of Chicago.—Joseph Lohman, who has been with the Department of Sociology since 1939, has accepted an appointment as chairman of the department of sociology and public welfare at the American University.

The American Book Company announces the publication of *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* by Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey Locke.

Miss Josephine Williams, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology, has won one of the Pi Lambda Theta awards for research on the professional problems of women. Her manuscript was on "Lay Attitudes toward Women Physicians."

Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (Brazil).—Editora Nacional of São Paulo has published *Branços e pretos na Bahia: estudo de contacto racial* by Donald Pierson. This book is an augmented edition in Portuguese of the author's analysis of the Brazilian racial situation which was published in 1942 by the University of Chicago Press under the title *Negroes in Brazil*.

Florida State College for Women.—During the past year the college has received a col-

lection of relics and artifacts of Inca and other pre-American cultures from Mr. and Mrs. John V. Carter, of Cristobal, Canal Zone.

Caroline Blue taught case work at the University of Alabama during the summer term.

Paul W. Shankweiler is completing his study of the Reford Prison Farm.

Hofstra College.—Joseph S. Roucek was visiting professor of social sciences in San Diego State College, San Francisco State College, and Occidental during the summer. At New York University this fall he is offering a special course on the minorities in the United States and in the spring a course on Europe's minorities.

Indiana University.—Harvey Locke, a member of the sociology department since 1936, has resigned to accept an associate professorship at the University of Southern California.

Paul Campisi, who was recently appointed instructor in sociology, is on leave in Italy where he is teaching at the University of Florence.

Journal of Legal and Political Sociology.—Georges Gurvitch is continuing as editor but is at present dividing his time between France and the United States. The assistant editors are: Alexander E. Ginsberg, of Alexandria, Virginia, member of the New York Bar Association; Max M. Laserson, of Columbia University; and Paul W. Tappan, of Queens College.

Journal of Social Issues.—The *Journal* notes with interest the establishment of the *Journal of Social Issues*, now in its second number. It is published quarterly by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, which is affiliated with the

American Psychological Association, and the editor is Ronald Lippitt. This new magazine aims at being of more popular interest than the professional publications. The first two issues, edited by Gene Weltfish, are devoted to case studies of racial and religious prejudice, followed by discussions by Gardner Murphy, Margaret Mead, Bingham Dai, Kurt Lewin, and others. The next two issues will be devoted to problems of bureaucracy, labor, and management.

University of Kansas.—Esther E. Twenté has been promoted from an assistant professorship to an associate professorship in sociology and social work.

Le Musée Social, Paris.—The *Journal* is happy to have received its first postwar communication from France—a letter from Professor André Siegfried, president of the Musée Social and, with it, a 1945 issue of *Les Cahiers du Musée Social* on “Les Problèmes du logement familial.” This number is devoted to past and present housing problems in France. Future issues are to be symposia on the subjects of hygiene and urbanism, social problems of agriculture, and the social education of the French nation.

Michigan State College.—At the request of the War Department, Charles P. Loomis has been granted a leave of absence from his position as head of the department of sociology and anthropology in order to carry out a special assignment in Europe. During his absence C. R. Hoffer, associate professor of sociology, will be acting head of the department.

Solon Kimball, who has been head of the section on Community Organization and Activities, War Relocation Authority, Washington, D.C., since July, 1942, has been appointed associate professor of sociology and anthropology. His appointment includes part-time research in the section of sociology of the Agricultural Experiment Station.

University of Minnesota.—Lowry Nelson is on leave during the year 1945-46 as rural sociologist in the Foreign Service Auxiliary of the State Department to study rural life in Haiti and the Dominican Republic with special attention to population distribution and trends, level of living, and tenure relationships, rural community organization and institutions.

Vernon Davies, recently an instructor in sociology at the University of Arkansas, has been appointed for the academic year 1945-46 as lecturer in sociology.

University of Missouri.—Maurice Mook, formerly at the American University, Washington, D.C., has accepted an appointment as associate professor of sociology and anthropology.

Noel P. Gist, who has served as visiting professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, has returned to his duties as associate professor of sociology.

University of North Carolina.—C. Horace Hamilton, director of the department of rural sociology, is on leave. He is at present the director of sociological research for the Commission on Hospital Care, his current work being the analysis of facts of population economics and geography which bear on the present and future need for hospital services, particularly in rural areas.

Ohio State University.—Kurt Wolfe has resigned from Earlham College to join the department of sociology at Ohio State University.

Providence College.—Rev. Vincent C. Dore, O.P., head of the sociology department since 1931, has been appointed dean of Providence College. The first alumnus to hold the post, he succeeds the late Rev. Arthur H. Chandler, O.P., dean from 1930 until his death on June 29.

Father Dore, who was elected a member of the American Arbitration Association last year, is currently chairman of the Rhode Island Minimum Wage Board for Restau-

rants. He has also assisted the Rhode Island Department of Labor as a public member of the Rhode Island Minimum Wage Retail Board. From 1941 until this year he was director of the Providence Civilian Defense Council's information division. He succeeds the late Dean Chandler as the college's representative on the executive board of the Rhode Island Veterans' Guidance Center. He is a public panel member of the New England regional National War Labor Board.

Smith College.—Frank Hopkins left in July to be an instructor for one semester in an Army unit in France but expects to return in January for his final semester of teaching before his retirement in June, 1946.

In the interim Gladys Bryson, who has been teaching sociology in the summer session of the University of California, is acting chairman of the department.

Henry Pratt Fairchild, who has just retired from New York University, is a visiting professor.

Adelaide Cromwell Hill, Smith 1940, now a Ph.D. candidate at Radcliffe as a Rosenwald Fellow, is joining the staff as instructor.

University of Southern California.—Harvey Locke, appointed associate professor of sociology, comes to the department this autumn from the University of Indiana.

Emory S. Bogardus has been appointed dean of the Graduate School and director of research. He will continue as chairman of the department of sociology and as editor of *Sociology and Social Research*, but he has relinquished the position of university editor.

George B. Mangold, retired under the University Retirement Program from full-time staff membership, will continue to offer a limited number of specialized courses. Dr. Mangold has been with the University since 1928.

Erle F. Young will return to the university for the first semester, which begins in November.

University of Texas.—Harry E. Moore has been promoted to associate professor.

Rex D. Hopper taught in the summer session of the National University of Mexico.

Milton A. Maxwell, instructor in the department for the last two years, has accepted a position at Washington State College for the coming year.

Visiting instructors in the summer term included John H. Burma of Grinnell College, who offered courses in applied sociology and in race relations, and Floyd Parsons, who taught the introductory course.

University of Utah.—The Institute of Law Enforcement was held on the campus in July under the direction of Arthur L. Beeley, dean of the Graduate School of Social Work. Among the distinguished speakers were Hugh H. Clegg, assistant director in charge of the Training and Inspection Division of the F.B.I.; E. P. Coffey, head of the F.B.I. laboratory; James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, United States Department of Justice; Alice Scott Nutt, assistant to the director of the Social Service Division of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; Ruth M. Bartlett, regional child welfare consultant for the United States Children's Bureau in Denver; Will C. Turnbladh, director of the Western Office of the National Probation Association with offices in San Francisco; and Miles N. Pike, United States attorney for the District of Nevada.

Vanderbilt University.—Marshall Clinard has accepted an appointment as associate professor.

Western Reserve University.—The University received a grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1944 for research in the contemporary life and cultural institutions of northern Ohio, particularly in Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown. W. E. Lawrence, associate professor of sociology, is working, part time, with James H. Hanford, professor of English in the Graduate School, in this undertaking. The Foundation's Divi-

sion of the Humanities views the project as "a step in the direction of interpreting the new forces at work in the industrial Middle West," believing that "Northern Ohio, the historic Western Reserve of Connecticut, with its roots in the eastern sources of American tradition but with that tradition substantially modified by later admixture of peoples and cultures, offers an unusual opportunity for this type of inquiry."

C. E. Gehlke has been on leave for two and a half years as chief of the Wages Statistics Section in the Office of Wage Stabilization, Fifth Regional War Labor Board, Cleveland. Recently released from his present position as associate director of wage stabilization, he will be giving instruction in the department of sociology during the winter session.

Mary C. Schaffler, who was administrative officer in charge of recruitment of women for war industries in the Cleveland Area Office of the War Manpower Commission from June, 1943, to September, 1944, has returned to duty in the department.

Anna Belle Tracy has been promoted to professor of psychiatric social work.

Agnes Schroeder has been promoted to professor of medical social work in the School of Applied Social Sciences.

Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO).—A schedule of courses, open to the public, which will be given in YIVO's Research Training Division and Junior Training Division includes many in the fields of language, literature, psychology, and art. There are also courses of particular interest to social workers and social scientists.

Applications for scholarships and fellowships in the Research Training Division may be submitted by persons desiring to enter the field of Jewish social research. Registration for the fall term began September 24 and classes started October 8, 1945.

University of Pennsylvania.—Thorsten Sellin has assumed the chairmanship of the department.

Donald Young has taken up his new duties as executive director of the Social Science Research Council.

William Rex Crawford, who for the last two years has been cultural attaché in the American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, returns this fall.

Edward P. Hutchinson, formerly of Harvard University and until recently supervisor of general research in the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice, has been appointed associate professor. He will teach courses on population problems and, for the time being, will retain a part-time connection with the Immigration Service.

Otto Pollak has been appointed instructor.

Barnard College.—An Institute of Community Organization and Leadership was held in June under the joint auspices of the college and the New York School of Social Work.

Mrs. Eugene Meyer was the chairman of the Administrative Committee, which also included Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve and Walter W. Petit. The late Willard Waller was director of program.

Topics were: "Community Health" (Dr. Leona Baumgartner); "The Social Security Program in Your Community" (Catherine M. Dunn); "Family Life and the Community" (Mirra Komarovsky); "Meeting the Needs of Youth" (Howard Y. McClusky); "Group Work and Recreation in the Community" (Arthur L. Swift, Jr.); "Race and Intercultural Relations in the Community" (Channing H. Tobias); "The Returning Veteran" (Willard Waller); "Individual and Group Relations and Adjustments in the Community" (Kimball Young); "Public and Private Family Agencies in the Community" (Morris Zelditch).

BOOK REVIEWS

Mainsprings of Civilization. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1945. Pp. xii+660. \$4.75.

This volume is a restatement of the environmental and biological doctrines that the author has expounded in numerous previous publications. It is "an attempt to analyze the role of biological inheritance and physical environment in influencing the course of history." The book is divided into three unequal parts: there are two chapters on "The Background of Civilization," nine on "Heredity," and nineteen on "Physical Environment and Human Activity."

The first part of the book presents a vaguely animistic conception of evolution. The three great factors in the evolutionary trend are given as biological inheritance, physical environment, and cultural endowment. But the author feels the need for "some sort of evolutionary force" to give "a trend in some definite direction." This subjective need is given objective reality as a dimly understood but deep-seated force directing the "general march of progress." The nature or reality of this force that directs life and civilization is not defined or discussed but is asserted to be "the basic evolutionary urge which is the supreme fact of history." The problem of the book is thus reduced to one of explaining how heredity and geographical environment have influenced "typical phases of culture development known as civilization."

In the second part of the volume the main emphasis falls on the question of innate superiority and inferiority. The author somewhat reluctantly and in part disavows the doctrine of racial differences in mental ability. But he finds immediate refuge in the doctrine that, while superiority is not associated with a single or a few racial features, there is probably a significant relation between constitutional body types and temperamental and intellectual traits. The essential racial doctrine thus suffers only verbal modification. Each race contains many physical and mental types, some of which, given the right physical and cultural environment are able to rise to a high level. Differences in "human quality" from place to place and time to

time are not, in general, cultural or environmental; they represent innate differences in temperament, intelligence, and vigor. The Puritans, the Junkers and Nazis, the Jews, the Icelanders, the Irish, and others cited as superior groups built up in the process of selective migration. The author neglects to show that the concrete groups he cites as innately superior are predominantly endomorphs, mesomorphs, or ectomorphs, as one would expect from the earlier emphasis placed on the relation of superiority and bodily types. The author claims to have made a major scientific contribution in his discussion of "kiths." It appears, however, that he has contributed a word rather than an idea. "Strain," "line," "race," "breed," and other terms of the plant and animal breeders seem to express the familiar fact that isolated and inbred animals and plants often exhibit distinctive hereditary marks, and the old eugenic cult made much of the same idea in its literature on "family" characteristics.

The third and major part of the volume maps the distribution of "civilization" and shows it to be determined, in the main, by climate; the location of natural resources is reported as of secondary or negligible importance. Various chapters dealing with specific and detailed phenomena emphasize the direct and indirect climatic influences in varied types of human and social reality. The phenomena that the author finds to be dependent on climate in some of its varied aspects are numerous and diverse: longevity, eminence, insanity, crime, tuberculosis, etc., are dependent upon or related to the month or season of birth of the individual; mental activity, the number of wage-earners, the accuracy with which age is reported to census enumerators, economic depressions, library circulation, political revolutions, religious riots in India, arrests for violence in New York, the production of pig iron, price fluctuations on the stock market, the temperature of hell, and many other things are shown to be climatically determined or conditioned. Other chapters discuss cycles, rhythms, and periodicities, particularly as related to sun spots, atmospheric electricity, and the ozone content of the atmosphere.

It would be easy to dispose of the present volume as just another example of the incredible length to which a noncritical writer of profound convictions can push a particularistic doctrine. But there is something more to be said. The author's failure is not so much his defense of an untenable doctrine as his inability to give the problem adequate statement and coherent treatment. From time to time he asserts that "civilization"—a concept which he finds "difficult to define" and which he confuses with certain aspects of culture—is a product of a complex of factors including the climatic, the biological, and the cultural. But such statements are completely ambiguous: there is no explanation as to how the diverse factors interact, if they do; and no statement as to whether "civilization" is the product of a relationship of factors, the product of an interaction among a unique combination of factors operating coincidentally or sequentially, or the product of specific factors operating independently and competitively. The textual discussion seems to justify the assumption that the factors are conceived as discrete and independently behaving entities. But even at this mechanical level of thought, the author seems to have no logical or other critical method either for separating climatic from other influences or for evaluating the actual or relative significance of any factor in the concrete situation. The result is a mode of thought that too often takes the following pattern: "Where the average length of life is long, few children die in infancy," the average length of life being determined by climatic conditions and biological traits.

In general outline the relations of the different orders of reality are comparatively simple. The human animal evolved within a comparatively stable geological framework, and his nature is a function of that fact. But life-processes are something very different from the physical environment in which animals live and to which they are subject. The patterns of culture are necessarily related to and limited by the physical environment and by the nature of the organism that manipulates that environment. But to attempt to explain civilization and culture by climatic and biological facts is to misconceive the nature of human and social reality.

E. B. REUTER

Fisk University

Politics and Morals. By BENEDETTO CROCE.
Translated by SALVATORE J. CASTIGLIONE.
New York: Hubner & Co., Inc., 1945. Pp.
v+204. \$3.00.

The main questions raised by that oldest and greatest of the Italian philosophers of history are: "What is liberalism?" "Can it exist in the future; and if the answer is in the affirmative, then within what limits?" As in his autobiography and in his former work, *History: Its Theory and Practice*, he shows a marked Hegelian influence, in denying the possibility of establishing an empirical or positivistic science, which is unrelated to philosophy (p. 50), and in his criticism of unhistorical sociology. In some respects, however, he resembles the sequence of thinkers which starts with the nominalistic Franciscans of the Middle Ages and endures with the Neo-Kantianists. Like them, he makes a sharp distinction between scientific knowledge and judgments about what should be done (pp. 34-35). On this epistemological foundation he builds up the following socio-philosophical system: The state is not a metaphysical entity, but rather a series of useful actions performed by a group, a synthesis of force and consent, indispensable, but limited, especially by ethical rules (pp. 3, 5, 8, 16, 26). Party ideologies and all theories of equality, social contract, and socialism, are false when they claim to be of a metaphysical character (pp. 19-21, 27, 39-40, 116, 144). The term "bourgeoisie" is not a cultural, but rather a social, category and includes professional and scientific men (pp. 156-61, 165-69). According to him, moreover, the *laissez faire* theory is not yet refuted and is of increasing importance in the New World. On the other hand, he concedes that it is only an empirical maxim. Accordingly, there exists a difference between economic and cultural liberalism. The latter consists in the opportunity of free decision in keeping with the dignity of men. This kind of cultural liberalism is not at all bound up with, but is independent of and essentially more important than, the concepts of "bourgeoisie" and "*laissez faire*." Accordingly, if an antagonism arises between economic and cultural liberalism, the latter, ranking higher in the hierarchy of values, has to predominate, and a combination of cultural liberalism with planned economy can be realized (pp. 143, 148, 151, 154, 159).

Two of these statements are untenable: (1) The limited use of the term "bourgeois," which actually includes the total of a special culture, as shown by Sombart and Scheler, and (2) the belief that *laissez faire* is unrefuted and that it is progressing in the New World, where it actually is decreasing.

Two of these statements are irrefutable and of greatest importance at the present time: (1) Of primary importance is the establishment of a social science which is related to philosophy and history. The most completely historicophilosophically minded people, the Germans, will, at least temporarily, withdraw from the scene. Accordingly, others will have to do the work, it may be the people of the United States. (2) A combination of voluntary and individualistic cultural liberalism with planned economy is possible and may perhaps be the only way of maintaining elements of cultural liberalism in a changed world. Western and central Europe have now become unimportant; the world center is shifting to the countries in and around the Pacific Ocean; accordingly, just these may be called upon to realize this synthesis of cultural liberalism and planned economy. Let us hope that the United States may play a major role in effecting this synthesis.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

Where Do People Take Their Troubles? By LEE R. STEINER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945. Pp. xiii + 265. \$3.00.

The troubled rich buy help from psychoanalysts; the poor may be given psychiatric services. The rest of the world supports an unbelievable body of professional comforters. Some are honest, but many are quacks.

Lee Steiner, a psychiatric social worker formerly attached to the Institute for Juvenile Research, discovered that the perplexed and unhappy in Chicago, when they have no one to advise them, turn to the dubious, ill-assorted exotics who are classified as "psychologists" in the city telephone directory. She had herself so listed and was immediately called upon by all manner of people seriously troubled about money, love, in-laws, hallucinations, alcoholism, or drug addiction. This convinced her that there is a ripe market, which is being vigorously exploited. Thereupon she went to New York and called upon

every purveyor of moral guidance she could find.

She set before them a fictitious dilemma, for which every one of them promised, for a fee, the "right" solution, be it through numerology, astrology, spiritualism, hypnotism, or "common sense" dramatized on the radio or in a newspaper column. As her problem was always the same, the "psychologists" unwittingly exposed themselves by their ludicrously contradictory answers.

The author makes some interesting generalizations. People join the Lonely Hearts Clubs with the object of money, not matrimony. Bereavement brings people to the spiritualists, but soon the mourner is induced to take counsel with the spirits on every sort of problem—and the medium enjoys a steady income. Many of the "psychologists" have made a good thing out of the war—one New York quack charges a dollar a week to keep soldiers from going overseas through the invocation of the occult; he had a file of 132 such clients. Forward-looking seers are already counting upon selling matrimonial and financial advice to discharged G.I.'s, who can get good advice, free, from the Veterans' Bureau.

These "psychologists" are the current moral authorities in a large anonymous world. Lincoln Steffens found that in a city neighborhood moral authority is often exercised by some local character—perhaps a saloonkeeper or a ward politician. J. T. Salter reports that in an "organization"—that is, a machine-controlled ward—petty politicians perform an astonishing variety of personal services. Like the array of cheats and ghouls Lee Steiner writes about, they are unqualified and not disinterested, but through local connections they usually have some acquaintance with the unfortunates who ask for help. What is so revolting about the quacks of the radio and the newspaper columns, the seers and the phoney "vocational directors," is that they are irresponsible mercenaries who impersonally render an intimate service.

The book is written as a missionary enterprise. It exposes the enormous demand for personal advice, the absence or inaccessibility of competent professionals to give it, and the consequent multiplication of imposters, who currently and very profitably fill the vacuum. The story tells itself. It is good reporting.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago

The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897. By FRED A. SHANNON. ("The Economic History of the United States," Vol. V.) New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiv+434, illustrated. Text edition, \$3.75.

The announcement of a co-operative economic history of the United States under the editorship of a board of well-known younger historians will be of unusual interest to all students of the social sciences. It will be natural to compare the new series with the partially completed "Contributions to American Economic History" of the Board of Research Associates in American Economic History. In the case of the present volume—the first of the series to be issued—no such comparison is possible, as the agricultural histories of the earlier work have not been extended beyond 1860 and no other previous writer has essayed the task.

This initial synthesis will afford satisfaction to both the intelligent general reader and the student. It is, in the main, highly accurate and, thanks to skilful summary and analysis of statistics, definitely informative. Monographic studies are drawn upon liberally. The style is clear and enlivening, at times racy.

In discussing a period of change and stress, organization and emphasis present unusual difficulties and inevitably raise debatable issues. By taking the settlement of the last agricultural frontier as the main influence of the period, the author has delimited his treatment. Properly, environmental factors are stressed; the problem is how best to relate them. Since the historian's concern is with geography rather than with physiography as such, it is highly questionable if extended separate treatment of environmental factors is as effective as the interrelation of such factors when and where they apply in the course of economic development. The vivid and emphatic summary of recent investigations on the abuses and perversions of the operation of the public land laws, while in many ways a salutary corrective of traditional views, is too sweepingly destructive and tends to obscure the real benefits and achievements that came from the national heritage. Perhaps we have reached the stage where a re-revision of the subject is needed.

Undoubtedly the most surprising, not to say startling, omission is in the failure to give distinct treatment to the agricultural conditions and influences of the Civil War, in view of the

relations of that tragic episode to all aspects and interests of the occupation. In the regional surveys, the dairy belt and its characteristic husbandry and industries are inadequately treated. The literature cited on this economy is somewhat archaic and needs to be supplemented by more recent findings. Connecticut is certainly not the most revealing state for the study of eastern agriculture of the period. In population movement, diversification, organization, and legislation, New York would be found far more representative.

Spatial limitations, it is recognized, have necessitated the curtailment of institutional history, but there are certain serious omissions. The changing character and influence of the farm press and of other agricultural publications are not explained. Fairs and exhibitions are not mentioned, and the varied interrelations of countryside and village are not clearly shown.

Doubtful or inaccurate statements may be due either to unwarranted generalization or to the author's particular opinions. It is certainly going too far to say that "the historian has generally insulated himself from all the scientists," especially when the scientific findings are fully established. "Plantation" is not an accurate designation for agricultural units after Emancipation. The black codes in aim and operation were not as malevolent as here represented. The opinion that the South would have profited by confiscating lands for holdings for the freedmen would be hard to substantiate. The agricultural activities in the Patent Office never constituted a "bureau." The land-grant college act certainly did not involve "federal meddling"; as the author shows, each state interpreted the act as it saw fit. The phrase "almost reactionary Taft" is not justified by the record. The statement regarding the attitude of the South toward public education is unjust to the section as a whole, in view of certain notably progressive movements.

These questions and objections are not intended so much to suggest the shortcomings of the book as to indicate the wide scope and intricacies of its subject matter. Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to emphasis and conclusions, the fact remains that this pioneer venture is a competent and scholarly work which will contribute definitely to the history of American agriculture.

EARLE D. ROSS

Iowa State College

The Social Theory of James Mark Baldwin. By VAHAN D. SEWNY. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945. Pp. viii+93. \$1.50.

James Mark Baldwin as an academician was vigorous and fearless; as a writer and researcher, prolific and versatile. His volumes and articles are imposing not only as to numbers but as to their wide scope in diverse areas of knowledge. Although genuinely interested in science and philosophy, he was also a man of action. As a Francophile, he worked strenuously for an understanding by the United States and Great Britain of the German menace and advocated American participation on the side of the Allies in the first World War. His enthusiasm for France was so all-pervasive that he acquired a growing distaste for everything associated with German culture. Speaking of the cultural differences between the two nations, in an article published in 1915 on "France and the War," he wrote that Germany was "still at a tribal stage of political development," owing to the absence of the humanistic and cosmopolitan outlook so characteristic of the French.

For students of sociology and social psychology, however, Baldwin ranks among the pioneers in the field, exercising a considerable influence on his contemporaries. By some he was called an environmentalist, by others an instinctivist, and by still others an adherent of the imitation school of thought. While Baldwin's discussion of the development of the self and its implication for sociology profoundly affected Cooley's thinking, nevertheless Cooley considered his obligation to William James greater. Cooley's characterization of Baldwin was not a particularistic criticism, although it summed up the weakness of Baldwin's writings:

A great fault with strenuous writers like Baldwin is that in their eagerness to produce they do not allow time enough for their imaginations to grow naturally and thoroughly into the mastery of a subject. They force it, and so impair its spontaneity, its sanity and humanness. What they write may be stimulating, consecutive, attractive for a time, but it is not food to live on. A style like this Goethe calls mannerism or "das Manierierte." If you wish to produce anything of lasting value, you must see to it that the *subject matter, the truth*, is the first interest of your mind, *not your books, your essay, yourself as discoverer and communicator of truth*.

The Social Theory of James Mark Baldwin by Vahan D. Sewny is a conscientiously written little volume and should be helpful to the student

who wishes to know the place of Baldwin in sociological literature. The volume contains a full Bibliography.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

University of Nebraska

A Study of Personal and Social Organization: An Explorative Survey of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By FRANK GOODWIN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. 197.

There are in the United States some regions which are still off the beaten track. Here life moves at a slower pace and in a more orderly fashion than in our modern urban centers, and tradition is valued more than innovation. Such a region is the so-called "Delmarva Peninsula," divided between the states of Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia, lying east of Chesapeake Bay, commonly known as the "Eastern Shore." Mr. Goodwin's book attempts to study life on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, so as to "show how certain selected elements in the socio-cultural complex fosters, or results [*sic*] in a relatively high degree of personal organization." The author, who lived there for seven years, was first interested in making a survey and collected for this purpose materials which are included here. As it stands, the study still seems more of an "explorative survey" than it does a study of personal organization.

As a background for further intensive study of individuals, the statistics assembled here on the lack of mobility of the population, the graphs comparing the race and nativity of the populace with populations of other areas, might have been useful and illuminating. Mr. Goodwin's study of the contents of the county weeklies comes closer to giving an insight into the attitudes of the Eastern Shoremen, and there is a chapter on "Leadership" which gives some conception of what determines high social position. On the whole, however, Mr. Goodwin seems to talk around his problem rather than to come to grips with it. Although the area includes different racial and economic groups, he does not attempt any real analysis of the social structure. What seems even stranger, intimate materials on individuals are entirely lacking. The chapter on the "Family" deals mainly with the relative age for marriage among Negroes and whites on the Eastern Shore as compared with certain

other areas and includes very little indeed upon family life. Casual conversation with townspeople and the columns of the county weeklies, together with the absence of crime, delinquency, and divorce, seem to give convincing proof that the people of the region are contented with their lot and generally well adjusted. The ineffectiveness of outside influences is explained largely by this same attitude of satisfaction, although isolation is felt to play some part. We still do not know, however, what the special factors are which have produced such a powerful sense of superiority. Mr. Goodwin does not appear to have sought out any deviates or rebels. One should like, also, to know the difference in attitudes, if any, between the generations and something of the choices open to young people. No information is given as to contentment among the Negroes, although it is clear that some differences may exist here, since, from 1910 on, the proportion of Negroes to whites has been growing steadily smaller.

From a theoretical point of view Mr. Goodwin makes little contribution; his concepts are not very clear and do little to illuminate his subject. He does not claim too much for his study, but we might wish for less modesty and more aggressive thinking.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Desplaines, Illinois

From Democracy to Nazism: A Regional Case Study on Political Parties in Germany. By RUDOLF HEBERLE. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. Pp. x+130. \$2.50.

Germany's tragic political course and the motivating forces behind it are demonstrated in detail in the example of Schleswig-Holstein. The northern part of this province was lost to Germany by the plebiscite of 1921; its eastern part is racially divided between Teuton and Slav; its western section comprises flat bottom lands with rich farms, while its middle section is sandy hills where farming is poor; the rural districts, finally, are exposed to the magnetic attractions of two big cities—Hamburg and Copenhagen. This confluence of so many German problems in one single province makes the study of its political antecedents a worth-while pursuit.

Professor Heberle, formerly of Kiel Univer-

sity, explains the puzzling fact that a majority of the sober-minded and freedom-loving inhabitants of this region turned to the Hitler party. Up to the mid-twenties the democratic parties gained; from 1928 on, however, they lost ground chiefly through the agrarian depression which farmers blamed on the Weimar Republic. By 1929, approximately one-half of the farmers had become insolvent, had turned politically desperate and were thereby open to the Nazi argument. Starting in hardest-hit hill counties, the Nazis muscled into the various farmer organizations, finally welding them into one solid swastika bloc.

The significance of this study lies in its complete repudiation of the American tenet that nazism and Prussianism are essentially the same. In the case of Schleswig-Holstein, as in Bavaria and Thuringia, the Nazis used the regionalist away-from-Prussia sentiment as a lever to win control. The Prussian idea of the state as founded on Christianity, of government as subject to the law, of state service as a noble duty inherent in citizenship, far from being fulfilled by the Nazis, was, on the contrary, eradicated by them.

Pointing to the active opposition against nazism in this province, Professor Heberle predicts that from its ranks the builders of a new democratic Germany will arise. Schleswig-Holstein, however, will be more of a borderland, i.e., more nationally disputed than ever after this war; also, with the large-scale destruction of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Kiel, the agricultural markets of the province are bound to suffer. These prospects, which are decidedly unfavorable to democracy, make the author's optimism appear unwarranted.

Another shortcoming of this regional analysis is that it fails to take sufficiently into account the political influence of near-by big cities like Hamburg. The strength of the Socialist vote in Schleswig-Holstein, for instance, is not a local provincial phenomenon but finds its explanation in the fact that large groups of the rural youth have at one time or another worked in the shipyards, in city industries, or as servant girls.

HEINRICH HAUSER

Chicago

Belgium. Edited by JAN-ALBERT GORIS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+279. \$3.50.

Belgium has been considered by Nazi and pre-Nazi German nationalists as being primarily a Teutonic land which should be incorporated into an enlarged Germany; by Flemish radicals as an artificial conglomeration of two peoples; and by peace-loving Germans as a place where a synthesis of Latin and Teutonic culture could be built. Moreover, the United States, in reorganizing Europe, will have to remain a long time in Belgium and decide what her future will be. This book, written almost exclusively by leading Belgians and dealing with almost all important matters concerning Belgium, requires a detailed review. The reviewer excludes the development of the natural sciences and Congo because he is not familiar with these fields. Being half-French and half-German in origin, with Flemish and Spanish-Netherlandish ancestors, he has some understanding of the historical background of Belgium and the life of its people. Furthermore, as a German soldier and interpreter during World War I, he could observe, without approving, the collaboration of the Flemish radicals with the Germans. Therefore he feels justified in making these comments:

1. The following subjects are explained exhaustively and in a well-documented way: social and political history under Spanish, Austrian, French, and Dutch rule; collaboration of Liberals and Catholics against the Netherlands; Catholic-Liberal antagonism within the Belgian kingdom; inner-Catholic antagonism between conservative and social Catholics; Flemish linguistic, literary, and political movements; infiltration of Nazi ideology into, and elimination of it from, some Catholic and Flemish groups; the economic life in the past, present, and future; history of music, literature, and painting, the latter with some new sociological viewpoints.

2. The objectivity of nearly all these chapters is striking, even when dealing with the German invasion, the Flemish-Walloonian struggle, the Catholic-Liberal antagonism, and other events, not all flattering to Belgium. Van de Wall and Timmerman frankly admit the complete downfall of painting and sciences in the Belgian eighteenth century (pp. 240 and 263), and Grégoire calls attention to the backwardness of women's education, even in the beginning of the twentieth century (p. 231).

3. The bad custom of glorifying a country by overemphasizing the antiquity of its literary

origin is avoided. For example, Goris insists directly on the French-Picardian and even not the Belgian-Walloonian character of the dialect, in which the *Cantilène d'Eu'alie* and *Aucassin et Nicolette* were written in the ninth and thirteenth centuries, respectively.

4. Three omissions of historical facts must be mentioned: (a) Except for César Franck and Meunier, Belgian music and art, impressionism and expressionism, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were almost completely under French influence. (b) Although three articles go far back into the past and mention many unimportant things, no one mentions "Jansenism." This was a movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, associated with Jansenius, a bishop in the Belgian city of Ypres and preceded by Bajus, a Belgian-born professor at the Belgian university of Louvain. It was an inner-Catholic, anti-Jesuitic movement, emphasizing divine omnipotence, ethical rigorism, and episcopal power as opposed to the Jesuitic emphasis upon freedom of the will, moral laxity, and papal power. Popes, kings, emperors, Jesuits, and other powerful groups tried to exterminate it. Nevertheless, it influenced large Catholic groups, and, in particular, helped to break up the unity of state and church in France and to prepare for the French Revolution, as shown by the author of this review. Accordingly, Jansenism is just one of the aspects of Belgian history, by which Belgium has indirectly influenced world history. By omitting a discussion of Jansenism the author has given a false and incomplete picture of Belgium's Catholicism, spiritual life, and role in world history. (c) Another omission is the complete neglect of Zeger van Espen, a Belgian-born professor at Louvain. He wrote the best-known system of canon law in an episcopal and anti-papal sense. By it he influenced directly the whole period of Catholic enlightenment and indirectly every national and episcopal split from Roman Catholicism which occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some of these groups still exist in the United States today.

5. The scholar may make certain objections to the historical parts of the book, but every American who has to deal with Belgian problems of the present and the future will find it to be of unique value.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

Racial State: The German Nationalities Policy in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. By GERHARD JACOBY. New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress, 1944. Pp. xii+355.

Although edited by a Jewish Institute, this book does not deal exclusively, or primarily, with Jewish affairs. Indeed, it gives, first, a very well-documented and convincing description of all the seemingly unbelievable, but definitely proved, persecutions, such as local segregation, forced labor, and deportation, which the Jews had to endure under the German occupation. But it contains, moreover, a description of the Nazi theory of the German *Lebensraum*, of its application to the whole Czechoslovakian state, and of the attempt to destroy the whole Czech culture. These chapters are especially important, because not too many Americans realize that the Czech culture is one of the oldest and most original among the non-Greek-Orthodox Slavs. For one thing, it has manifested itself for centuries, as is also very well demonstrated in this book (p. 23), in the very popular religious reform movement of John Huss; in a voluminous poetic and historical literature, and, last but not least, in its music. The latter was originally folk music; but became in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries symphonic and chamber music, represented by Smetana (p. 139). The author could have added rightfully the names of Dvořák and Suk.

Likewise valuable are the remarks about the Slovaks. Before World War I the Slovaks, under Hungarian rule, had been obliged to assimilate themselves into the Hungarian culture if they wanted to advance. Despite improvement in their position under the Czechoslovakian Republic, they sought autonomy and even used the coming of Hitler to build up their own puppet state. But the Slovaks have always made much anti-Czech propaganda, describing the situation in a completely wrong light. Since the United States is obliged, directly or indirectly, to decide the future of these countries, the excellent explanation given in this book (p. 18) increases its usefulness.

PAUL HÖNIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

The Battle against Isolation. By WALTER JOHNSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. vii+239. \$3.00.

After a preliminary statement of the part which the United States plays in the international scene, Mr. Johnson tells the story of William Allen White's role in the battle against isolation, from the outbreak of the war in Europe to our own entrance into it. He refers to Mr. White as "the spark of the internationalist movement" during these years. Mr. White had been an active member of the League of Nations Association. When this group organized the Union for Concerted Peace Efforts, he became an active member, then chairman of the Non-partisan Committee for Peace through the Revision of the Neutrality Law; and, finally, chairman of the Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Through this succession of committees, Mr. White seems to have been dominated by two ideas: to make the Republican party internationally minded and to keep the United States out of war. This first objective kept Mr. White, as President Roosevelt said, with Roosevelt three and a half years out of every four. The second objective led finally to his resignation from the chairmanship of the Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies, for he felt that some of the members were advocating policies which would bring the United States into war.

The Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies was started in New York, but the organizing committee, wanting a middle western chairman, selected William Allen White, whose distinction and popularity led the public to refer to it as the "William Allen White" committee. Under Mr. White's vigorous leadership the committee grew until it had some seven hundred chapters throughout the country, with an estimated ten thousand active workers. The policy-making was done in New York with the co-operation of Mr. White, the statements were issued from Emporia, but there was a large degree of local autonomy. This caused the chairman some distress—especially after the fall of France, when some members of his committee, holding that to help England was not enough, formed the Fight for Freedom Committee. This led to the famous interview which Mr. White gave to Roy Howard, an interview which gave comfort to the America First group and others whose chief concern was that the United States

not be involved in the war. Mr. White's kind of pacifism prevented him from going any further in aiding England than he had originally visualized and he resigned from the chairmanship—not, however, until after the committee had succeeded in establishing the point of view which was later incorporated in the Lend-Lease legislation, namely, that there are countries whose defense is vital to the United States.

As Mr. Johnson has had access to Mr. White's files, the *Battle against Isolation* gives the most authoritative statement available of the reasons for Mr. White's resignation. Mr. Johnson excuses this much criticized action on the ground of Mr. White's health and age.

Mr. Johnson's account of the organization and functioning of the White committee is a readable, useful story of a successful attempt to educate a large public to a new point of view. Its title may be misleading, however, as it is not a complete story of the battle against isolation. He makes no attempt to cover the work done by established agencies, such as the National League of Women Voters and the Conference on Cause and Cure of War. Nor does Mr. Johnson give much space to the fight against the isolationist doctrine during the four years when the neutrality law was being discussed, debated, and revised.

Mr. Johnson's book adds to the literature of the subject of the American public and its understanding of foreign policy. It does, in part, for this war what Ruhl J. Bartlett did for the first World War in a more extensive study entitled *The League To Enforce Peace*.

LOUISE LEONARD WRIGHT

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

The Unknown Murderer. By THEODOR REIK.
New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945. Pp.
v+260. \$3.00.

This publication can scarcely claim more than historical interest. As one of the early students of Freud, Reik devoted himself to problems of legal psychology and is well known for his work on *Geständniszwang und Strafbedürfnis*. The present study is somewhat loose in conception. Whatever charm and popular appeal it may have had in the original is lost by a translation which does not free itself from German idioms and indicates lack of acquaintance with

the terminology used in this country. A simple concept like "stereotype" is translated as "psychological clichés, 'standardized' psychology, so to speak" (p. 44).

There is no reference whatsoever to literature published later than 1931, and the author is completely unfamiliar with the literature on criminology published in this country.

The author refutes the optimism of Erich Fromm, who assigns to psychoanalysis an important task in the field of crime detection. According to Reik, the psychoanalyst should contribute in trial procedures by breaking down the self-confidence of judge and jury who are frequently—perhaps because of their trust in logic reasoning of the Sherlock Holmes type—misled into judicial errors by subconscious directives. Both residuals of prehistoric magic and a "psychological compulsion to understand clearly how things happened" (p. 201) are seen as the reasons for many fateful decisions in the trial courts. The case material which Reik uses in illustrating his points should furnish stimulating reading to criminologists not acquainted with the more renowned European murder trials.

The modern anthropologist will find himself puzzled at Reik's reconstructions of methods of crime detection as he traces the customs of cultures which become more and more primitive until they lose themselves in the dawn of history where speculation is no longer hampered by embarrassing evidence. Again, the anthropological literature is outdated and used in selected anecdotes rather than systematically.

To anyone interested in the earlier phases of psychoanalytical literature, however, these qualities should not lessen the value of this publication as a historical document.

SVEND RIEMER

Cornell University

Consider the Calender. Edited by BHOLA D. PANTH. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944. Pp. vi+138. \$1.25.

In this study the author considers the calendar in its common and factual aspects: historical origins, basic elements, varying patterns, and modern efforts at reformation. As a tool of measurement, our calendar is seen as inade-

quate, a "lingering mediaeval instrument operating in a highly advanced and synchronized technological society," and especially ill adapted to the making of the statistical calculations and comparisons which "constitute the very basis of scientific analysis in our industrial and economic life today." Two of the best-known plans for improving the calendar are presented in some detail, and hope is expressed that an informed public opinion, as well as the pressure of modern business, will in time bring about changes. The sociologically interesting forces which oppose such a change are, however, little touched upon, nor is there any adequate discussion of the function of calendrical rhythms in general. The final conclusion, that "democracy will be nurtured directly in proportion to the degree in which its adherents apply scientific methods to everyday life," seems hardly demonstrated.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Desplaines, Illinois

Marriage and Family Counseling. By SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN. With a Foreword by ERNEST W. BURGESS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. xvi+457. \$3.50.

Counseling in family relations necessarily requires knowledge of a number of fields, including the social sciences, law, medicine, psychiatry, social work, and ethics. It requires a general human wisdom to advise efficiently over such a broad range. Sidney E. Goldstein is a veteran in this activity, and he presents in

this manual a general guide to those who work in family counseling.

Although familiarity with the research literature in psychology and sociology is evident, there is no attempt to review the studies. The advice is broad and general, indicating the kind of problems which come to the counselor and the type of knowledge required to meet them. Its primary value is for general orientation, and in this respect it should be quite successful.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Syracuse University

Youth in Trouble. By ERNEST MANHEIM. Kansas City: Community Service Division, Department of Welfare, 1945. Pp. ii+108.

This study surveys the trend of delinquent behavior in Kansas City, Missouri, during the years from 1939 to 1944. In a descriptive context of the local areas involved, delinquency rates are compared with purported indices of community life. Informative charts are profuse. The most surprising finding is the significant decrease in Kansas City's delinquency rate from 1941 to 1944. Readers may question the explanation of this decrease, the interpretations of the data, the survey areas used, and the recommendations appended. The study does, however, provide a useful source of material for comparative purposes. These data raise more questions than are answered.

G. E. SWANSON

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

CURRENT BOOKS

- AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, OXFORD. *Country Planning: A Study of Rural Problems*. Oxford: University Press, 1944. Pp. vi+288. \$2.50. Problems dealt with are: (1) reorganization of rural industrial life, (2) improvement of standards of living and comfort, and (3) developing social activities and organization. Work based on a survey of a selected rural area in England.
- Alcohol, Science and Society: *Twenty-nine Lectures with Discussions as Given at the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies*. New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945. Pp. xii+473. \$5.00. The physiology of alcoholism; drinking mores of the social classes; alcohol in primitive societies; the alcoholic personality; legal aspects of alcoholic control; and the penal, medical, and religious treatment of inebriates.
- AMERICAN PLANNING AND CIVIC ASSOCIATION. *American Planning and Civic Annual: A Record of Recent Civic Advance in the Field of Planning, Parks, Housing, Neighborhood Improvement and Conservation of National Resources, Including the Addresses Delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, Held on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Organization of the American Civic Association at Saint Louis, Missouri, on June 14, 15, 16, 1944*. Washington: American Planning and Civic Association, 1944. Pp. xviii+178. \$3.00.
- AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, COMMITTEE ON THE HYGIENE OF HOUSING. *An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing: A Yardstick for Health Officers, Housing Officials, and Planners, Part I: Nature and Uses of the Method*. New York: American Public Health Association, 1945. Pp. v+71. A manual explaining the method and how to use it.
- ATKINSON, CARROLL. *Pro and Con of the Ph.D.* Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1945. Pp. 7+172. \$2.00. A review of forty criticisms which appeared in print of the Ph.D. in America; the degree's history, use and misuse, and relation to honorary degrees, and the field and institutions from which most Ph.D.'s come.
- BACON, SELDEN D. *Memoirs of the Section on Alcohol Studies, Yale University, No. 2: Inebriety, Social Integration, and Marriage*. New Haven: Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Inc., 1945. Pp. 1+76. \$0.75.
- BEALS, RALPH L.; BRAINERD, GEORGE W.; and SMITH, WATSON. *Archaeological Studies in North-east Arizona*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945. Pp. iii+235.
- BOGARDUS, EMORY S., and BRETHORST, ALICE B. *Sociology Applied to Nursing*. Philadelphia, London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1945. Pp. xiv+312. \$2.50. A second edition of a textbook for nurses.
- BRYSON, LYMAN; FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS, and MACIVER, ROBERT M. (eds.). *Approaches to National Unity, Fifth Symposium*. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1945. Pp. vi+1037. \$5.00. Papers, for the fifth meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, in relation to the democratic way of life and on race and class tension in industry, in the community, and in international politics. Contributors include Elton Mayo, Clyde Kluckhohn, Charles Johnson, Krishnala Shridharani, Pitrim A. Sorokin, William E. Hocking, Quincy Wright, and a number of political scientists and theologians.
- CHAMBERLAIN, JAMES FRANKLIN. Rev. by HAROLD E. STEWART. *Air-Age Geography and Society*. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1945. Pp. v+717. \$2.12. Revision of a textbook previously entitled *Geography and Society*.
- CHERNICK, JACK, and HELLICKSON, GEORGE C. *Guaranteed Annual Wages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1945. Pp. vii+146. \$2.50.
- CHURCHILL, HENRY S. *The City is the People*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1945. Pp. 1+186. \$3.00. A semipopular book on the history and present condition of cities.
- DU BOIS, W. E. B. *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945. Pp. 3+143. \$2.00. A discussion of the problem of empires and colonies in terms of racial domination, especially pointed to the current issue of world organization for peace.
- DU BOIS, W. E. B., and JOHNSON, GUY B. *Encyclopedia of the Negro: Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Reports*. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, Inc., 1945. Pp. 8+209. Introductory statement concerning the plan and purpose of the encyclopedia. Alphabetical list of major subjects, items, and names to be covered.
- EBENSTEIN, WILLIAM. *The German Record: A Political Portrait*. New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945. Pp. ix+334. \$3.00. An essay on German politics and political thought—past, present, and future.
- . *The Pure Theory of Law*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1945. Pp. xii+211. \$2.50. First American exposition and critique of this movement in legal thought. Extensive references to modern German, French, English, and other literature on the nature of law and its relation to society.
- EMBREE, JOHN F. *The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.,

1945. ix+308. \$2.25. Economics and government of modern Japan, the social class system, education, mass communication, religion, family system, and national attitudes.
- FAUGHT, MILLARD C. *Falmouth, Massachusetts: Problems of a Resort Community*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 2+190. \$2.75. A study of a resort town: its history, government, business enterprises, hotels, and rooming houses. A chapter on sociological problems moralizes on the failure of natives and summer people to understand each other. Tables on seasonality of business, tax rates, population, etc.
- FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. *Education under Enemy Occupation: In Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland*. Bulletin 1945 No. 3; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. 1+71. \$0.15.
- FIELD, G. C. *Pacifism and Conscientious Objection*. Cambridge: University Press, 1945. Pp. viii+123. \$1.25. A historical and evaluative essay.
- GARDNER, BURLEIGH B. *Human Relations in Industry*. Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945. Pp. ix+307. \$3.00. A systematic description of industry as a system of human relations. Designed for industrial executives as well as social scientists.
- GLUECK, SHELDON; GLUECK, ELEANOR T.; FRANKFURTER, FELIX; and WINFIELD, P. H. *Afterconduct of Discharged Offenders: A Report to the Department*. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1945. Pp. xvi+119. \$2.50. A report and evaluation of the authors' own and others' "follow up" studies of delinquents. Extensive references to literature in this field.
- GROSS, FELIX. *The Polish Worker: A Study of a Social Stratum*. New York: Roy Publishers, 1945. Pp. 11+274. \$3.00. An original work on the history of the working class in Poland, its standard of living, the labor movement and Polish labor under the Nazis.
- HARRIS, SEYMOUR E. (ed.). *Economic Problems of Latin America*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1944. Pp. xiv+465. \$4.00. After several chapters devoted to special problems of the whole area (agriculture, banking, price, fiscal policies, trade), there are ten chapters each of which describes the chief features of the economy of a country.
- HARTLEY, LIVINGSTON. *It's Up to the Senate: The Counsequences for America of Acceptance or Rejection of the United Nations Organization*. New York: American Association for the United Nations, Inc., 1945. Pp. 3+31. \$0.10.
- HOPKINS, PRYNS. *World Culture*. Pasadena: Freedom Publications, 1945. Pp. 1+146. \$1.00. An essay, giving the author's views on what the contributions of the various peoples of the earth to a world culture might be.
- HUETTIG, MAE D. *Economic Control of the Motion Picture Industry: A Study in Industrial Organization*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. v+163.
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. *The Exploitation of Foreign Labour by Germany*. Montreal: International Labour Office, 1945. Pp. v+286. \$2.00.
- JONES, ROBERT C. *Mexican War Workers in the United States: The Mexico-United States Manpower Recruiting Program and Its Operation*. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1945. Pp. 1+46. An account of the thousands of Mexican laborers brought into the United States by an agreement with the Mexican government, to ease the manpower shortage in agriculture and the railroads, and of the conditions of their contracts, housing, medical services, and repatriation.
- KEESING, FELIX M. *Native Peoples of the Pacific World*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1945. Pp. v+144. \$3.00. A handbook intended for troops and civilians who visit the region. The author deals with the cultural, geographic, etc., nature of the Dutch Indies, the Philippines, Formosa, and the South Seas. The descriptions of societies and economies are accompanied by advice about how to deal with natives.
- LAIDLER, HARRY W. (ed.). *Forty Years of Education: Symposium*. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1945. Pp. 11+56. \$1.25.
- LAMBERT, JACQUES, and PINTO, L. A. COSTA. *Problèmes démographiques contemporains, Part I: Les Faits*. Rio de Janeiro: Atlantica Editora, 1944. Pp. 2+258. General treatise on, modern population facts and trends. Only a small part of the data is Brazilian.
- LANDRY, STUART OMER. *The Cult of Equality: A Study of the Race Problem*. New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1945. Pp. viii+359. \$3.50. A systematic statement of opinion and evidence in support of inequality of the races and of white superiority. Designed to offset equalitarian propaganda.
- LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. *The Forward March of American Labor: A Brief History of the American Labor Movement Written for Union Members*. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, Inc., 1945. Pp. 3+32. \$0.15.
- LOOMIS, CHARLES P. *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany*. East Lansing, Mich. State College Book Store, 1945. Pp. xii+392. A large collection of the author's previously published papers and bulletins on (1) colonization and resettlement in Germany and the United States, (2) studies of social organization and attitudes, (3) standards of living, (4) rural life in Latin America.
- MCCORMICK, THOMAS CARSON TOOMEY (ed.). *Problems of the Postwar World: A Symposium on Postwar Problems by Members of the Faculty of the*

- Division of the Social Studies at the University of Wisconsin, and Others.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. viii+526. \$4.00. A symposium on economic policy, government and society, and international relations. Of special interest to sociologists are a chapter on the Negro (McCormick) and one on unionism (Perlmar).
- MAKI, JOHN M. *Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. Pp. x+258+vi. \$3.00. A discussion of the political structure and ideas of Japan.
- MEERLOO, MAJOR A. M. *Total War and the Human Mind.* New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1945. Pp. 10+78. \$1.75. Observations of a Dutch physician who lived through the German occupation.
- MERRIAM, CHARLES E. *Systematic Politics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xiii+349. \$3.75. The author proposes "to analyze political behavior in the light of the factors that surround institutional forms, ideologies, political patterns, or clusters of patterns in particular societies." The treatment emphasizes the social matrix in which politics operate.
- MUSTARD, HARRY S. *Government in Public Health.* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945. Pp. xvi+219. \$1.50. A history and survey of federal, state, and local health legislation and services; prefaced by a chapter on sociological factors in disease and concluded with a chapter on trends and needs.
- NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION. *A Food and Nutrition Program for the Nation.* Bull. No. 46. Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1945. Pp. i+35. \$0.25.
- NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL. *Manual for the Study of Food Habits: Report of the Committee on Food Habits.* Bull. No. 111. Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1945. Pp. 3+142. The manual covers the gathering of data not only on food itself but on the etiquette, social organization, fads, and cults of eating and on how children are taught the food culture. Later parts report methods used in experiments on food selections, etc., of animals as well as humans. Extensive bibliography.
- NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL (EDWIN G. BORING) [ed.]. *Psychology for the Armed Forces.* Washington: Infantry Journal, 1945. Pp. xvii+533. \$3.00. The first thirteen chapters deal with the eye, the ear, smell, special abilities, selection of men, and the learning of special skills. The last eleven deal with personality and collective psychological problems (fear, sex, leadership, morale, rumor, panic, opinion, and psychological warfare).
- OSLAND, BIRGER. *A Long Pull from Stavanger: The Reminiscences of a Norwegian Immigrant.* Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1945. Pp. viii+265. \$2.50. Autobiography of a successful Chicago businessman.
- OYLER, MERTON D. *Fertility Rates and Migration of Kentucky Population, 1920 to 1940, as Related to Communication, Income and Education: A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Division of Social Sciences in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.* (Reprint of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. No. 469.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. ii+43.
- PALEVSKY, MARY. *Counseling Services for Industrial Workers.* New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1945. Pp. 3+5. \$0.60.
- PELZER, KARL J. *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics: Studies in Land Utilization and Agricultural Colonization in Southwestern Asia.* New York: American Geographical Society, 1945. Pp. viii+290. A scholarly, well-documented work on the aboriginal agriculture of the Philippines and Netherlands Indies and of changes brought about by colonization. Extensive references, tables, and maps.
- RANGO, ROBERT. *The Marriage Joker.* New York: Harvest House, 1945. Pp. 5+252. \$2.00. Twenty-three chapters of jokes, arranged by subject: courtship, engagement, elopement, honeymoon, bigamy, desertion, alimony, old age, bachelors, in-laws, etc.
- RANK, OTTO. "Will Therapy" and "Truth and Reality." New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. Pp. xxi+307. \$3.00. This reprint of two books in one volume presents the author's contribution to psychological therapy.
- REICH, WILHELM. Trans. by THEODORE P. WOLFF. *Character-Analysis: Principles and Technique for Psychoanalysts in Practice and in Training.* New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1945. Pp. xxii+328. \$4.50. A translation of one of the more recent (1933) systematic restatements of psychoanalytic theory.
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SOCIOLOGY AND THE ATOM

WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN

ABSTRACT

The influence of the discovery of atomic energy on sociology lies in the field of social change and the social effects of invention. The atomic bomb will cause changes in international organization, in cities, and in many institutions. To attain a lasting world government controlling the use of the bomb and to break up large cities into smaller ones are stupendous efforts in collective action and call for a huge amount of sociological research. The use of atomic energy in machines will usher in the atomic age and more; the scientific revolution and its industrial uses may have even more extensive effects upon society than the industrial revolution, ushered in by steam. The crisis of atomic energy raises the problem of changed methods of sociology to meet the future.

The explosion of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, is thought to have ended an era of history. This event may be of greater concern in the histories of the distant future than World War II. The first great use of mechanical power—steam—ushered in the “industrial revolution.” The use of atomic energy appears to be a beginning of the “scientific revolution” which will underlie and be more extensive than the “atomic age,” as the new era is now popularly called. Atomic energy, then, is expected to change many of our social institutions and hence is not unrelated to sociology.

I

The study of the atomic bomb falls into that branch of sociology variously characterized as “material culture” or the “social effects of technology” or the “sociology of invention” and is generally dealt with in treatises on sociology in the sections carrying the title “Social Change.” However,

other fields of sociology, such as population, community, social organization, and even social psychology, will be affected by the modifications which atomic energy will make. There is, of course, a good deal known about the general processes by which scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions change society, and this knowledge is useful in any anticipation of the changes precipitated by the release of atomic energy. But we are interested in the implications of this particular discovery.

Just as it takes time, money, and research on the part of physicists, chemists, and engineers to produce an atomic bomb, so time, money, and research are necessary for sociologists to uncover the social effects of this new source of power. The ready advice of editorial writers, lecturers, preachers, columnists, and radio commentators is not worth very much, perhaps even less than the advice of natural scientists on the social implications of their discoveries. It is the function of the natural scientist to

make the atomic bomb, but of the social scientist to say what the social consequences are likely to be.

The scientific studies of the social effects of invention have been almost exclusively of what has happened in the past. Thus the Hammonds wrote on the effects of the industrial revolution on village life in England; and Webb described the effect of barbed wire, the windmill, and the "six-shooter" on the settling of the Great Plains of the United States. However, since the processes by which techniques change social institutions have been studied and in part generalized, it ought to be possible to anticipate the impending changes in society which are due to atomic energy. No doubt, if sociologists had the two-billion-dollar fund, which the physicists and engineers had to finance constructing the bomb, then in several years' time they could advise adequately on the social adjustments to this new source of power.

The first step in the process of studying the problem is to analyze the concept. The only application of atomic energy up to the present is the atomic bomb, made by splitting the nucleus of the atom of uranium. Later, there is every reason to think that this fission may be made to yield a steady flow of energy to heat water or otherwise to run machines. This has not yet been achieved; but, since the speed of the neutrons which break up the nuclei of atoms may be controlled precisely, it should be possible in perhaps from two to five years to utilize atomic energy industrially, at least to generate steam. Then, too, it must be remembered that important inventions evolve from the often crude, simple, and small forms they have when they are first made. It may be that the atomic nuclei from elements other than uranium will yield their vast energies. Finally, the splitting of the atom's nucleus may provide a very great impetus to many other varied types of scientific research. Already the nuclear physicists have produced for the first time a new element beyond the ninety-two that compose the periodic table. Indeed, two new

elements have been made that, so far as we know, did not exist until 1942. These are neptunium and plutonium.

This new scientific achievement is a most extraordinary one. The atom itself is very small. If a drop of water were expanded to the size of the earth, one of its atoms would be about the size of an orange. But the atom itself is like our planetary system, with electrons composed of electrically charged protons and revolving around a nucleus at its center. These electrons and protons are, too, extremely small. The radius of a human hair is ten billion times greater than that of an electron. Yet it is by the energy from such incredibly small particles that the city of Hiroshima was destroyed by one small bomb, exploding one thousand feet in the air and killing one hundred thousand human beings.

The potentialities of the invention under discussion are further seen from the famous equation formulated by Einstein in 1905 to show how mass is changed into energy: $E = MC^2$, where E is the energy in ergs, M the mass in grams, and C the speed of light, measured in centimeters per second. It is the size of C^2 which makes E so large. The speed of light is 186,000 miles per second, or, squared, it is $3(10)^{10}$ in centimeters per second. This equation shows how the full release of nuclear energy from so small an object as a railroad ticket is enough to run a passenger train several times around the earth.

II

There may be a great many different social effects of the bomb. Over one hundred and fifty different social effects of radio have been recorded. Some possible social effects of the atomic bomb are discernible now in dim outline. One class of influence is on methods of warfare. Warfare, provided we have wars, will probably be undergoing changes for centuries because of the bomb and the superbomb into which it may evolve. What these changes will be it is better for the military experts to say than for the sociologists, and the students of military

methods are already working on the problem. But to the layman it would seem that aggregations of naval units would be very vulnerable; that the very important naval base and the naval airplane carrier which made possible the marvelous achievements of our fleet in the Pacific will afford much less security; and that if they should be easily destroyed, then the operation of fleets will be severely restricted. Will these vessels be driven under the sea as submarines?

That atomic bombs will be carried by rockets is almost assured. The V-2 rocket bomb traveled from the coast of the Netherlands to London at a speed of three thousand miles an hour. In view of such an accomplishment and taking cognizance of the principle of the evolution of invention, it seems that in the next war bombs will cross such distances as the Atlantic Ocean or the Polar regions of the north in a very few minutes. Even if the aim should be bad, bombs launched from planes high above antiaircraft fire should have better aim. If the bombs increase in size, it is quite conceivable that the city of Chicago could be completely destroyed by one bomb, and probably by a very few of the present size. Among the many military research projects to be started by the atomic bomb, the most important will be the attempt to prevent the murderous missile from reaching its destination. Physicists, however, hold out little hope; for realistic theories along which to work are yet unknown. Premature detonation seems impossible, and interception will surely be difficult. How this will be done rests upon research beyond the reach of the social scientist.

However, some effects of the bomb on social institutions are in the realm of sociology. A possible effect is on national and international organization. These may be changed in the very effort to obtain an agreement on the part of nations not to make bombs or not to use them in war. There are certain precedents to make us think that such agreements may be obtained. There was, for instance, an agree-

ment not to use poison gas in warfare. Then, with a few months' effort, the Pact of Paris to outlaw war was signed by nearly all nations. But the agreement not to use poison gas was violated, and in a decade after the Pact of Paris the world was at war. The problem is to make an agreement that will not be broken. Hence the concern should be on the subject of controls. The most common suggestion on controls is to have reports on the nuclear-fission activities within their borders made by different nations to other nations or to a central organization of all the nations. More difficult would be inspection by other nationals of laboratories and factories, either periodically or without notice. Even though the Security Council of the United Nations Organization should undertake such a supervision, there would still be the problem of policing and punishment, which might be effected in the case of a small nation but would be very difficult with one of the great powers. What is needed is a stronger organization than the former League of Nations or the newer United Nations Organization. Such strength could not be obtained without surrendering sovereignty, to do which the great powers, in particular, would be most reluctant.

The drive necessary to produce such a strong central world government would have to be tremendous. There are those who claim that the fear of the atomic bomb in a "pushbutton" war will be enough to furnish that drive. But is there not a greater probability that we shall forget the bomb rather than develop the awful fear necessary to banish it? Within a week after Hiroshima, department stores were having "atomic" sales and burlesque theaters were announcing atomic or anatomic dancers. Here is certainly a field for research in social psychology.

But suppose a world government is set up again. The question arises as to how long it will endure against the drives for power and self-interest on the part of large local units of such a world organization. The League of Nations did not prevent a world war, nor did the stronger constitution of the

United States prevent a civil war. If a world government cannot prevent a war, then there comes the terrible atomic bomb with all its destructiveness. The sociologist would have something to contribute in setting up studies of the coherence of groups. Much research has been done on the bonds that hold individuals together in groups, such as the family, the local community, the face-to-face group. It is not difficult to know why the cohesion is strong in a village community covering so little territory that personal contacts with everyone in the village are frequent. But when a people expands to cover more territory, as in a nation the size of the United States, China, or Russia, then the problem of cohesion is greater. Contacts must depend upon the communication and transportation inventions and the extent to which they are used. There are many instances in history when government expanded more rapidly and further than the agencies that make cohesion. These empires of great sway generally broke up.

There are some who believe that if the fear motive fails, the spirit of the brotherhood of man may be so strong as to override all these obstacles and build "one world." But if the brotherhood-of-man appeal has not succeeded in the past, what has the bomb done, aside from the fear it instills, to make it any more probable of success now?

There is another way of obtaining world government than by agreement, a method that has proved very effective in the past in extending the territory under a single government. It is the method of conquest. Indeed, with the bomb and the airplane, a world government by one conquering power may be as probable as a world government by agreement. Such a world government, once achieved through the ghastly use of the bomb, might have as good a chance of enduring as a world confederation or even a world federation. That such an event as a conquest of the whole world by one nation is possible may be considered on the basis of history. The empires in the age of the

horse and the sailboat were perhaps larger when measured in units of speed of the transportation agencies of the time than the world is today in terms of the speed of the airplane. But empires have broken up in the past, too, and so may a world government based on conquest—until the agencies of cohesion make the peoples of the world more nearly like a community.

The foregoing narration of the possible consequences of the atomic bomb upon international organization suggests some lines of needed sociological research as a basis of action. The presentation has, by design, showed difficulties, for the purpose of indicating the many steps of development on which research is needed before a stable world government will be probable. Certain sections of our vocal leaders are turning with fervor toward working for world government and the abolition of war. Such a movement is natural in view of the tragedies of a long war just finished and in view of a new instrument of destruction. The psychology of the times favors such an expression of hope; but there must be studies of ways and means, which, in turn, rest on social research.

III

Another social effect of the bomb is on cities, even though it should never fall on one. The objective of a bomb is an aggregation of peoples. Bombing during the campaign in northern Italy against the Germans in the second World War was not very effective when the German armies were scattered in the hills and mountains. It is cities that have been the object of bombing raids. If all the buildings and people on Manhattan Island could be destroyed with two or three bombs, then such destruction could be avoided if the peoples and the buildings were removed and placed elsewhere. But such a removal would not serve its purpose unless they were scattered and relocated in small places—say, one hundred of them.

Breaking up New York is only illustrative. There are 200 cities with populations of more than 50,000 each in the United

States, having a total population of 50,000,000. To remake these 200 cities into 1,000 would cost around \$250,000,000,000, which is less than the cost of the second World War to the United States and perhaps less than the cost of a third world war. This expenditure could be spread out into several five-year plans with an annual cost of \$10,000,000,000—\$15,000,000,000.

This undertaking is stupendous—so much so that it seems utterly impracticable. Perhaps it is. However, we must consider that the alternative is the possible killing of fifty million city dwellers in a few minutes in a sneak attack by a formidable enemy.

If men cannot make this effort, it may be because they can no more be trusted to refrain from blowing themselves up with the atomic bomb than anthropoids could be trusted with a stick of dynamite. The trouble seems to be with man rather than with the bomb.

If, however, we should not be successful in making a lasting agreement not to use the bomb, should we not study the problem of breaking up our cities into towns and villages and removing some of them from the crowded eastern seaboard into the less crowded area west of the Mississippi and further removed from the national borders? The Pueblo Indians once moved their cities from the plains, where they were the prey of their warlike enemies, and set them in caves scooped out of canyon walls high above the river. This was a task as difficult for them, perhaps, with their simple tools, as a decentralization of our big cities would be for us, with all our technology and wealth. We lived as a race for hundreds of thousands of years without cities. In fact, we have lived in cities scarcely a century: seventy-five million of us in the United States live away from cities now.

Other issues concern the possible loss of the advantages of our urban civilization. Do the desirable products of city life come only from the big cities? With thought and planning, might they not be had from cities of fifty thousand population, especially if

there was specialization by cities and adequate transportation? What are these advantages? Symphony orchestras, museums, universities, aggregations of intelligentsia, quick facilities for making personal contacts, luxury markets, metropolitan newspapers, etc. Only research will reveal the possibilities of obtaining these advantages in smaller places. Much study would also be needed on the maximum size of the city and its configuration to escape attack by atomic bombs launched from an airplane or arriving by rocket.

It is possible that our urban civilization might be much better with well-planned smaller cities and towns. We could have better health, fewer accidents, wider streets for automobiles, more parking places for automobiles, landing places for helicopters, more sunlight, space for gardens, more parks, less smoke, more comfortable homes, efficient places of work, and, in general, more beauty.

The plan for a city might be different. The radial type, like a wheel lying on the ground, is, indeed, similar to the traditional target in rifle practice. The city plan might better take the form of a rope laid out straight or coiled in various designs. Any realistic design of a city, however, must be based on transportation. Cities are creations of long-distance and local transportation. Therefore, any redistribution of cities means a redistribution of transportation. Hence much research on transportation and the location of the new cities is needed.

The breaking-up of two hundred large cities into smaller ones will appear to many readers as an extreme and impossible suggestion, which, of course, it is—unless seen against the alternative of atomic warfare. To those who appreciate the significance of the atomic bomb the idea will at least not appear absurd. For those who do not appreciate the significance, it has been suggested that the United States should drop one of its atomic bombs on every country in the world, including the United States, to wake the people up to a recognition of its meaning.

To those who think a major frontal attack on the problem is out of the question, a piecemeal approach is suggested. Thus it might be agreed that, whenever a slum area in a city is cleared, no new buildings be constructed there. Or a possible policy would be to deny any city a population growth beyond, say, fifty thousand. Or again, a definite number of buildings per year might be transferred to a distant suburb. Even the piece-by-piece approach is extraordinarily difficult. For instance, what city or what business in a city would be willing to limit the growth to a definite figure? Nearly every business in a city profits by increase in size of the city, as the single-taxers have shown in their discussion of the unearned increment. As to moving buildings out one at a time, it must be recalled that there are interrelationships that hardly permit such a fragmentary change. For instance, the University of Chicago is planning to build a new building. Should it be built in another city or in the suburbs, while the present buildings remain on their present site within the city? It seems a very difficult task to move the University of Chicago a hundred miles away. Yet within twenty-five years an atomic bomb may melt down all the buildings now on the campus and all the equipment, books, and laboratories.

The first step in any piecemeal effort should be to place underground, or to make plans to place underground before a war begins, the buildings supplying crucial or necessary goods or services for war or for civilians during war. Such would be central electric stations, railroad terminals, factories that make key war products. Especially should factories making atomic bombs be secreted and the stockpiles scattered or protected.

The problem of the location of cities in an atomic age has effects, too, on the ranking of the great powers of the world. Hitherto the countries with the most factories (and hence the most cities) have been the greatest military powers. But in the atomic age the very concentration of this urban

population becomes a weakness. For instance, the United States has a much greater concentration of urban population than Russia and hence is more vulnerable to atomic bombs. From the same observation, it may be argued that Russia, who has yet to build most of her cities, is in a better position to keep them small, since the task is not the very difficult one of breaking up old cities but the easier one of building new ones. These can be scattered and kept small in Russia, China, and other less urbanized but expanding areas.

Perhaps the helicopter will help in the gradual breaking-up of cities into small units. The automobile has created many suburbs, by moving out families which once lived within the city. Perhaps the helicopter will create more. But with aircraft the process will be very gradual.

The scattering of our cities by wholesale or retail methods will necessitate a concerted effort not made in peacetime and only approached during a war. For instance, local government and local autonomy would, it seems, have to give way to a strong central national government. Some central authority must see that cities do not grow larger than a given size, unless the cities would all voluntarily support such a restriction. The breaking-up of cities would be beyond the financial powers of the individual cities. There would be so many balances and equities disturbed in the relocating of a city as to cause great friction and resistance. It would be a collective undertaking, well-nigh impossible except under the spur of a great crisis. A crisis great enough to spur us to dismember our cities is almost sure to come sometime. But then it will be too late. Are we farsighted enough to act in advance, when such action calls for an almost superhuman effort? Perhaps it would be easier to create a world government to control the atomic bomb.

Thus the probable social effects of the bomb on cities makes necessary a great deal of sociological research, perhaps hundreds of large projects, in order to find the best

adjustments, assuming that the atomic bomb will not be prohibited by international agreement.

There is, of course, the possibility that the bomb may not be used in the next war but without any agreement whatsoever between nations. We did not use poison gas during the last war, probably not because of any agreement. Perhaps fear of retaliation may prevent it. But we cannot know this in advance, and we should live in fear of its being used. During the last war we prepared against gas warfare—by supplying gas masks.

Three classes of social influences of the atomic bomb have been designated: the effects on war, on international organization, and on cities. There are many other effects and many other institutions that will have to be modified. But enough has been said to indicate the relation of the bomb to sociology.

IV

The discussion up to this point has concerned only one single fabrication based on atomic energy, the atomic bomb. The atomic age, though, will not be the creation of the bomb but of the industrial and personal peacetime uses of nuclear fission of uranium and very probably of other elements. It is these that will create the atomic age and that will form the bases for great scientific discoveries in a variety of fields and thus usher in the scientific revolution. We know little as yet about peacetime uses of atomic energy, for there have been none, so far.

It is very difficult to speak sensibly about the social effects of inventions when we do not know what the inventions are to be. Also, reliable predictions of social effects of inventions can hardly be obtained without accurate ideas about prices and costs. Fortunately, the purpose of this article is not to predict, but rather to indicate, the effects of these new scientific discoveries on sociology. Here it is only necessary to say that the uses of this enormous power will proba-

bly make many profound changes in the social order.

The nearest analogy is the industrial revolution, based upon the first extensive use of mechanical power—steam. Wind on sails and windmills had led to some social changes, but not to the extent that steam did. The range of the influence of the metal machine using steam has been so great that hardly a single branch of the social sciences dealing with modern times is not concerned to some extent with the industrial revolution. Steam made possible the cities with their urban civilization; though steam was not used on the farms directly, yet indirectly it shifted farming from the subsistence type to commercial farming and thus radically altered agriculture. With the factories and railroads run by steam, there came a new economic organization. The social classes were altered and new ones created. A new division and distribution of wealth followed. The ranking of nations in military power was shifted, and the nature of warfare changed. The nations with blast furnaces became the great powers. Before steam, the factories of production were in the household. Steam destroyed the household economy, eliminated the women's work, and gave them jobs in factories, stores, and offices. Both the family as an organization and the position of women in society were radically changed by steam. Steam brought to cities many new problems of health, crime, education, divorce, recreation, morals, religion, justice. The foregoing are only a few of the important social changes precipitated by the use of this first great source of mechanical power. Now there comes from the atom a new source of energy, enormous in quantity. Does atomic energy foreshadow social consequences comparable to those that followed the discovery of steam power and the invention of machines to use it?

The answer to these questions depends, first, upon when the uses of atomic energy will become widespread industrially. This we do not know. We already have cheap

sources of power in coal, oil, and electricity. If these are cheaper than atomic power, they will be used. In countries where there is no coal, it is imported. The energy from the atom, if used industrially, must, of course, be used in machines, almost surely such as are used now. These machines are made of metals which must be processed as now. Indeed, power is only a small part of the total costs of production. Hence it may be argued that atomic energy is, at best, merely the substitution of one type of power for another and that all we can expect is the continuation of present trends.

The same argument could have been used in the early 1700's regarding the steam engine. Steam would be only a substitute for human or animal energy and would be used only if it was cheaper. People were already living together in communities. Steam would only make them grow, and hence it would mean only a continuance of trends. Yet, within two centuries, steam had profoundly altered civilization and had left unchanged hardly a single social institution.

It is only necessary to state that the evolution of the release of atomic fission bears watching and that there are factors which make it possible that the social effects will be many, radical, and profound. This conception of probability is strengthened by the precedent of steam and by the enormous energy that becomes available, as indicated by the equation $E = MC^2$. Much depends on (a) whether the nucleus of more common elements may be fissioned and (b) the cost of the operation.

Without allowing too much speculation, it is possible that very cheap power might work out to increase greatly the standard of living. Production in factories might be done with fewer and fewer human laborers. The hours of labor might become very much shorter. If atomic energy could be used for transportation purposes, community life and the structure of nations might be tremendously changed. If used in airplanes by jet propulsion, it would make practicable

travel at supersonic speeds; and if these sources of energy for aircraft were cheap, the size and interconnections of the great variety of social organization and communities would lead to very many interesting possibilities in diffusion and in collective effort. The social changes due to the peacetime uses of atomic energy might become vastly greater than the social changes that may follow the bomb alone.

However, these possible changes are not all likely to come as suddenly as did the bomb in Hiroshima; for, the parts of civilization being so highly integrated, when one part changes its effects are slowed up because of the interconnections of the other parts. The accumulated cultural lag is great, and the resulting inertia slows change and, of course, produces maladjustments and social problems.

V

Previous studies of the social effects of invention have shown that, whenever research in the physical sciences results in a major invention, it precipitates a variety of social changes and a consequent need for research in the social sciences. Thus the invention of the automobile created problems for the family, for the city, for the courts, for the police, for education, for children, for health, for other transportation agencies, for government, for morals, for the church. For every subsidized piece of research in natural science there should be corresponding financial aids to research in social science. Since two billion dollars were spent on making the atomic bomb which will produce many social problems, an intelligent society would aid social research to solve the problems the bomb creates. The atom, then, will change the subject matter of sociology.

It also raises the question as to a change in method. For instance, the study of institutions, custom, social behavior, and ideology has been nearly always a study either of the past or of the present, which

very quickly becomes the past. But does not the discovery of nuclear fission raise the question as to whether sociologists should not study the future? There is a time sequence between the discovery and its social effects. Nuclear fission is achieved in 1939 and is put to use in 1945, but the social effects will come in the 1950's and in succeeding decades. With the invention known, is it not possible to study the impending social changes in advance? The method is somewhat different from that of the historical method, whether quantitative or descriptive, and it presents many difficulties. New methods are often products of

social conditions. The social conditions of the present time that may modify sociological methods are those of social change which necessitate social planning, which, in turn, deals with the future. Almost every social institution except the faculty of a university deals with the future in connection with some planning, rudimentary though it may be. But social scientists almost universally deal with the past, either remote or very recent. But action in an age of social change should rest on considerations of the future. So the atom forces sociologists to look to the future.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

METHODS OF MEASUREMENT OF AESTHETIC FOLKWAYS

JOHN H. MUELLER

ABSTRACT

The applicability of standard statistical devices to the field of aesthetic folkways is explored. Orchestral repertoires of the leading symphony societies were analyzed from the date of founding to the present. Various statistical measures are here applied to selected segments of this history to illustrate the degree of consensus and difference of taste between cities; the weight of conductors and political events in the formation of taste; the lag in taste between the élite and the popular audiences. Aesthetic taste, here treated empirically, not subjectively, is a complex phenomenon to which nonaesthetic factors make a large contribution.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the applicability of some of the standard statistical measures to the description and analysis of trends in aesthetic folkways in the realm of musical taste, as evidenced in the symphonic repertoires in the United States.

AESTHETIC FOLKWAYS

It may be contended that aesthetic phenomena are an individual and subjective experience and not subject to social control and therefore are not properly classified as folkways. But upon further reflection it will be evident that aesthetic tastes do display a certain consensus and that they are codified and culturally transmitted, just as are ethical or economic folkways. Like other codes, they are fortified by ethnocentric rationalizations and by an aesthetic "conscience" which labels discrepant forms as decadent or ugly. They assume even an institutional character in their elaborate organization. They manifest a constellation of patterns in public performances, in economic support, in educational policy, in the organization of vested interests, in the theories and laws of harmonic construction—all of which is supported by a vast corpus of literature and criticism. Far from being, therefore, a private experience, taste can be treated, like any other form of social behavior, as an empirical phenomenon and may be defined as the more or less consistent range of aesthetic preference by a given group, of which the concert programs are samples. It would be very tempting to develop the sociopsychological

aspects of this phenomenon of "taste." Since, however, the purpose of this paper is primarily to illustrate methods of measurement, the appropriateness of the terminology of "folkway" and "taste" will not now be further considered.

SOURCE OF DATA

The original data for the following studies are contained in a monograph¹ on history of repertoires of the eight oldest symphony orchestras in the United States.² This is a history of music not in terms of biographies and schools but in terms of the end and purpose of all music, namely, actual performance—"behavior"—under discernible social conditions. It is obviously advantageous to select the data with an eye to their homogeneity, hence the subscription and popular concert repertoires are segregated, and the data for each orchestra are tabulated separately.

PROBLEMS OF MEASUREMENT

Although we might agree that the basic problem of measurement of a folkway would be the prevalence (frequency) of its practice, there are other issues which must be solved. Among them are: (1) classification of the hundreds of items (composers or composi-

¹ John H. Mueller and Kate Hevner, *Trends in Musical Taste* ("Indiana University Publications: Humanities Series," No. 8 [Bloomington, 1942]).

² These are, with the year of their founding: New York Philharmonic (1841), New York Symphony (1878), and the orchestras of Boston (1881), Chicago (1891), Cincinnati (1895), Philadelphia (1900), Minneapolis (1903), and St. Louis (1912).

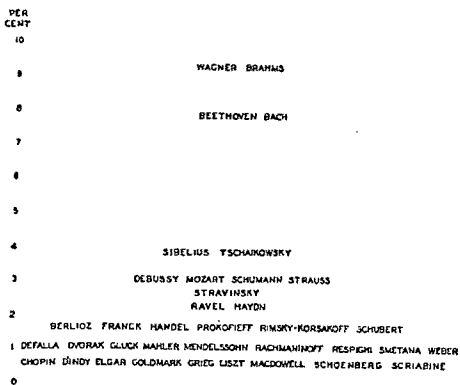
tions; (2) selection of a criterion of weighting the compositions if they are not to be weighted equally; (3) determination of trends; (4) the measurement of the differences and similarities in taste as between cities or periods in the same city; and (5) the isolation of the variables in the very complex phenomena of public concerts.

The problem of classification was solved, as it should be, according to the purposes of the study. In order to facilitate identification of the conditioning factors, composers were in many cases individually studied or grouped in terms of their nationality or the

United States there would be considerable fluctuation in the cultivation of various composers. An almost infinite number of charts could be assembled to illustrate these trends. For any given period and area the standing of composers may be shown by what we have called the "popularity pyramid," which measures the percentage of repertoire volume of respective composers. Charts I and II depict the pyramids, for illustrative and comparative purposes, of the

CHART I

POPULARITY PYRAMID
THE PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA
1931-35



character of their trend line. Furthermore, since a composer lives by being performed and since the time available for performances is limited, compositions were weighted by length of playing-time, i.e., the length of time the community is willing to devote to them.

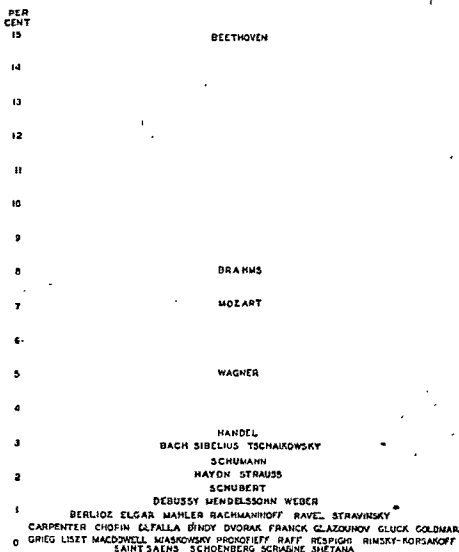
The first three problems are extensively discussed in the aforesaid monograph. The application of statistical devices for the purpose of measuring the differences between cities and of isolating the variables was not there treated but is the subject of the present article.

COMPARISON OF REPERTOIRES AS BETWEEN CITIES

It is, of course, to be expected that in the history of symphonic repertoires in the

CHART II

POPULARITY PYRAMID
THE NEW YORK PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
1931-35



New York Philharmonic and the Philadelphia orchestras for the five-year period 1931-35. It is evident that variations as between cities are quite striking. The New York Philharmonic, a rather conservative orchestra under Toscanini, gives Beethoven first place with 15 per cent, while Philadelphia under Stokowski is satisfied with half that percentage. The New York audience heard twice as much Mozart (7:3) and about half as much Wagner (5:9).

To measure the relative dispersion among all these seven³ orchestras, or the degree

³ The New York Philharmonic and the New York Symphony merged in 1928; therefore, the orchestras here number only seven.

of consensus in taste, the coefficient of variation is calculated for the percentage representation of a given composer in the respective seven orchestras (Table 1).

Of course, no two five-year periods show exactly the same disposition as the one here cited (1931-35). During the five-year period here analyzed, there was greatest consensus on Brahms, somewhat less on Haydn and Schubert, and the widest variation among

TABLE 1

SPECIFIED COMPOSERS: IN ORDER OF CONSENSUS ON RANK IN REPERTOIRES AS MEASURED BY THE COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION,* 1931-35

Composer	Percentage	Composer	Percentage
Brahms.....	12	Franck.....	36
Haydn.....	22	Stravinsky.....	38
Schubert.....	22	Rimski-Korsakov.....	41
Beethoven.....	26	Weber.....	47
Strauss.....	27	Scriabin.....	48
Ravel.....	27	Bach.....	49
Mozart.....	28	Mendelssohn.....	49
Tchaikovsky.....	28	Dvořák.....	53
Wagner.....	28	Rachmaninov.....	55
Handel.....	30	Prokofiev.....	60
Respighi.....	31	Liszt.....	62
Debussy.....	32	Sibelius.....	62
Schumann.....	32	MacDowell.....	90
Berlioz.....	35		

* $V = \frac{100\sigma}{M}$. The greater the consensus in taste, the smaller the index of variation. This index has, of course, no reference to the original rank of a composer. Thus, although Haydn ranks low in amount of his music played, there is good agreement on his low status. He therefore shows a low coefficient of variation. To conserve space the original percentage representation of each composer in the seven repertoires (1931-35), the mean, and the sigmas are not tabulated here.

the orchestras in the cultivation of Sibelius and MacDowell.

Granted these expected differences between the orchestras, the next problem is to discover to what extent they could be explained by the laws of chance, or whether they are statistically significant. One device to measure this deviation from chance is the formula of chi square. To keep the illustration within more manageable compass, we limit ourselves for the purposes of this presentation to the more significant composers. To illustrate this problem we select the New

York and the Philadelphia orchestras (1931-35), as shown in Table 2.

Having five degrees of freedom, this table yields a chi square of 136.68, which indicates that the probability is infinitesimally small that disparities as large as those illustrated in this table could have occurred by chance. With P as small as that, we may suppose that these are not samples from the same universe, that there is an association between the respective cities and the distribution of composers, and that there are certain forces operating to produce the differences in the repertoires of these two orchestras. Our next step is to attempt to uncover some of those factors.

TABLE 2

WEIGHTED FREQUENCIES OF SPECIFIED COMPOSERS: REPERTOIRES OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRAS, 1931-35

Composer	New York	Philadelphia
Bach.....	108	88
Beethoven.....	561	89
Brahms.....	302	103
Mozart.....	264	34
Tchaikovsky.....	107	41
Wagner.....	190	103
Total.....	1,532	458

DETERMINATION OF FACTORS

The fact that every event, physical or social, is always a juncture of many factors often renders it difficult to identify what is significant in producing such differences as are here described. However, it is usually assumed that the significant variables⁴ are limited in number. Now if the moment of entry of a given variable can be spotted, measurements can be taken before and after its appearance and an estimate made of its significance. All other factors are thereby held as constant as possible. That is the device here applied.

⁴ Many artists fallaciously believe that the appreciation of a work of art is a function of its intrinsic aesthetic qualities. The assumption here held is that appreciation is a habit, determined by non-aesthetic factors.

One of the several factors which, by our hypothesis, influence the fluctuations in the taste of the community is the conductor, who not only enjoys great prestige but also occupies a strategic position for implementing this prestige in the building of the programs. In order to test this hypothesis, the repertoire of the Philadelphia orchestra was analyzed during the last five years of the tenure of Stokowski and the first five years of his successor, Ormandy. These two distributions were then subjected to the chi-square test to determine whether their differences could have occurred by chance. Table 3 yields a chi square of 16.98 ($\chi^2 = 15.086$, $P = .01$), which makes it apparent that there is less than 1 chance in 100 that these two distributions stem from the same universe. One has reason to conclude that the change in conductors contributed heavily to this shift in repertoire.

A similar analysis, but by a different method, was made of the shift in repertoire of the Cincinnati orchestra which engaged the British-born Goossens in 1931 to succeed the German, Fritz Reiner. By deter-

entrance of Goossens and for the same period subsequently, the presumable influence of the conductor is measured.

In this case the critical ratio is 2.93, which, according to conventional statistical interpretation, practically rules out chance.

TABLE 4

BRITISH AND NON-BRITISH COMPOSITIONS: REPERTOIRE OF CINCINNATI SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, 1926-30 (REINER) AND 1931-35 (GOOSSENS)

	REINER		GOOSSENS	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
British.....	17	1.9	37	4.4
Non-British.....	872	98.1	803	95.6
Total.....	889	100.0	840	100.0

A difference of this magnitude "in favor of" Goossens could occur only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times in 1,000 if chance alone were operating—a very unlikely event. There exists, therefore, a true difference presumably assignable to the change in conductors in so far as the assumption of the constancy of the other variables is defensible.

Less apparent was the influence of Koussevitzky on the repertoire of the Boston orchestra (Table 5). With his known Russian background, Koussevitzky might be expected to lend an added impetus to the Russian repertoire in a city which has been favorably known for its hospitality to modern works. However, with a critical ratio of only .94, the change in the Russian repertoire could not be called significant and indicates that, if these ratios represent the same universe, this discrepancy, or larger, could occur in about 33 per cent of the cases. It is not proved, therefore, that, unlike the other conductors here studied, Koussevitzky did exert a significant *new*

TABLE 3

WEIGHTED FREQUENCIES OF SPECIFIED COMPOSERS: PHILADELPHIA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, 1931-35 (STOKOWSKI) AND 1936-40 (ORMANDY)

Composer	Stokowski	Ormandy
Bach.....	88	59
Wagner.....	103	87
Brahms.....	103	100
Beethoven.....	89	122
Mozart.....	34	53
Tchaikovsky.....	41	50
Total.....	458	471

mining the significance of the difference (critical ratio)⁵ between percentages of British music for five years⁶ previous to the

$$^5 \text{C.R.} = \frac{\text{Difference between percentages}}{\text{S.E. of the difference}}$$

⁶ A five-year sample is uniformly used in the illustrations in this paper. A disadvantage of a sample extending over too long a period is that the neces-

sary assumption that all other variables remain constant would become more hazardous with the greater lapse of time.

influence on the repertoire of the Boston orchestra.⁷

The most dramatic force influencing the patronage of music in recent times was

TABLE 5

RUSSIAN COMPOSITIONS PERFORMED BEFORE
AND DURING THE REGIME OF KOUSSEVITZKY,
BOSTON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, 1921-25,
1926-30

	1921-25		1926-30		C.R.
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Russian.....	140	14.8	156	16.3	.....
Non-Russian..	809	85.2	801	83.7	.94
Total.....	949	100.0	957	100.0	.....

World War I. It would presumably be reflected also in the proportion of German music in the repertoires of the orchestras

⁷ Since Boston already displayed in 1921-25 one of the highest Russian percentages of all orchestras in the United States, it could hardly be expected that a new conductor would increase that trend.

during 1916-20, as distinguished from the preceding and subsequent five-year periods. Table 6 is designed to discover to what extent, if at all, this influence manifested itself. Again, one variable (in this case, the war) is considered the differential factor, while the others are kept as constant as possible by selecting for comparison the periods immediately adjacent to the period under observation. Three orchestras in Chicago and New York are selected to illustrate this approach.

The Chicago orchestra had been under the direction of Frederick Stock, the protégé and successor to Theodore Thomas. Stock, of German extraction, tactfully retired for the duration of World War I and thereby avoided the chauvinistic outburst which disturbed the Boston orchestra and caused the replacement of Karl Muck, a friend of the Kaiser, by Raubaud, a French musician. The accompanying effect of the war on the Chicago repertoire is evident in the C.R. of 7. It appears still more conspicuously if one compares the C.R. between two

TABLE 6

PROPORTION OF GERMAN MUSIC: CHICAGO, NEW YORK PHILHARMONIC,
NEW YORK SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

YEAR	TOTAL ITEMS	GERMAN ITEMS		C.R.	YEAR	TOTAL ITEMS	GERMAN ITEMS		C.R.
		No.	Per Cent				No.	Per Cent	
1906-10..... 1911-15.....	Chicago				1911-15..... 1916-20.....	Chicago			
	1,345	708	52.6}	1.46		1,373	684	49.8}	7.0
	1,373	684	49.8}			1,335	488	36.5}	
	New York Philharmonic					New York Philharmonic			
	1,206	599	49.6}	2.4		1,960	1,060	54.1}	1.77
	1,960	1,060	54.1}			1,746	894	51.2}	
	New York Symphony					New York Symphony			
	1,055	587	55.6}	4.6		942	426	45.2}	2.6
	942	426	45.2}			1,460	581	39.8}	

five-year periods immediately preceding the war, which was 1.46.

Apparently the New York Philharmonic did not fight the war on the concert platform. As can be gathered from sources not here recounted, this orchestra, under Stransky, was more intent on pleasing a cosmopolitan public which did not connect music with patriotism. While the proportion of German music declined in both New York orchestras, this decline was not statistically significant in the New York Philharmonic orchestra (C.R. = 1.77), i.e., it was not sufficient to rule out chance.⁸

MEASUREMENT OF THE LAG

There has been speculation as to whether the taste of the American public is as "advanced" as that of Europe. Any retardation (or advance) in taste would vary with composers and orchestras but could be measured as indicated in the illustration cited below.

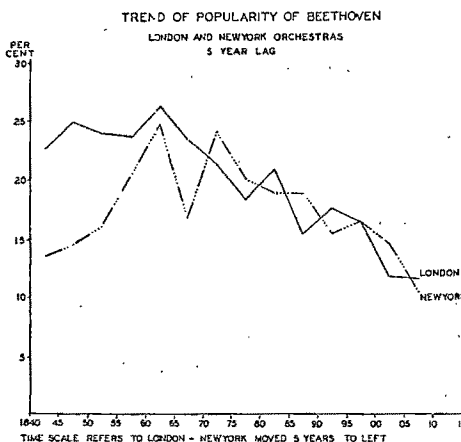
The trend line of composers generally depicts a life-cycle consisting of a rise to a peak of popularity followed by a period of decline, which every composer experiences sooner or later. However, this peak and decline need not occur simultaneously in any two cities. In such a case we may speak of a lag (or lead) between those cities. Thus, as between London and New York orchestras, there appears a characteristic delay in the appearance of the "peak," so that the taste of New York for certain composers may be said to "lag" behind that of London.

This lag can be measured by determining the distance between any two identifiable and corresponding points in the two trend lines. One logical point at which to measure this lag is the peak in the trend lines of the given composers in the two countries. These peaks are the points of satiety at which the patronage, or taste, for the com-

poser begins to decline. Because of the fluctuating trends, they are not always immediately discernible. It is sometimes necessary, therefore, to resort to mathematical calculation in which the best "fit" corresponds to the highest coefficient of correlation between the two series paired experimentally at various intervals or lags.⁹

The lag varies, of course, with different composers. In the case of Beethoven, the consensus between New York and London is amazingly close (Chart III). The best fit, as measured by the Pearsonian coefficient, indicates a lag of only five years ($r = .51$).

CHART III



Such a refined calculation as the coefficient of correlation is not always necessary to uncover the lag. By the method of superimposition¹⁰ the lag for Wagner is found to be

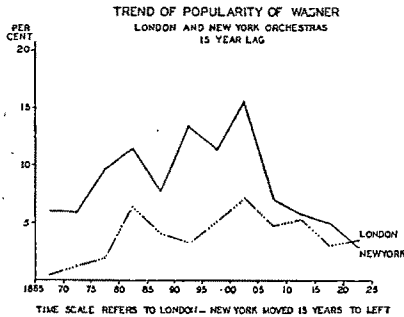
⁹ The coefficient of correlation is usually used to measure the lag in repetitive or cyclical data, such as seasonal variations, the purpose being to predict the course of future fluctuations. Musical trends, however, do not move in such cycles; they move in one cycle only. Instead, therefore, of being applicable to future segments of the same curve, the predictive principle is applicable rather to curves of other composers. The treacherous problems involved in this procedure are not developed in this paper.

¹⁰ In this method, which is applicable when the fluctuations are more obvious, the two curves are charted on separate pieces of paper, superimposed on each other, held to the light, and then slid back and forth until, by visual estimate, the correspondence is closest.

⁸ Although the data for the present war have not been completed, we know that the chauvinism of the last war did not recur. There is ample anecdotal evidence, however, of aesthetics tainted with patriotism in the popularity of Shostakovich. Following 1933, when Finland was the only country paying its war-debt instalments, Sibelius tripled his representation in American orchestras within ten years.

fifteen years (Chart IV). On the basis of these and other data not displayed here, one must conclude that the tastes in London and New York followed similar trends but that, in general, the taste in New York, during the period here under review, is retarded by one or two decades.

CHART IV



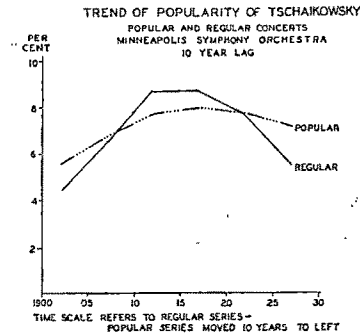
The comparison of the trends in the regular¹¹ and popular concerts in the United States begets similar conclusions. There is a diffusion of taste from the upper classes to the popular audiences, and the rapidity with which these tastes trickle down from the "élite" subscriber to the popular concert patron—or at least reappear there—may be illustrated in the trend line of Tchaikovsky in the regular and popular concerts in Min-

¹¹ By "regular concerts" is meant the subscription series which is patronized by the more sophisticated musical audiences, while the "popular" concerts, sometimes given on Sunday afternoons, present the "lighter" works of the masters.

neapolis. Chart V reveals that the point of satiety in Tchaikovsky was reached by the "upper" class about ten years earlier than in the popular group and that he was fading more rapidly in the regular concerts.

It is evident that many variations of any of these problems could have been pre-

CHART V



sented and that each one cited could provoke further interpretation. Since these illustrations were selective rather than comprehensive, no generalizations on the overall phenomenon of aesthetic folkways in the United States are offered, but it is expected that the complete analysis of the history of symphonic repertoires in the United States will yield such generalizations and that the analysis of aesthetic culture will perhaps add an increment to the development of social science itself.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

PATIENTS AND PREJUDICE: LAY ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN PHYSICIANS

JOSEPHINE J. WILLIAMS¹

ABSTRACT

A minority group within a profession is a group which, although technically qualified, deviates from an expected pattern of auxiliary characteristics, such as age, sex, and religious or ethnic affiliation. The situation in which a layman selects a professional is distinguished from that in which he exercises no choice but retains the right to protest. The relative status of various minority group physicians in these two situations is reported on the basis of data obtained from a sample of urban middle-class women. Attitudes toward women physicians are compared with attitudes toward physicians of religious and ethnic minorities.

Women doctors are a minority group within a profession. The layman's prejudice against them is one of their status problems. By "minority group" with respect to a professional role is meant any group of persons who, although technically qualified for the role, deviate from a pattern of "auxiliary characteristics" expected in that role.² These characteristics may be in the sex, age range, race, nationality, or faith considered proper for the role.

It is in the selection of a professional and in the initial contact with him that these auxiliary characteristics are important to the client. The layman is predisposed to have confidence in the professional who conforms to the familiar pattern and to distrust one who deviates from it. Two situations may be distinguished: (1) that in which the layman chooses a professional and (2) that in which he exercises no deliberate choice but retains some veto power.³

¹ Pi Lambda Theta, National Association for Women in Education, engages in the study of women's professional problems. In 1935 the Association sponsored a survey of the research already accomplished in this field, and since then has granted awards to eleven research studies, most of them in this field of investigation. Pi Lambda Theta takes pride in acknowledging "Patients and Prejudice" as the recipient of a 1945 award granted from the Ella Victoria Dobbs Fellowship Fund.

² For a discussion of auxiliary characteristics see Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (March, 1945), 353-59.

³ The woman doctor who puts her initials, instead of her full name, on an office window in a

This study deals with the attitudes of middle-class American women toward women physicians. Two questions corresponding to these two situations were used in the study. For lack of an absolute status scale, data on the status of women, relative to that of other minorities in medicine, were secured by a rank-order procedure. Because the study was exploratory, these statistical data were supplemented by case materials on medical experiences in general and on attitudes toward women physicians in particular.⁴ A sample of urban, middle-class women was selected for intensive study, since acceptance by this group is crucial for the career of the woman doctor, by current standards of professional success.

In the first question the respondent selected from among ten doctors, differentiated by sex, age, faith, nationality, race, and whether or not they had been recommended, the doctor she would call "first," "second," and so forth.⁵ In the second ques-

transient area is making a bid for the patients who would not deliberately select a woman but, once done, find it too awkward to extricate themselves.

⁴ About half the respondents were interviewed. The interviews ranged in length from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 hours.

⁵ Question I was worded as follows: "Suppose you were traveling and realized that you had something like the flu. You wanted a doctor but did not know whom to call. You had one old friend in that city; so you telephoned her. She gave you the names of a number of doctors whom she knew were good, but she just could not tell you which one was the best, since her own doctor had just gone into the service. So you are sitting at the phone wondering

tion she judged ten objections raised by clinic patients to the doctor assigned them—objections based on the sex and race of the doctor—and arranged the objections in order from the most natural to the most ridiculous.⁶

Several precautions were taken to insure reliability. Ranking was facilitated by printing the items on separate cards, which the

which doctor to call first, with no way of knowing which one is the best. I'm asking which one you would call first, which one next, and so forth, to your last choice. The ten doctors were:

"An experienced *woman* doctor who belongs to your own faith (i.e., Protestant, Catholic or Jewish) and who is recommended by your friend.

"An experienced male doctor who is *Protestant* and who is recommended by your friend.

"(The same for a Catholic, a Jewish and a Negro doctor, and for a German refugee, with the added comment, 'She does not know whether he is Jewish or not.')

"A *very young* male doctor who is *Gentile* and who is recommended by your friend.

"(The same for a Jewish doctor.)

"A male doctor whose name you have noticed in a bulletin put out by *your church or temple*. Your friend does not happen to know of him.

"A male doctor whose name you find in the *telephone book*. From the name you judge him to be of your own nationality background."

⁶ Question II was worded as follows: "Suppose you volunteered to do some work for a large clinic and they asked you to be a sort of trouble shooter. They had a large staff of doctors, men and women, white and Negro. Each patient pays a standard fee and is assigned to a doctor, but sometimes the patients object and want to change doctors. When patients change doctors, it makes more work for an overworked staff. The decision is left up to you. If the objection seems natural to you, you can arrange to have the patient transferred to another doctor. If the objection seems ridiculous to you, your job is to tell him that he is lucky to have any doctor in wartime. I'm asking you to arrange the objections in order from the most natural to the most ridiculous. The ten objections were:

"A *man* objects to a *woman* doctor.

"(The same for a woman patient, and for patients of both sexes with a male doctor.)

"A *white man (woman)* objects to a *male Negro* doctor.

"A *Negro man (woman)* objects to a *white male* doctor.

"A *Negro man* objects to a *white woman* doctor.

"A *Negro* objects to a *Negro* doctor."

respondent could sort.⁷ After ranking the items, she was asked to sort them into three categories.⁸ In this way any serious careless errors in ranking were discovered. The cards were shuffled before each interview to eliminate bias due to the order of presentation. Respondents were encouraged, but not unduly urged, to make decisions. Two or more items were recorded as of equal rank if the respondent could not differentiate between them. And, finally, a number of cases of doubtful reliability were eliminated from the sample.

The validity of the data cannot be rigorously determined. However, very few of the respondents suspected, when they were answering the first question, that the study was primarily concerned with women doctors. The apparent emphasis on religious prejudices served as a red herring. The internal consistency of the case materials also indicates that most persons were frank about their attitudes toward women.⁹

The sample of 100 native-born white women was secured by making house calls in a residential neighborhood of Chicago. The median monthly rental for the homes visited was approximately \$75. Half the respondents had had some college training; 81 had completed high school. Approximately one-quarter were employed; almost three-quarters had been employed at one time. Just over half were Protestant; 31 were Catholic; and 7 were Jewish. The median age was forty-one. Sixteen were single. Fifty-seven had never consulted a woman

⁷ A device used by A. W. Jones in *Life, Liberty, and Property* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941), pp. 150-52.

⁸ In Question I she was asked which doctors she would take "without any hesitation," which ones "with some hesitation," and which ones "only in an emergency." This procedure incidentally secured the co-operation of a number of persons who were reluctant to express preference on the basis of faith until they were assured that their willingness to take doctors of several faiths "without any hesitation" would be recorded. In Question II the categories were "natural," "doubtful," and "ridiculous."

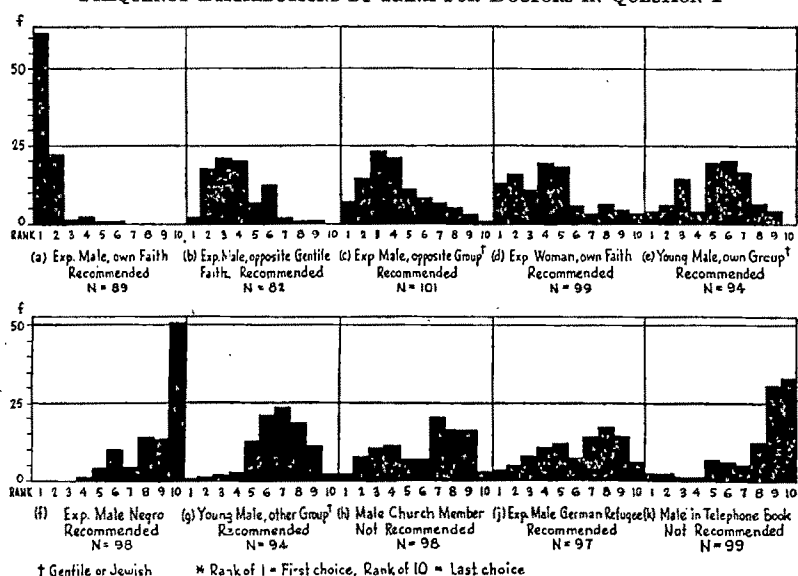
⁹ It was more difficult, but less important, to secure frank expression of religious prejudices.

physician; only 17 had consulted one regularly. Three-quarters of the respondents had no women friends who were physicians.

The frequency distributions of the rank order of preference for the doctors in Question I are shown in Chart I. The number of persons who selected the given doctor as their first choice is shown in Column 1; the number who picked him as their second choice in column 2; and so on. The experienced, recommended, male doctor of the re-

tive strength of the preference for the several characteristics can therefore be estimated by a comparison of diagrams *b* and *f* of Chart I. The preferences for a doctor of the same faith and for a male doctor were relinquished before the preference for an experienced doctor; and the single fact of being a Negro outweighed the combination of experience, recommendation, and male sex. The doctor selected from the telephone directory was the only other doctor who was

CHART I
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS BY RANK FOR DOCTORS IN QUESTION I*



spondent's faith, by implication white and American, is the first choice of two-thirds of the respondents and the second choice of almost all the rest (Chart I, *a*).¹⁰ The woman doctor, who was the first choice of 13 persons, offered the only competition for first place (Chart I, *d*). The agreement on first choice is not in itself surprising, but it indicates that any deviation from this combination of characteristics is a drawback in the eyes of most persons interviewed. The rela-

¹⁰ Seven women whose husbands were of a different faith and 2 who had no religious affiliation were omitted from Chart I, *a*. Similar adjustments were made where necessary.

the last resort of any considerable number of persons (Chart I, *k*).

Although faith is the least important of these auxiliary characteristics, with the possible exception of sex, its significance to the respondents is attested by the preference for a doctor of their own denomination over the doctor noticed in the telephone directory (Chart I, *h, k*). These two doctors were the only ones who were not personally recommended. If the church member had been preferred merely as the lesser of two evils, the frequency polygons would have been approximately congruent and centered at adjacent points of the scale, as in the case of

the two very young doctors. The preference is doubtless due in part to the socioeconomic implications of denominational affiliation.

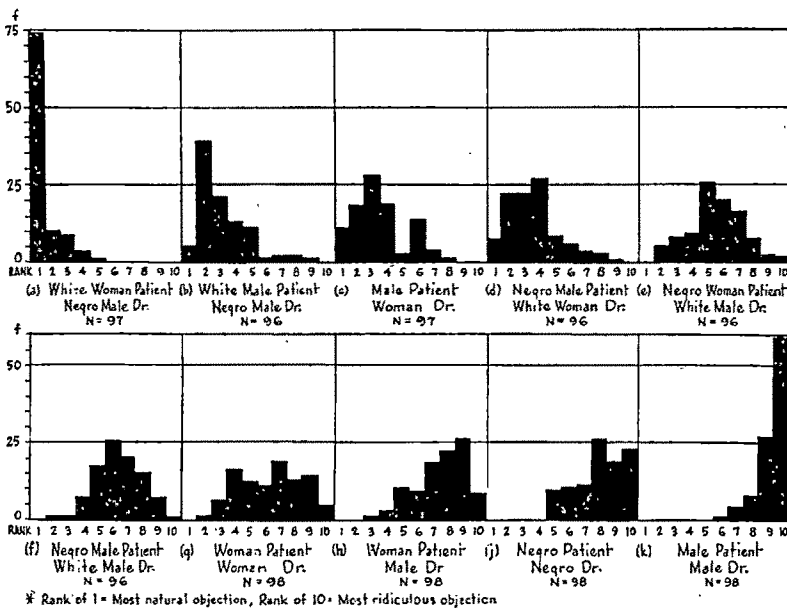
The lack of a clearly defined central tendency in the polygons for the woman doctor, the German refugee, and the church doctor reflects the conflicting attitudes in the neighborhood (Chart I, *d*, *h*, and *j*). Some of the comments on women doctors are reported below.

what is known of race prejudices, it is interesting that 38 persons out of 96 considered it more natural for a man to object to a woman doctor than to a male Negro doctor. This doubtless reflects an atypical situation in Chicago; most respondents had white acquaintances who consulted a Negro specialist.

At the opposite end of the scale we find a large proportion of the sample in agreement

CHART II

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS BY RANK FOR OBJECTIONS IN QUESTION II*



The frequency polygons for the second question are shown in Chart II. Each respondent arranged the objections in order from the most natural, ranked 1, to the most ridiculous, ranked 10. Thus the number of persons who considered a given objection the most natural of all the objections is shown at the left, in column 1; the number who thought it the second most natural in column 2; and so forth.

Among the more natural objections, we find the white patients of either sex who protest against treatment by a Negro physician, and also a man's objection to a woman physician (Chart II, *a*, *b*, and *c*). In view of

that it is ridiculous for patients of either sex to object to a male doctor and ridiculous for a Negro to object to a doctor of his own race (Chart II, *h*, *j*, and *k*). In general, it was the persons who had had least contact with Negroes who considered it most ridiculous for a Negro to prefer a white physician.

Comparison of diagrams *c*, *d*, and *f* of Chart II suggests that the male Negro patient is thought of primarily as a man, who may legitimately object to a woman doctor, rather than being thought of as a Negro. Diagrams *e* and *f* of Chart II are more nearly congruent than is the case when the races are reversed, as in diagrams *a* and *b*. This

suggests that the Negro woman was thought of not primarily as a woman in the hands of a man of a different race but as a Negro who might prefer a doctor of her own race but would probably not insist on it. This analysis is offered only as a hypothesis.

The objection about which there was the greatest difference of opinion was the woman patient's objection to a woman doctor (Chart II, g). It was not considered the most ridiculous nor one of the three most natural objections, but beyond that there was little agreement.

In summary, the woman physician's status among her own kind is comparable to the male physician's status among persons of a different faith. An experienced woman is preferred to very young male doctors and to an experienced male Negro doctor. Respondents sympathized with men who protest against a woman doctor, were divided on a woman's right to protest, and agreed that no one should insist on a woman doctor—at least in the stipulated situation.

These statements, based on the central tendency of opinion, are an oversimplification, of course. Various cultural traditions are represented in the neighborhood. Furthermore, for psychogenic reasons, some persons feel more secure with a doctor of a given sex, regardless of cultural expectations.¹¹ In short, almost everyone assumed that there were sex differences in the quality of medical service, but there was little agreement on what the differences were.¹² On the

basis of the case materials the following hypotheses are suggested: (1) that the reluctance to consult a woman physician is, in general, due to a vague sense of the strangeness of such a relationship, not supported by clearly formulated rationalizations, whereas the reluctance to consult a doctor of certain ethnic and racial minorities is supported by rationalization in common circulation, often rooted in economic insecurities; (2) that this difference is manifested in the kinds of apology offered in the two cases—admission that prejudice against women is "silly" and that prejudice against other minorities conflicts with religious and democratic values; and (3) that a single contact with a woman physician, whether satisfactory or not, is likely to lead to a generalization about women doctors, based on the single case, whereas a single contact with a member of ethnic or racial minorities is more likely to be dismissed as the "exception that proves the rule" when it does not conform to expectations.

This type of analysis could be applied, with suitable modifications, to various socioeconomic strata of the lay public and to various professional minority groups. In a more extensive study the differential status of a given minority in the various special fields of a profession could also be determined. Systematic studies of this sort would add significantly to our knowledge of the process by which minority group members are assimilated into some of the roles which command high status in our society.

¹¹ Psychogenic factors may also determine racial attitudes in defiance of cultural norms. Cf. Lillian Smith's novel, *Strange Fruit* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944).

¹² If any characteristics were generally attributed to women, they were, on the one hand, less emotional control and less strength than men; on the other, less "interest in money" and a more personal interest in the patient. Strength and emotional control were mentioned particularly in connection with surgery and only in connection with women. (Some

persons who preferred women surgeons said they had greater manual dexterity.) Interest in the patient was frequently mentioned in connection with doctors of both sexes. It touches an anxiety felt by many of the persons interviewed. Cf. L. J. Henderson, "Physician and Patient as a Social System," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCXII (May 2, 1935), 819-23.

ANTIPATHY AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

CHESTER ALEXANDER

ABSTRACT

Much of human behavior may be called negative, since it involves avoidance. This behavior is in part rational or intentional, but much of it is nonrational antipathies. Though common, antipathies usually function below the level of attention. They appear to resemble allergies but with significant differences. Antipathies are important in interpersonal relationships and frequently are related to the conception of individuals. They are, then, a stubborn element in prejudices.

Interaction, the basic trait of human social life, is a complex of interrelationships. It is considered to be divisible into two major parts, namely, that which is closely related to the biological nature of man and that which concerns the multiplicity of activities which constitute cultural patterns. It is, of course, recognized that these have not yet been clearly delineated. While one might use either of them as an approach to a study of society, one might also start by observing human behavior and thus build up classes of acts according to their similarities. This is not necessarily in disharmony with the traditional methods; it could be used to clarify some of their concepts.

Proceeding in this direction, we note that many acts are performed to avoid objects which are unpleasant to the individual. One may call them "negative," since their most obvious trait is the evasion of the stimulus. This group may be further reduced by including only those which are neither so simple as reflexes nor interpreted by rationalizations.

The nearest approach to a name befitting this group is "antipathy." The definitions which are given in dictionaries and in the social science literature vary considerably, but there is one point of agreement among them, that is, it indicates a "feeling against" an object. Beyond this there is little unanimity regarding the nature of these acts, the range of their intensity, or their social consequences. Therefore, it appeared to be necessary to start the analysis from the initial observation that the primary response to the "feeling" is an avoidance of the object.

In an extended study (1,200 cases) it was found that the antipathetic reaction to objects was not followed by any effort to avoid future encounters. The negative reaction apparently takes place without the intervention of reasoning, for the individual responds almost immediately upon being confronted by the stimulus, while the feeling of aversion vanishes when the act has been completed. It was also quite evident that the reaction is not violent, since one may experience an antipathy while in the presence of other people without giving any conspicuous clues regarding one's feelings.¹

From comments gathered during two hundred interviews, the writer concludes that a person is seldom asked to describe his antipathies or to explain related conduct. He does not seek to defend himself or to appeal to socially accepted values. For instance, some of those interviewed stated their antipathy to foods which are of a dark-green color, giving no reasons beyond the dislike of the color and adding that the taste has taken on the same negative tone.

A considerable amount of our data indicates that antipathies are related to primary sense areas. The weight of the evidence favors the single area, although there are cases where individuals were found to be antipathetic through two senses to a single object. The explanation is that these

¹ Examples: pictures hanging askant; woolly things; unpleasant odors; blood; shrill sounds; paper folded unevenly; the taste of marshmallows; a harsh female voice; kissing a baby; "streaky" dishes; women mothering dogs.

should be regarded as separate antipathies which are set off by the same stimulus.

There is a fairly strong fixation about antipathies, for many people who aided in this study declared that they would not like to experiment with their "dislikes."² The matter is settled as far as they are concerned, but it was not found that such sensory experiences are permanently attached to those who hold them. They were not disturbed by the fact that they did not know the origin of their antipathies. Many were not interested in learning whether their feelings of aversion were rare or common, nor did they express any anxiety about getting rid of them.

Another important characteristic of antipathies is that they are marginal to reflective consciousness. This was shown repeatedly by the remarks made by our subjects that they had never thought much about their antipathies, never had tried to analyze them or to discuss them with other people. This might not be significant if antipathies were exceptional phenomena, but this study disclosed an average of 21 per person for the 1,200 cases. We identified 1,256 different antipathies, of which 37.9 per cent were human physical traits and were related to parts of clothing or to mannerisms. Since these were attached to individuals, they appear to be capable of affecting social interaction in proportion to the degree of their intensity. These facts make one realize that antipathies are commoner than we had assumed.

There is a striking similarity between antipathies and allergies. But the differences are even greater.

1. We note that allergies are physiological (or chemical) in nature, while antipathies appear to be psychological, perhaps emotional in some cases.

² Examples: the taste of raw fish; oriental coffee; a buzzing sound in the telephone receiver; the odor of boiling liver; the taste of cod-liver oil; the sight of scab or a sore; "anyone touching the chair I am sitting in"; neckties worn askew; a person singing "flat" notes; a piano that is out of tune; pouting lips; large nostrils; black watery eyes; a familiar hymn sung in a foreign tongue; sight of a wound.

2. Antipathies are "feelings against" objects but allergies act much too slowly to produce any quick avoidance. In many allergies the negative reaction does not take place at all.

3. A person may be allergic to an object to which he is not antipathetic or vice versa. An individual may, in fact, show a decided liking for the object to which he is allergic. This trait bears no similarity to antipathetic behavior.

4. Often one does not know what causes his allergy, and it must be discovered by medical observation. In contrast to this, one has no difficulty in finding his antipathetic objects, for his senses make them known to him. One may have hay fever and not know what a ragweed looks like, but if he dislikes the odor of fish glue he has no difficulty in locating the object.

5. Allergies often so affect the organism that there is a prolonged and even incapacitating aftereffect. The writer has never found this in the case of antipathies.

6. Some antipathies are picked up from other persons. It is exceedingly doubtful if allergies are learned.

7. Antipathies are directly related to the primary sense areas, but allergies may operate in the organism without irritating any major nerve center.

We tend to underestimate the social role of antipathies because, for one thing, they seldom force us to deal with them on an intellectual level. It is difficult for people to analyze their own antipathies because sensory experiences are nearly always hard to describe; an effort to do so usually results in likening them to something similar. This would fail, however, where two people have not had the same experience. We can also imagine how one who feels our antipathy would simply withdraw, even when it meant avoiding people, and yet fail to realize how they feel about his behavior.

Another factor in our failure to appreciate the social importance of antipathies is that the objects which serve as stimuli are treated by the individual as nonresponding. In consequence, the individual does not see

any necessity of setting barriers against the object of antipathy or of making plans to control it.

The individual, furthermore, does not feel that his experiences are subject to ethical evaluation, for he sees neither good nor evil in them. His behavior appears to be without fault, of no social consequence, and of no interest to others. We cannot quite agree with him.

One may wish to ask whether antipathies have any use and, if so, what it is. The answer is in the affirmative: they fit into a set of protective devices. Their particular function is to protect the organism by producing defensive behavior on the sensory level without absorbing attention or calling upon the intellect. A person withdraws from certain objects because they feel, look, taste, or smell unpleasant, or, stated otherwise, the organism moves to shield itself from irritating contacts.³

The mind does not enter into the experience in order to analyze the meaning of the contact or to govern the organism and thereby to decide whether danger is actually present or not. Scores of cases could be presented to show that withdrawals are often from objects which would do the organism no harm; but that would be a logical deduction, and logic does not operate in antipathetic behavior. Through many interviews it became evident that reasoning does not penetrate to the sensory level of antipathies; therefore their voluntary elimination does not appear very probable.

A study of the geographical distribution of antipathetic objects shows that they have a loose but constant relationship to culture areas. This becomes evident when one recalls that people cannot be antipathetic to objects with which they have had no experience. Thus antipathies which are found among pre-literates might vary con-

siderably from those known to people in urban areas; some held in the South might not be found in the North. This seems to refute the idea that some antipathies are innate or due to organic peculiarities.⁴

We have abundant evidence to show that people are able to take up antipathies from their cultural environment. For instance, antipathies to foods refer to those which are found in a given vicinity, some of which, like garlic, may have been introduced from other cultures.

If one were to judge by the origin of the words "sympathy" and "antipathy," one might say that one is the antithesis of the other. Whether we use the popular understanding of "sympathy" or the more precise sociological meaning, we can readily see that the two are not opposites.

1. Sympathy means a "feeling with" objects; and that distinguishes it from antipathy. Moreover, sympathy involves some reasoning and is thus on a level with social values and above antipathy.

2. Sympathy usually indicates a sharing of the joy or sorrow that another feels. At the least, it leads to an understanding of the other and consequently tends to bring personalities into closer social interaction. One doubts if it could be reduced to the level of "consciousness of kind" or "gregariousness," since they descend too deeply to be called sympathetic relationships. For two organisms to be in sympathetic contact, they must have similar sensory equipment. This neurological likeness may exist only in imagination, as in the case of the little girl who is sad when her doll is ill. This identification of feeling may also be seen in the story of a woman who sympathizes with her cat when it bears kittens or of the master who sat sadly by his dog as it licked its wounds.

3. In antipathy there is usually no in-

³ The odor of burning rubber, "whiskey breath," cigar stubs or halitosis; the sight of sharp or pointed objects, bowlegged persons, or hands with very stubby fingers; the touch of anything slimy, a cripple, or another's soiled linen; the sound of chalk squeaking on a blackboard or people who sniff nervously when talking.

⁴ Examples: the feel of peaches; the odor of garlic; the color of boiled spinach; the looks of people who have very deep-set eyes; the odor of printer's ink; the sight of gilt on postcards; guttural speech; rice cooked in olive oil; shuffling the feet instead of handclapping to register applause.

dication that the individual recognizes any sensory equipment at all in the object. This means that an individual is unable to sense the experiences of the object. It holds just as true for the individual bearing a repellent mark as for an inanimate object, and it is one of the chief barriers to the alleviation of prejudice.

4. Sympathy and antipathy both represent an identification with objects, and the attraction or repulsion may be equally strong, but the attitudes behind them differ both in kind and in polarity. An antipathy is not toward a whole person, for it does not invade the realm of personality, even when it appears to do so. It is always directed toward some particular mark. That is why one person can withdraw from another, when the latter bears some disliked trait. This introduces the problem of interpersonal relationships: antipathy may be extended to many people when antipathy is felt to one characteristic. Numerous interviews demonstrate that people may be thus avoided; they may still have likable traits; yet there is no way of avoiding the disliked object without also keeping away from the individual.⁵

5. Of the two feelings, sympathy is awakened much more slowly, for one may avoid a person who bears an antipathetic trait, then recall later that one should have been sympathetic. It is possible, for instance, to be antipathetic to crossed eyes and yet sympathetic with the individual. However desirable such an awakening may be, it does not happen often: antipathies usually do not arouse sympathetic sentiments. Indeed, they often preclude the development of sympathetic social interaction, as in those cases where race prejudice is supported by antipathies. We would be very close to reality if we spoke of "response" in matters arousing sympathy and of "reaction" where antipathy operates.

⁵ Examples: persons who are very fat; who have a nasal laugh; who have very oily hair; who chew food audibly; who have a deformed face, crooked teeth, very pale blue eyes, or coal-black eyes; who stutter; "who have a steady fixed gaze when looking at me."

6. Sympathy is almost always directed toward human beings, occasionally to pets, rarely to plants, and only in extreme cases to inanimate objects, whereas antipathy is frequently directed to nonliving things or to parts of human beings. Sympathy is ordinarily saturated with sentiment, at least in the popular use of the term, while antipathy clings to sensory experiences. Since they function on different perceptual levels, there is little chance of their meeting. Thus efforts made to reduce prejudices to sympathetic relationships will encounter antipathies which are not readily susceptible to sentimental appeals. For these reasons sympathy and antipathy are not antitheses.

Such marks as shade of pigmentation, prognathism, ulotrichous hair, the epicanthic fold, ultra-brachycephalic craniums, or any others which distinguish one group from another may be antipathetically regarded. The sensory effect tends to accentuate group consciousness, but not on an intellectual level. Although people may not openly discuss their own antipathies or those which they hold to given marks of another group, nevertheless their attitudes may be effectively passed from one person to another through gestures, grimaces, puns, intimations, veiled references, and in similar ways. All these act as suggestions, and none of them calls for conversation. Understanding is possible on this lowly level, and behavior on the basis of this accord is also possible, even collective action.

Our data do not as yet show that a particular antipathy may become a prejudice. Both are found in association with human behavior. Antipathies can and do exist separately from prejudice, but it is doubtful whether a prejudice can exist without antipathy. Prejudices are compounds of antipathies, which provide the physiological stimulus, and the "reasons" which make it seem necessary and logical to "keep him in his place." People can talk about these "reasons" but not about antipathies. The latter only reveal their role when a prejudice is dismembered, part by part, reason by reason, and every defense exposed for examina-

tion. When the owner of the prejudice has exhausted pseudo-logic, he falls back on the repulsiveness of those to whose traits he is antipathetic. His defenses are designed to protect whatever social value the prejudice shields, and antipathies supply the "feelings against" the prejudicial objects.

Prejudices cannot be permanently removed as long as the roots remain from which new rationalizations may spring. They cannot be touched by reason, argument, logic, sympathy, religion, or threats.

A group that finds it bears cultural traits which are disagreeable to other groups may succeed in time in getting rid of them. Certain food, peculiar articles of clothing or adornment, odd forms of speech, have been known to retard the process of assimilation. Where antipathies are pronounced, they prevent the intimacies which are essential to the fusion of cultures.

Hereditary physical marks can be eliminated only by commixture of the chromosomes. They do not readily vanish during the period of accommodation. Consequently, it is much more difficult for a minority group which is marked by disliked physical traits to become absorbed in a large population than it is for those groups which are distinguished only by cultural differences.

It is of importance to consider the origins of antipathies. We do not have the evidence to call them all innate. We know that some people are exceptionally sensitive in such matters as tone discrimination, and it may be that they would easily take to likes and dislikes.

A second source appears in learning. Parents are not always able to convince their children through persuasion that certain objects are unclean so they transmit

sense experiences by wry faces, gestures of disgust, hawking, spitting, vomiting, shivering, shaking off. It is, perhaps, all in mimicry, but it is impressive to a child too young to take words seriously. The same process goes on between adults, but this time by slightly more sophisticated gestures, such as raising the eyebrows, holding the nostrils, jeering, blowing, mimic expectoration, scowling, shrugging—each of which is understood without words. Phrases and scenes in literature and films may have a similar effect.

A third source is in unpleasant or shocking experiences which become associated with some object, whether this be a trait of some conceptualized individual or an inanimate object.

There may be additional sources of antipathies. These three are evident now, and others may make their appearance as the study continues.

Never before have the peoples, the cultures, the races of the earth been thrown into such abrupt and intimate contacts as during the present decade. Cultural areas which for centuries have grown up in their own manner now find that they are exposed to many others, some familiar and similar, others strange and very different. As people contemplate odd folkways, foreign food, different mannerisms, peculiar dress, unfamiliar speech, novel beliefs, and startling mores, they may be tempted to make ethnocentric comparisons, biased in favor of the familiar, the traditional, the "right." Where prejudices arise, these negative sensory experiences play an important part.

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE
FULTON, MISSOURI

ETHNIC BEHAVIOR IN INDUSTRY: SPONSORSHIP AND REJECTION IN A NEW ENGLAND FACTORY

ORVIS COLLINS

ABSTRACT

Since in industry the job is the symbol of status, the pattern of sponsorship and rejection is related to the ethnic social stratification of the community. Analysis of behavior in a New England factory reveals an informal ethnic system of job occupancy and of expectation in promotion. When management promotes in accordance with this system, its selections are accepted by labor, but when promotions not in accordance with the established pattern are proposed, labor adopts informal and effective action to reject them.

There is fairly general agreement that within the factory the *job*, with its implicit reference to skill, income, and social "connections," is the most important criterion used by individuals for ranking themselves socially. "Job" is an all-inclusive term. It includes not only major differences in work (such as those between foreman and safety engineer) but also such subtle differences as the round of work performed by two men on identical machines but handling different types of materials. Among workers, assignment to a particularly easy job will usually call forth the envious comment: "That's not a job, that's a position"; or "Since when have they been pensioning guys your age around here." Among supervisors and members of management jobs are often measured—in the course of conversation—in terms of responsibility, the number of individuals placed under the job-holder in the formal plant hierarchy, or the amount of freedom to move about which the job allows the individual. The advantages and disadvantages of certain jobs are discussed again and again. Therefore, examination of the phenomena which are a part of job occupancy and of promotion is relevant to the study of factory social structures.

It is one of the shibboleths of modern management that advancement from job to job must be based on efficiency. By "efficiency" is meant the capacity to do work. Management argues that, if an institution is to continue to function, the majority of its members (in this case job-holders) must

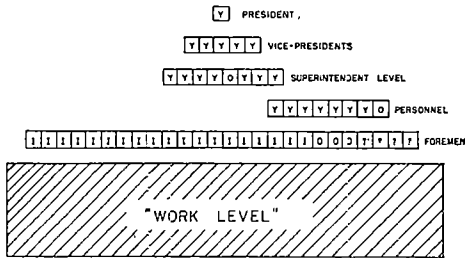
have at least a minimum capacity for performing their individual functions. Within the factory such attributes as physical strength, education, and age are all at one time or another implied by the term "capacity to do work." To a production engineer a division of labor is necessary, since, for one reason, a 200-pound male can perform certain work more efficiently than a 110-pound female; a man of thirty is able to perform certain physical tasks too great for the strength of the average man of sixty-five; and a graduate of an engineering school can perform work involving mathematics quite beyond a person who left school in the eighth grade.

Once, however, several candidates are admitted to possess the technical efficiency required for performance of the work, other qualifications become important. And at Somerset, a New England factory, the most important of these is the ethnic identification of the individuals involved. In this factory individuals must be ethnically qualified to hold certain jobs, a circumstance which has resulted in the development of a pattern of ethnic job expectations, sponsorship, and rejection. This paper is an analysis of the system in operation, with a description of the maneuvers which accompanied attempted promotions on the part of one group and those which accompanied successful or unsuccessful attempts to reject these promotions.

I gathered the information which will be used to demonstrate the presence and func-

tioning of this system during two years while employed as a workman at Somerset, a management-owned industry employing a labor force which varied between 1,800 and 2,000. Officially I was first a moveman and later a cutting-machine operator. While these were my formal duties, I was also editor of the union local's news-bulletin, secretary of the Labor-Management Committee, and a member of the contract-negotiating committee. Thus it was possible for me to observe the interrelationships of the plant system at crucial points at which labor interacted with management.

CHART I
JOB-ETHNIC HIERARCHY



Y=Yankee; I=Irish; O=Other than Yankee or Irish; ?=Not identified. The non-Yankee at the superintendent level is a testing engineer. The non-Yankee member of the personnel group is a young Italian who does safety cartoons and acts as general errand boy.

The give-and-take of negotiating, the intrigue attendant upon advancing both group policies and the personal ambitions of union leaders, the "horse-trading" among union cliques and between labor and management, and the pressures used by each group to keep its own members in line are all an integral part of the factory social system which cannot be better reached by more formal techniques of research. Herein lies the peculiar advantage of what has been called the "participant-observer" techniques of investigation.¹

¹ It is to be confessed that my role was often more participant than observer. My note-taking was sporadic, discontinued sometimes for several months, but supplemented by a diary written each day. Copies of the plant news organ, committee reports,

I soon became aware of an ethnic structure within the factory; among my fellow-workers expression of this fact was often made. A Negro friend remarked, "You got to be a Mason or a Catholic to get anywhere around here." When I asked about one of the Irish foremen, a fellow-worker said, "With a name like Collins you'll fit with him all right." Later it became apparent that there existed at Somerset a clearly definable system of ethnic sponsorship in matters of promotion. The proposition here will be that, whatever other considerations may have been involved in the promotion of employees, one of the key issues was always the ethnic identification of the individual proposed for promotion. Nationality or race was almost never explicitly declared to be a consideration in these situations but was always present.

Chart I is a representation of the ethnic-job hierarchy at Somerset. The letters Y, I, and O have been used to indicate three categories: Yankees, Irish, and Others. In the category "Others" are those individuals included in a labor force recruited from a community similar in ethnic diversity to that of "Yankee City."²

It should be pointed out that in such an urban-ethnic area family names are important as one of the most obvious ethnic symbols, but they are not always reliable as such. A newcomer to any group is immediately placed by his name. Later other factors may qualify or even nullify this early judgment. For this reason anyone who has lived in a New England urban area learns a new respect for the adage, "What's in a name?" Shea, for instance, may be the "handle" of a "lace-curtain" (or, for that matter, a "shanty") Irishman, but it was borne also by an eminent officer of the American Revolutionary Army. During my stay at Somerset there were three members of lower top management whose names

grievance records, and similar materials were gathered for future use.

² W. L. Warner *et al.*, "Yankee City Series," I, 211-25; II, 72-106; and Vol. III.

seemed to indicate that they had other than good English blood in their veins. No matter, however, what may have been the indiscretions of their ancestors, Holzer, O'Brian, and Orlando had adopted all the Yankee symbols, including a typical Yankee abhorrence for what many Yankees consider a typical Irish invention—the union shop with its forced extortion of dues from factory employees. For this reason they have been placed on the chart as Yankee, rather than as Old German, Old Irish, and Old Italian.

Furthermore, wherever an ethnic status system develops, there is likely to develop a pattern of name-changing. During my stay at Somerset I think I heard this story, or variations of it, at least half-a-dozen times:

You know the ditty,

"Here's to Boston, the land of the bean
and the cod

Where the Cabots speak only to Lowells
And the Lowells speak only to God."

Well, Judge So-and-so after a hard day at the bench during which he had taken care of numerous pleas by various foreign gentlemen came home and said to his wife:

"Here's to Boston, the land of the bean
and the cod

Where the Cabots have no one to speak to,
The Lowells speak Polish, by God."

For "Polish" is substituted "Yiddish," "Guinea" (Italian), "Russian," "Slovak," or the language of whatever ethnic group the storyteller may be using as his target. Such a story illustrates the feeling entertained by individuals of English-speaking stock about the "borrowing" of one of their most prized symbols by individuals socially subordinate but upwardly mobile.

But the same Yankees who defend this name symbol through ridicule at one time forced English names on newcomers to New England. Industrial organizations, and Somerset was very much among them, went in heavily during one period for what was called "hiring off the dock." Through the merits of this system the newly arrived European found himself possessed of (or by, if

you choose) an already prepared lodging, a job, and a new name pronounceable by English tongues. The employers in turn obtained a new workman whose peasant soul had not been besmirched by the Irish heresies of wages, hours, and working conditions. Tony Taylor, Joe Brown, and Chris Cook were typical recipients of such New England generosity.

For these reasons I have placed a question mark after some of the foreman positions. There were twenty-six foremen, and I do not feel that I knew enough about some of them to judge their ethnic identification.

Chart I indicates not only that certain jobs were held by the ethnically acceptable but that large areas of the plant hierarchy are almost completely occupied by members of one ethnic group. Jobs of managerial type are held by individuals of native or Yankee stock, and jobs of supervisory nature are held almost exclusively by Irish. "He is a foreman, although not Irish," is a succinct and commonly made statement of a Somerset pattern of expectation: the exception calls forth comment. One can see also that a member of top management, a superintendent, for example, can be expected to be a Yankee and that the personnel department is Yankee-monopolized.

If, then, the Irish- and Yankee-held positions as shown by the chart are separated by encircling, two sharply defined areas are set up. These areas quite clearly coincide with the management and with the supervisory areas of the factory structure. In the remaining portion of the chart are the individuals at the working level. As they are represented, they appear to be an undifferentiated mass. If, however, it were our purpose here to examine them more closely, we should find that there also are certain structures of job occupancy among the worker group.

Because this ethnic pattern of job occupancy has existed so long at Somerset (the company was established about 1890), an ethnic pattern of expectation has developed. What happens to the social organization and to the individuals when these expecta-

tions are upset? It should, I suppose, be pointed out that, when I speak of "job expectation," I have in mind not what the individual expects for himself (which is the usual meaning conveyed by the word) but the fact that a significant number of the people participating share the expectation that a person of certain identification will be promoted to fill a vacancy or a newly created job. In other words, this is a social, as distinct from an individual, expectation.

Since most of the foremen at Somerset are Irish, both Irish and non-Irish have come to expect newly appointed members of supervision to be Irish. This does not mean that all individuals in this position must be Irish, but it does mean that, when management appoints a non-Irish person to a supervisory job, it should be very sure that it has an especially good reason for making the appointment.

Since members of both management and labor have learned to recognize this system of ethnic job expectations and know fairly well how to adapt themselves to it, promotions are made year after year without, in the majority of cases, conflicts developing. But, when the pattern is violated, there is usually trouble.

Management, of course, has the formal prerogative of selecting whichever individuals it feels are capable of filling openings, and this is explicitly recognized by the union. Any action, therefore, which develops in opposition to a promotion is highly informal, as the following illustrates.

In the spring of 1942 the subforemen in charge of one of the special-treating work groups decided to go into the armed services. Sullivan had been "Old Country" Irish and was exceedingly popular with his men. When he left, the management announced that a Yankee by the name of Peters was to replace him. Peters had been in the department a considerable length of time and seems to have been well liked by the other men. But, when I came to work on the second shift, I heard that there had been a threat of a walkout in the special-treating department. I do not recall the exact conver-

sation, but most of the discussion was centered around Donovan, another employee of the department, who the men seemed to think should have been given the job.

A walkout materialized and lasted for one shift. From examination of the grievance records and through talking, a year later, with some of the principals involved, I was able to piece together this story:

When the president of the local heard that a walkout was threatened in the special-treating department, he and the business agent made a tour of the plant and, according to the story they told, informed all employees that the walkout was "wildcat" and not supported by the local. According to the president of the company, however, the labor leaders did not actively discourage the walkout—but informed the workmen that the local was "neutral."

A formal grievance was lodged with management charging that Donovan had been discriminated against. Obviously the local did not have a legal leg to stand on, since the right of promotion is vested in management. I do not know that either side took the grievance statement seriously. The filing of the grievance merely served as an excuse for the men to return to work while the local handled matters through regular channels. But social pressure within a tightly integrated work group is terrific. Several days later Peters, the Yankee, failed to come to work, the report was circulated that he was ill, and management selected a man named Murphy to take over for him. Peters did not return to work, and Murphy was later made subforeman.

I was fortunate in having a chance later to talk over what happened with one of the members of the special-treating department. He explained it this way: "Management went over Conner's [the foreman's] head by making one of his subforemen for him. It wasn't right, and Holzer [the plant manager] knew it; but he did it anyway, and Conner couldn't make a peep. No [in answer to a question], we weren't backing Conner specially; we just did what was right."

The group rationalization seems to have

been: It has always been the duty of the foreman to help choose his subforemen, but management appointed a subforeman, a Yankee, without consulting the foreman under whom he was to work. If Conner had not been cheated of this privilege, he would have insisted upon an Irish assistant. Donovan is Irish and the leader of the gang; therefore, it is up to us to see that Donovan gets the job by inducing the Yankee, Peters, to leave. But if Murphy gets the job that's all right because he is Irish, too. That is the sort of situation which arose when management failed to promote in accordance with the expectations of the individuals involved. In this instance the labor group clearly demonstrated its ability to reject a promotion which did not fit into the ethnic pattern.

Incidentally, Murphy and Donovan "fitted" and were friendly after this episode. They were seen together constantly at the bowling alleys. One inference might be that Murphy had aided rather than injured Donovan by accepting the job. Another Yankee chosen to replace Peters would probably have had a rather rough time of it.

It is significant, however, that no opposition is given to Yankees promoted to fill jobs within the area of the hierarchy dominated by Yankees. At Somerset staff jobs of a certain type are distinguished by the term "administrative." Personnel jobs are always spoken of as "administrative," and jobs of this sort are pretty well monopolized by Yankees. Accordingly, when wartime expansion made necessary a series of new administrative posts, the management without exception selected Yankees to fill them. Fawn, for instance, who had worked several years in the rubber-treating department as a clerk, was chosen safety engineer. Stillwell, who had been a clerk in the container department, was placed in charge of a foreman-training program. And, most significant, the man appointed director of the newly organized personnel department was an engineer by the name of Ball. Each of these men had two things in common. They were not from the labor group and they

were Yankees. For these reasons promotion through the supervisory structure had been pretty definitely closed for them. What, however, was the non-Yankee attitude toward them as recipients of the new jobs? They accepted the three men because they were well liked by the foremen and by the union leaders, the two most important non-Yankee groups.

Sometimes, when a new job is created, the people involved are not sure whether it is a supervisory or an administrative position. This does not often happen, but I was able to observe one such incident.

During wartime expansion Somerset had overlooked the need for improved toilet and janitorial facilities. In one of the earlier labor-management meetings a discussion of these conditions was introduced, and after several weeks of debate, of "kicking the thing around," it was agreed that a new department should be organized under the auspices of the safety and health subcommittee of the Labor-Management Committee. This new department was to be known as the "Central Janitor Service," and the janitors from each department were to be reassigned to it. Management agreed that if the safety and health subcommittee (one of whose members was the vice-president in charge of production) was to assume responsibility for plant cleanliness, management would not interfere with its running of the janitor service without the prior approval of the central group of the Labor-Management Committee.

This was an explicit but verbal agreement between management and labor. At first blush it seems impossible that a misunderstanding could arise. But the project immediately hit a snag. The labor members insisted that the choice of a "janitor foreman" was in line with the other duties of the safety and health subcommittee. Management was indignant: its prerogatives were being encroached upon. But after several caucuses management agreed that if labor would have candidates submit their names, management might select the new janitor foreman from among them. The

labor nominations were, with one exception, both workingmen and Irish. Management rejected all of them.

Several days later management posted notices that applications for "Sanitation Engineer" would be accepted and immediately chose Roundtree, who was Yankee and a plant guard.

The repercussions were violent, but the appointment "stuck." By changing the title of the new job from "foreman" to "engineer," management had removed the job from *supervision* to *administration*. It was clear that if the job could be placed under administration, it was entirely different from what labor had conceived it to be. Through the mechanism of a change of title,

management had upset the social logic by which labor had concluded that the job was supervisory and should be secured for an Irishman. Labor's argument had lost its force.

This analysis of three situations has illustrated the functioning of a system of ethnic sponsorship and rejection in one New England factory. The system is part of the social matrix in which it appears and not an isolated phenomenon. Examination of promotion situations in other factories in which clearly defined ethnic job stratification exists should yield information of value to students of the social structure of industrial organizations.

CHICAGO

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN GERMAN PIONEERS AND OTHER NATIONALITIES IN MINNESOTA IN 1860 AND 1870¹

HILDEGARD BINDER JOHNSON

ABSTRACT

All intermarriages between German immigrants and other nationals recorded in Minnesota in the manuscript census lists for 1860 and 1870 were counted by city wards, cities, townships, and counties. Mixed marriages were between 2.6 and 9.1 per cent of endogamic marriages in 1860—depending on whether "German" is defined to include such marginal people as, for instance, Alsations—and between 4.01 and 13.6 per cent of endogamic marriages in 1870. The distribution was found to be diversified. The originally sparse distribution of the pioneers and increasing urbanization induced intermarriage. The study provides basic historical data for the testing of the "melting-pot" theory.

Intermarriage has been called "the final test of assimilation."² It should then be significant to study this subject with respect to the Germans, the largest non-English immigrant group in the United States, for different periods in the history of their diversified immigration. The material presented in this study of an earlier generation was derived from a hand count of the manuscript censuses for Minnesota in 1860 and 1870. It therefore represents a complete enumeration for each of the two years with respect to one nationality in a pioneer state.

The method of this count has been discussed elsewhere.³ We do not know when the immigrants arrived in the United States or at which age. They may have come as small children with their parents, or they may have been in the country for a very

short time before they married. A German married to a German without German-born children may have lived in this country for a longer period than a German married to an American with American children. Intermarriages between Germans and other non-American nationals might have been contracted abroad; children born in Germany or elsewhere in Europe may indicate this fact. The problem of the length of stay in this country with respect to the marriage partners could not be solved even for recent intermarriages in studies based on marriage licenses. In this study we shall not ask when and how the intermarriages could occur but where they were found in a middle western state, with whom they were contracted, and how they were distributed. To know the number and character of intermarriages among the Germans in a pioneer state means to ascertain the starting-point for the fusion of one nationality with others in the American melting-pot.

In 1860, 18,400 persons living in Minnesota were born in Germany; by 1870, their number had risen to 48,457. The number of persons of purely German blood, called "German stock," rose from 27,309 to 79,345 during the decade, representing 15.8 and 18.04 per cent of the total population of the state. It has been explained elsewhere why Swiss, Austrians, and Luxemburgers with their children were included in the count of German stock.⁴ For this investigation it is

¹ The author wishes to express her indebtedness to the Social Science Research Council for a grant-in-aid in 1941 to study German immigration in Minnesota.

² Lowry Nelson, "Intermarriage among Nationality groups in a Rural Area of Minnesota," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVII, No. 2 (March, 1943), 585.

³ Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *Rural Sociology*, XVI, No. 1 (March, 1941), 16-34. The original count was made in such a fashion as to make possible further studies, such as those about intermarriages. All non-German persons married to German-born immigrants were listed under the smallest units available, i.e., townships and wards in cities and their countries or places of birth were excerpted.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

important to remember that marriages between, for instance, a Swiss and a Badener, a Luxemburger and a Rhinelander, or an Austrian and a Bavarian were not counted as intermarriages. The most recent study of population trends in Minnesota includes in the "German group" persons born in Holland, Switzerland, and post-war Austria.⁵ There is no doubt that a marriage between a person born in Holland and one born in Germany can mean a purely German marriage in ethnological, cultural, and linguistic respects. Many of these marriages as they were listed in the manuscript census must have been contracted in Europe, because one or more children were born abroad before an American-born child was added to the family. Yet the Dutch preserved distinguishing language characteristics for some time, while, for instance, Swiss newspapers in this country are printed in German and the only history about the immigration from Luxemburg was written in German.⁶ With the exception of a small group in Houston County in 1860, a marriage between a German and a Hollander was counted as an intermarriage.⁷

Marriages between French and Germans constituted a difficult problem. For the years under consideration in Minnesota they were probably purely German marriages. A large number of natives from Alsace and Lorraine who gave their country of birth as "France" were really German by descent and language.⁸ Whenever the man came from "France," his name was clearly German. Sometimes children born in Germany or in one of the German states neigh-

boring the two French provinces indicate that the couple had lived in Germany for some time before emigration. Until 1871, when the two provinces were returned to Germany, German emigrants from Alsace and Lorraine far outnumbered French-speaking emigrants. But to classify the "French" as German, if only in this case, seemed an extraordinary procedure which might jeopardize the comparability with other studies. They will receive special attention when it is indicated.

The genuineness of an intermarriage seemed also somewhat doubtful when the names of men born in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary indicated that they were of German descent. By the middle of the nineteenth century Germans had spread over the political frontiers of Germany toward the east, and members of German population islands in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Russia were persistent in their adherence to German customs and language, be it in eastern Europe or, after emigration, in America. Still, their number is negligible.

In the original count German family heads were counted separately from German-born persons and from German stock. The intermarriages were counted so as to make it possible to determine the sex involved.⁹ Thus the number of purely German marriages was obtained by subtracting the number of non-German women married to German men from the number of German family heads. Not all counties reported German settlers, and in some counties which did no intermarriage had occurred.

The intermarriages were counted and tabulated. For 38 counties in 1860 and for 50 counties in 1870 the number of intermarriages were listed according to the nationalities of the non-German partners divided into male and female groups and also the total number of intermarriages for each county. Table 3¹⁰ lists the states of origin of native

⁵ R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *Population Trends in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), p. 24.

⁶ Ns. Gonner, *Die Luxemburger in der Neuen Welt* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1889).

⁷ Six intermarriages between Germans and persons born in "Holland, Germany," partly with German-born children, were not counted as intermarriages in Mayville Township, Houston County, 1860, because of the obvious intent of the informant.

⁸ Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 329.

⁹ The system can be recognized from a reproduction of a page from the count in Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁰ The tables, which could not be published for technical reasons, will be readily furnished to readers upon their request by the author.

Americans married to German immigrants in both years and the number of these native Americans. In Table 4 the percentages of mixed marriages from purely German marriages in 1860 and 1870 were computed for 19 counties in which the percentage of German stock was higher than 10. Seven of these counties reported more than 25 per cent of German stock in 1860 and more than 35 per cent in 1870. In Table 5 the townships with lowest and highest percentages of German stock in these 7 counties are listed, with their respective intermarriage ratios. In Table 6 certain urban and rural areas with approximately equal proportions of German stock are compared with respect to their intermarriage ratio.

In 1860, 5,374 purely German marriages were counted and 492 intermarriages. This means that for approximately one hundred German couples in Minnesota nine could be found where one partner was not German-born. This percentage may seem high or low for pioneer society; but it is quite certainly an exaggeration. An analysis of the nationalities of the non-German marriage partners shows that 66 of these 492 marriages were contracted between Germans and French and therefore quite likely to be German, too.

It is more difficult to evaluate the 267 intermarriages between Germans and native Americans, a relatively high number. Of these, 162 came from New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. These were the states which provided the greatest number of American migrants to Minnesota; at the same time they were the states with large proportions of Germans. Only thirty-five native Americans married to Germans came from Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois. This may partly be explained by the pioneer character of these regions and the nonexistence of a sufficiently large native population born in these states. We also are reminded of the typical progress of the young single immigrant as he appears in literature, immigrant letters, and biographies which abound in county histories: The young man, usually of military age (fear of draft was a main cause of emigration), traveled via

Hamburg, Bremen, or Le Havre and arrived in New York, usually with a group from his own village or one to which he had attached himself on the boat. He lived for some time with friends or relatives in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, or Cincinnati and worked wherever opportunity offered until he could establish himself at his trade or profession or buy a farm. Whether he met his future wife among other immigrants or among the second or third generation of older immigrant families depended upon chance.

Many of the numerous novels and stories written by German immigrants of the nineteenth century describe the difficulties which confronted young German men and women when they tried to mix socially with non-German groups. German-American literature invariably found the solution in the marriage with a partner of purely German blood. In reality, intermarriages did take place. But sociologists also have observed that immigrants tend to marry into their own ethnic group in the American population.¹¹ These marriages usually were contracted before the couple went west. That the man from Pennsylvania or Ohio or the woman from New York or Indiana met and married their German-born partners in their own states and not after independent arrival in Minnesota is proved by a great number of cases in which children were born to such marriages in the state of the native American father or mother. Consequently, intermarriages with persons born in New England states are negligible. Of the southern states, only Missouri, with twelve intermarriages, is worth mentioning. Germans who had traveled via New Orleans liked to stop in the German quarters of St. Louis before proceeding farther north.

Thus 267 intermarriages with native Americans are very doubtful as to their truly mixed character. Sixty-eight marriages with French are most doubtful for the reasons given above. Finally, 20 intermarriages between Germans and other nationals with children born in Germany or neighboring European countries cannot be con-

¹¹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 586.

sidered as an outcome of the melting-pot process, because they were contracted before emigration. Only about 150 intermarriages represented a true mixture—a very modest beginning of the fusion that we partly assumed and partly proved for the second and third generation.

By 1870 the number of German family heads had increased to 14,941; purely German marriages numbered 13,562; and mixed marriages numbered 1,850. The percentage the latter makes of the former is 13.64. This rate is considerably higher than the rate in 1860.

There were other changes: The total number of non-German men who married German women was 139 in 1860 and 471 in 1870; that is, the percentage of non-German men in intermarriages dropped slightly from 37 to 34. The absolute number of marriages between Germans and native Americans increased from 267 to 1,177; that is, from 54.2 to 63.6 per cent during the decade. Of these 1,177, 803 were born in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Illinois and Indiana together did not contribute as much as either of the first four states. Wisconsin, ranking as the eighth state in 1860, had become the fourth state ten years later.¹² Eight persons had come from Wisconsin in 1860 and 166 in 1870 to settle with Germans in Minnesota. The explanation probably is found in improved transportation between Milwaukee and Minnesota and in the development of the St. Paul-Milwaukee railroad in the late sixties, which made Minnesota more accessible to those who had traveled to Wisconsin via the Great Lakes. Hitherto many Germans had come from Europe to Minnesota via New Orleans and St. Louis. This route became less important during the second half of the century. By 1870, 48 marriages between Germans and persons born in Missouri were listed, as compared with 166 for Wisconsin.

¹² Murchie and Jarchow (*op. cit.*, pp. 40-41) enumerate the states in which Minnesotan settlers were born in the following order: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Maine; but they offer no comment as to the reasons for this order.

In both years intermarriages with native Americans amounted to more than half of all intermarriages counted. Those with French followed and then those with Irish. But, during the decade, intermarriages with Irish had increased by 215 per cent, while all intermarriages had increased by 380 per cent. In 1870 only two intermarriages between German and Irish were recorded in Stearns County, which was predominantly Catholic and contained a considerable number of Irish settlers, normally of Catholic faith. In other counties with strong Catholic communities like Winona and Blue Earth the number of German-Irish marriages was also comparatively low: no German-Irish marriage was reported in Blue Earth in 1860 and only one in 1870. Four were reported in Winona in 1860 and seven in 1870. While we cannot assume that these intermarriages were contracted in the Middle West, we can expect to find German-Irish intermarriages chiefly in Catholic communities. Of 124 intermarriages in Stearns County, 101 had been contracted with native Americans. These native Americans must have been mostly Catholic, and in 1870 very few Americans were Catholic unless they were of German or Irish descent. Since intermarriages between Germans and Irish were generally rare, the assumption that most native Americans married to Germans were of German descent is strengthened.

Church affiliation has been recognized as an important factor in intermarriage. The impression is that religious barriers are stronger than nationality barriers. Frequently the two coincided. This was particularly true of pioneer society. Even the Catholic church, less nationalistic in character than any other religious body, was not able to break down barriers of nationality during the first and second generation. Where mixed Catholic parishes were founded, the Irish or German or French Canadians walked out and founded their own parish as soon as they could afford to build a church and to support a priest. It might be better to speak of the barrier of language rather than of

nationality.¹³ The data for Stearns County in 1870 offer excellent proof of the inability of the Catholic church to promote intermarriages between immigrants of different tongue.

Again, it is quite possible that the intermarriages between Germans and Americans were mostly endogamous and that 118 French married to Germans were of German tongue and descent. Of the marriages between Germans and non-American nationals, 58 had children born in Europe, and the marriages therefore were probably contracted before emigration. Of 1,850 intermarriages, only 544 were certain to be mixed marriages, which would lower the percentage considerably. Thus we can say that the percentage of intermarriages was between 2.6 and 9.1 in 1860 and between 4.01 and 13.6 in 1870. If we include the offspring of mixed marriages, that is, the children "at least half German," the percentages were 16.4 and 19.5 for the two years. These figures indicate a slight proportional increase of intermarriages during the decade. It remains to be seen which factors helped to decrease or increase intermarriage ratios in the same nationality group.

Residential propinquity has been recognized as an important factor in marriage selection.¹⁴ During the pioneer period national cohesion played a great part in drawing German settlers to certain districts and determined what partners would be accessible to the second generation.¹⁵ Thus it should be of interest to see whether the ratio of intermarriage was markedly different in districts of solid and in those of thin German settlements. For this purpose the inter-

marriage ratios of the state as a whole were compared with those of eighteen counties in 1860 which reported more than one hundred German heads of families and with those of twenty counties in 1870 which reported more than three hundred German heads of families. With the exception of Rice County in 1860, these were the same counties where the German stock represented more than 10 per cent of the total population in both years. The intermarriage ratio drops from 9.15 for the state to 8.1 per cent for eighteen counties in 1860 and from 13.64 for the state to 12.81 per cent for twenty counties in 1870. When the six "most German counties" where German stock amounted to more than 25 per cent in 1860 and to more than 35 per cent in 1870, are tabulated, the ratio drops to 7.69 in 1860 and to 9.6 in 1870. The decrease of the ratio is more marked in 1870, because the density in the six respective counties had reached higher proportion. The trend is continuous: the thinner the distribution, the higher the intermarriage ratio.

The same tendency is noticeable when townships with highest and lowest proportions of German stock in the same county are compared. Since the proportion of German stock changed during the decade in different townships, it was not always feasible to compare the same townships for both years. The intermarriage ratio in ten townships in 1860 and fourteen in 1870 varies greatly according to numerical and proportional distribution of the Germans and is inversely proportional.

Occasionally extreme cases occur: Hancock, Carver County, and Montgomery, Le Sueur County, with small German proportions reported no intermarriages at all. An extreme case in the opposite direction is Ottawa, Le Sueur County, in 1860, where two purely German and four intermarriages were counted. Again in Hampton, a township in Dakota County with 65.4 per cent Germans, there was not a single case of intermarriage of the twenty-two in the county. Finally, the true character of certain intermarriages, like the one in Arlington in

¹³ Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Factors Influencing the Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *Agricultural History*, XIX, No. 1 (January, 1945), 39-57.

¹⁴ J. H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity in Marriage in Carver and Scott Counties, Minnesota, as Compared with Branch County, Michigan," *Social Forces*, XX, No. 2 (December, 1941), 256-59.

¹⁵ Johnson, "Factors Influencing the Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 51, 57.

1860 between a Prussian and a woman from France or the one in Lafayette in 1870 between a Holsteiner and a woman from Denmark; might have been German in character and nullify the smallest ratio. In city wards also the intermarriage ratio declines with higher German proportions and increases with lower German proportions. These findings corroborate the findings on intermarriages in Wright County, Minnesota, in 1930-40.¹⁶ This indicates that the original distribution of the settlers has a persistent influence on the intermarriage ratio. It is an instance of the historical causality of the current pattern of social assimilation.

The relationship between intermarriage ratios and density of settlement does not explain the proportional increase of intermarriages between 1860 and 1870. Perhaps the comparison between urban and rural German communities can yield information. On the basis of the tendency just described only such units with approximately the same percentage of German stock were comparable. It also was desirable to compare neighboring units rather than, for instance, a newly settled rural township with a city ward of St. Paul. Therefore, the selection is limited to seven counties, and it was necessary to compare city wards in some cases and whole cities in others with rural townships of the same county. In Blue Earth, Hennepin, Ramsey, Stearns, and Winona counties the urban ratio was higher than the rural. Hastings in Dakota County is an exception to the general trend. With respect to New Ulm, in Brown County, where the intermarriage ratio was only 8.73 and slightly lower than in rural Cottonwood Township, it is possible that a high degree of national concentration counteracts the influence of urbanization. This possibility is also indicated by the intermarriage ratio of the first ward of St. Anthony, with 64.04 per cent of German stock and the low intermarriage ratio of

9.5. There was no comparable rural unit in Hennepin. The tendency is again confirmed, however, when the intermarriage ratio of 15.09 for the second ward of St. Anthony with 25.08 per cent of German stock is compared with that of the rural township of Corcoran, where it was 5 per cent lower. On the whole, urbanization favored intermarriage, and the growth of such cities as Minneapolis and St. Anthony, St. Paul and Winona, must have influenced the increase of intermarriages in Hennepin, Ramsey, and Winona counties. Between 1860 and 1870 in these counties, respectively, intermarriage grew from 23 to 109, from 76 to 187, and from 33 to 132.

There is no indication that pioneer life and the frontier promoted intermarriage and whatever it means for assimilation. Wherever consolidated German settlements were found directly on the frontier or in Dakota County, close to St. Paul, the intermarriage rate was low.

The order of preference in intermarriages changed perceptibly only among those groups that were numerically insignificant: in both years intermarriages with native Americans far outnumbered all others; French and Irish followed far behind. After these three, the order was, for 1860: Dutch, English, Danish, Canadian, Bohemian, Swedish, Polish, Norwegian. For 1870 it was: Bohemian, Dutch, Canadian, English, Norwegian, Swedish, Polish, Danish. All other nationalities were so small in numbers that they were grouped. Whether or not the influx of Scandinavian immigration to Minnesota changed this order decisively cannot be answered as yet. We need more data which, as Drachsler put it, will have to be gathered "piecemeal, now for one community, now for another, now for this nationality, now for the other."¹⁷

MINNEAPOLIS

¹⁷ Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation* (New York, 1920), p. 226.

¹⁶ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

SOCIAL CLASS AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN

BERNICE L. NEUGARTEN

ABSTRACT

Friendship status and reputation of school children in a typical middle western community are found to parallel social-class position. Data are presented in terms of the votes cast and the votes received by each social-status group, on each of five statements about friends and each of eighteen statements about reputation. Age differences are discussed.

The sociological literature on class systems in American communities raises a number of problems for research at the childhood level. The present study is of the general question concerning to what extent and in what observable ways the factor of social status affects the social development of children. Specifically, is the social-class position of the family a contributing factor in determining a child's choice of friends or the child's reputation among his age-mates? If so, how does its operation vary with the increasing age of the child?

A community was selected for which the status structure was known and in which families whose children would be the subjects of the research had already been class-typed. Children of two age levels were chosen as subjects.

THE SUBJECTS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY

The community, which will be called "Hometown," was selected as a typical middle western town. It has a relatively stable population of six thousand; is located in a fertile agricultural area; and is economically dependent equally upon agriculture, manufacturing, and retail sales. The community is not within a metropolitan area; there is no college, university, or state institution in Hometown; neither is it a health or summer resort. Its local autonomy and coherence are therefore undisturbed. Approximately 90 per cent of its inhabitants are native-born whites; there are no Negroes or orientals and but two distinguishable ethnic groups—a small Polish group and a somewhat larger group of Norwegians.

THE SOCIAL-STATUS HIERARCHY OF HOMETOWN

In Hometown there are five social classes, which will be referred to by letter, from Group A, signifying the group of highest status in the community—the "upper" class—to Group E, signifying the group of lowest status.

Group A, 2 per cent of the population, is locally known as the "upper crust," "the five hundred," "the landed gentry," "the old families," or "the money crowd." This group is referred to as "the power behind the throne"; while they take little part in community affairs, they are the people who are consulted on critical issues and who are supposed to "keep the community in line." Members of this class are distinguished largely on the basis of wealth and lineage.

Group B consists of professional men, officials of the industries of Hometown, and the "better" businessmen. Members of this group are the active community leaders: members of the school board, officers of commercial organizations, holders of political office, and church leaders. They have higher incomes than the average, live in big houses, and are the most highly educated. Members of this group are referred to as "the people you go to if you want to get anything done," "the pillars of the church," and "the backbone of the community." They have the reputation of high moral standards and take a great deal of civic pride in the community.

Group C is the "average man" of Hometown. This group constitutes the bulk of the membership of various associations—the rank and file of the economic, political, church, and social organizations. These are the people who have their bridge clubs and "get-togethers" which fill the society columns of the local newspaper. They make their livings as small businessmen,

white-collar workers, lesser professional men, skilled tradesmen, and skilled workmen.

Group D is the large group which is primarily concerned with making a living. They constitute the lower-income group, working at less skilled jobs and as laborers. These people live in the poorer sections and in the areas surrounding the two large industries of Hometown. They are referred to as "poor but honest," "the little people," or "the people who never give anybody any trouble." Members of this group tend to place great emphasis upon respectability and upon piety.

Group E is distinctive primarily on the basis of nonrespectability. Members of this group are considered dirty, shiftless, dishonest, and biologically and morally inferior. People in other classes refer to them as "those river rats," "the squatters along the canal," or "the bottom of the heap." They have the lowest income and the least education, and they live in dilapidated shacks clustered together in outlying sections of town. These people made up the bulk of the federal relief lists of a few years ago, and their names appear often on local police records.¹

THE SUBJECTS

The subjects of the present research were all children enrolled in Grades V and VI and X and XI of the public schools of Hometown. The median age for the younger group was eleven years and three months; for the older group, sixteen years and three months.

¹ The description of the social structure of Hometown has been taken from confidential field reports on file with the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. The writer had no part in the research on the social structure of Hometown.

For detailed descriptions of the methods used to differentiate social classes see W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* ("Yankee City Series," Vol. I [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941]), chaps. iii, v; *The Status System of a Modern Community* ("Yankee City Series," Vol. II [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942]), chap. i.

Group A of Hometown is comparable in most respects to the upper class of Yankee City. Hometown is not old enough, and this group is not large enough, to differentiate an upper-upper from a lower-upper class. Group B closely resembles the upper-middle class of Yankee City. Group C corresponds to the lower-middle class of Yankee City. Group D, resembling Group C more than Group E, takes on the color of a lower-middle, rather than an upper-lower, class. Group E is clearly the lower-lower class.

The distribution of subjects according to the class position of their families is shown in Table 1. There were no children from Group A in Grades V and VI. The two in Grades X and XI have been included in the discussion, in Group B; and at both ages children have been grouped into four categories—B, C, D, and E—to correspond with the social classes of Hometown.

THE INSTRUMENT

FORM AND CONTENT

A modification of the sociometric test of Moreno and an adaptation of the Guess-Who test of Hartshorne and May were administered as a single instrument.² The test booklet consisted of a series of short statements or descriptions, each followed by blank space in which the subject wrote the names of children who, in his opinion, fitted the description.

Data on friendship status were obtained from responses to the following five statements (the wording was varied according to the age of the subjects):

These boys and girls are my best friends; they are the ones I play with most of the time.

These are the boys and girls I wouldn't want to play with.

Here are the boys and girls my mother wants me to play with.

Here are the ones my mother doesn't want me to play with.

If I could have anybody I wanted for a friend, this is the boy or girl I would choose.

Data on reputation were obtained from responses to short descriptions, such as the ones used to describe the two extremes of the trait "clean—dirty":

² J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (Washington: Nervous and Mental Diseases Pub. Co., 1934); H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in Service and Self-control* ("Studies in the Nature of Character," Vol. II [New York: Macmillan Co., 1929]). The children were tested in 1941-42, the elementary school pupils in their regular classrooms, the high-school pupils in the assembly hall. All tests were administered by the same individual, to secure consistency of instructions.

Here is somebody who always thinks about keeping clean, neat, and tidy looking.

Here is somebody who doesn't seem to care about keeping clean, neat, or tidy.

Reputation items for fifth- and sixth-graders included:

Well dressed—not well dressed; good looking—not good looking; fights a lot; popular—unpopular; likes school—doesn't like school; a leader; clean—dirty; always has a good time—never has a good time; good manners—bad manners; plays fair—doesn't play fair.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

TABULATIONS

A separate tabulation was made for each of the twenty-three items at the lower age level and for each of the twenty-five items at the upper age level.

Judges (children who wrote the booklets) and subjects (children mentioned in the booklets) were divided into four groups according to the social class of their parents. The data will be discussed in terms of group

TABLE 1*
DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL-CLASS POSITION

SOCIAL CLASS	GRADES V AND VI				GRADES X AND XI			
	Boys	Girls	Total	Per Cent of Population	Boys	Girls	Total	Per Cent of Population
A.....	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1
B.....	6	4	10	6	6	9	15	7
C.....	17	13	30	17	36	52	88	43
D.....	48	59	107	62	45	43	88	43
E.....	14	13	27	15	6	7	13	6
Total.....	85	89	174	100	95	111	206	100

* The relative proportions of the five social classes differ at the two age levels: there are fewer children from lower-status groups in the Hometown high school.

The larger proportion of children from Group C in Grades X and XI is probably due to at least two factors: first, the presence of rural children, who tend to come from better-than-average farm homes and, second, social mobility. The social distance between Groups C and D is relatively small; it is possible that many Group D families who are upwardly mobile will have had time to establish themselves in Group C by the time their children reach high-school age.

For high-school students, one other pair was added:

Takes part in many school activities—takes no part in school activities.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Since the research is concerned not with the child's actual friendships but with his statements about them and not with the child's personality but with the child's reputation, validation of the data is unnecessary.

The reliability of both the Moreno and the Guess-Who tests has been established by the findings of other studies.³

³ For the Moreno test, reliabilities range from .93 to .96 (see Wilbert I. Newstetter, Marc J. Feldstein, and Theodore M. Newcomb, *Group Adjust-*

results—the votes obtained by each group of subjects from each group of judges.⁴

ment: A Study in Experimental Sociology [Cleveland, Ohio: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1938]; Leslie Day Zeleny, "Sociometry of Morale," *American Sociological Review*, IV [1939], 799-808; Helen H. Jennings, "A Sociometric Study of Emotional and Social Expansiveness," in *Child Behavior and Development*, ed. Roger C. Barker, Jacob S. Kounin, and Herbert F. Wright [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1943], pp. 527-44).

For the Guess-Who, test-retest correlations are reported of .76 for boys and .80 for girls (see Caroline McCann Tryon, "Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents," in Barker, Kounin, and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-66).

⁴ While girls mentioned girls more often than boys and boys mentioned boys more often than girls,

The data at the lower age level deal with the judgments made by fifth- and sixth-grade children regarding fifth- and sixth-grade children; at the upper age level the data deal with the judgments made by tenth- and eleventh-grade children regarding all ninth-, tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-grade children.⁵

THE M.S.J.

In order to correct for the variations in size of subject groups and judging groups, all the data were recomputed in terms of an index called the "M.S.J."—the number of times mentioned per subject per judge.

THE FRIENDSHIP STATUS OF ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CHILDREN

Figure 1 presents the data on "best friend" and "don't want for a friend" for fifth- and sixth-grade children. The number of votes, expressed by the M.S.J., appears on the vertical axis; groups of subjects appear on the horizontal axis.

Each group of four bars signifies the M.S.J.'s obtained by that group of subjects from each of the four groups of judges. The first bar of each cluster shows the M.S.J. obtained from Group B judges; the second bar, that from Group C judges; the third bar, Group D judges; and the fourth bar, Group E judges.

Figure 1 shows that, on "best friend," the largest proportion of the votes obtained by each group of subjects came from the corresponding group of judges—the largest M.S.J. for subjects B is obtained from judges B; for subjects C, judges C; for subjects D, judges D; for subjects E, judges E.

a preliminary analysis of the data revealed no sex differences between status groups. Consequently, the data are presented in terms of mixed sex groups.

⁵ Judges were instructed that they might name any child in Hometown of their own age range. Ninety-three per cent of all names mentioned by fifth- and sixth-graders were the names of fifth- and sixth-graders. Tenth- and eleventh-graders, however, distributed their votes over a wider range—90 per cent were the names of boys and girls in Grades IX, X, XI, and XII. The remaining 7 and 10 per cent of the votes have not been included in the data here presented.

In other words, children are selected as friends by children from their own social level more often than by children from other social levels.

On the negative item, "don't like," of all the votes given to Group B, the largest proportion came from Group E; and of all the votes given to Group E, the largest proportion came from Group B. The mutual rejection between Groups B and E is greater than that between any other two groups.

The average M.S.J. for each group of subjects is shown by the horizontal arrow drawn across each group of bars. On the positive item in Figure 1, the average M.S.J. decreases as status decreases—the lower the social class of the subject, the fewer times he is mentioned as a "best friend." On the negative item, the trend is reversed—the lower the social class of the subject, the more times he is mentioned as "don't want for a friend."

Figure 1 also shows how any group of judges cast its votes. The bars which come first, second, third, or fourth in each cluster show that Group B judges voted most often for Group B subjects on "best friend," less often for Group C subjects, still less often for Group D, and least often for Group E. Group C judges voted for Group B subjects more often than for its own members—as is also true of Group D. Group E children are the only ones who voted more often for members of their own group than for Group B.

With the exception of the group of lowest status, children tend to select as friends, first, children of higher status than their own and, second, children of their own status level.

The data on the other three items on friendship follow the same pattern as shown in Figure 1. The high degree of relationship between the family's social position and the friendship status of the child is striking. There is a mirror-like relationship between the favorable and the unfavorable items, with the children of families of high status receiving the favorable votes and children of low status receiving the unfavorable.

The child from a family of upper status occupies an enviable position—many of his classmates consider him their friend or would choose him for a friend or mention him as their parents' choice. Very few of his classmates mention him as a person they would not want for a friend.

The child from a family of lower status faces the opposite situation. He is seldom

It is not the contention of the writer, in the light of these findings, that young children are conscious of the class structure of their community. They probably select and reject their associates not on the basis of social class itself but on the basis of a whole configuration of factors related to social class—whether or not the child is clean, the kind of clothes he wears, the kind of playthings he has, the language he uses, his manners, where he lives, his attitude toward school, and a host of similar factors. The child from the middle class may be told not to play with "that Smith boy—he's dirty," or "he lives down by the tracks," or "he steals," or "he swears." The child of lower class may have it pointed out to him that "that White boy—his father's rich," or "he thinks he's too good for you," or "he's not your kind." The child, consciously or unconsciously using these criteria in selecting his friends, is probably reflecting the class stereotypes as he has learned them from his parents; and he applies these criteria uncritically.

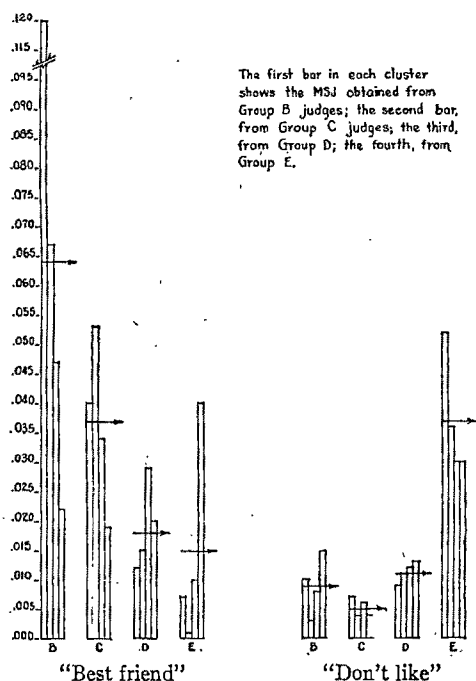


FIG. 1.—Votes obtained by fifth- and sixth-grade subjects on "best friend" and "don't like."

mentioned as a friend (and then only by children of the same social position as his own), but he is often mentioned as a person his classmates do not like and whom parents do not want their children to play with.

Not only do social-class factors seem to determine which children are mentioned favorably and unfavorably, but they seem also to influence the way in which each child casts his votes. Group E children, for example, are the only ones who give an appreciable number of favorable votes to Group E children.

THE REPUTATION OF ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CHILDREN

Figure 2, showing the data on "good looking" and "not good looking," is representative of all the statements on reputation for fifth- and sixth-grade children. The mirror-like relationship between the positive and the negative items of this and the other pairs was found to be consistent for all such items. The average M.S.J. for each group of subjects shows a steady decrease, as status decreases, on the favorable items; and a steady increase, as status decreases, on the unfavorable items.

As exemplified by Figure 2, Group B children rank first on every favorable statement dealing with reputation; Group C, second; Group D, third; and Group E, fourth. On the unfavorable items, Group E ranks first every time.

On the whole, data on reputation follow the same pattern as data on friendship. One difference between the two sets of data is the greater extent to which all groups of

judges agree in regard to the reputation of any given group of subjects. All judges, regardless of their own social class, agree that Group B subjects, compared with C, D, and E, are well dressed, good looking, good in school, leaders, and so on. Judges are in similar agreement concerning the other groups of subjects.

The consistency with which the four groups of subjects are ranked on the nine favorable and the nine unfavorable items is even more remarkable when one considers the fact that the original statements de-

knowing nothing of the social background of the children and being careful to distinguish between good looks and good grooming, would rate the children very differently on this item from the way in which they rate each other.

The data warrant the conclusion that fifth- and sixth-graders make judgments about each other along extremely stereotyped lines and that the halo effect, so often discussed in connection with more formal rating scales, is very much in evidence here. A group of subjects, rated low on one trait, is rated low on all eighteen and vice versa.

The lower-class child in the elementary school in Hometown has the reputation of being poorly dressed, not good looking, unpopular, aggressive; of not liking school; of being dirty and bad mannered; of never having a good time; and of not playing fair. These opinions of him are shared even by members of his own class group. The child of a family of upper status, on the other hand, enjoys a reputation almost exactly opposite—he is considered well dressed, good looking, popular, a leader; as liking school; as being clean and well mannered; as always having a good time; and as playing fair.

It is clear that, by the time children reach Grade V, the child of the lower class faces a very different problem of adjustment in his school life than does the child from the middle class.

THE FRIENDSHIP STATUS OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

Figure 3 shows the data on "best friend" and "don't want for a friend" for high-school subjects.⁶ It will be seen that there is a clear relationship between social class

⁶ The M.S.J.'s for the high-school data are, in every case, smaller than those for the elementary-school data, owing to the fact that high-school subjects are a larger group than high-school judges. Votes from tenth- and eleventh-graders are distributed over Grades IX, X, XI, and XII; while at the younger age, votes from fifth- and sixth-graders are confined to Grades V and VI. As a consequence, small differences in the height of bars are more significant in Figs. 3 and 4 than in Figs. 1 and 2.

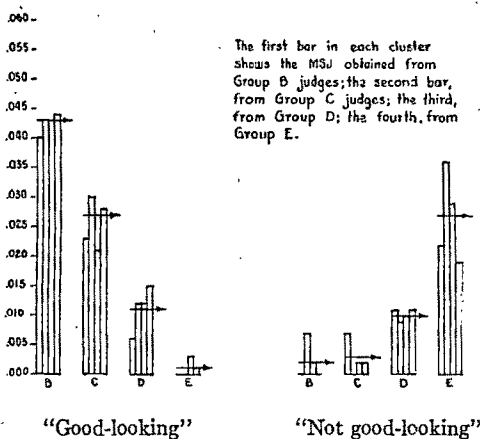


FIG. 2.—Votes obtained by fifth- and sixth-grade subjects on "good-looking" and "not good-looking."

scribed "traits" of different orders of objectivity. For example, "dirty—clean" can be more objectively rated than "good looking—not good looking"; and the latter, in turn, can probably be more objectively rated than "always has a good time." Yet the data show the same pattern from item to item.

It is probable that Group E children—because of the fact that they are from the lower class—are actually less well groomed than those of Group B; they are more likely to be "dirty" and certainly more likely to be "not well dressed." It is somewhat less probable, however, that Group E children should actually be less good looking than Group B. Certainly, the adult who steps into a fifth-grade classroom in Hometown,

and votes obtained on the positive item but that, on the negative item, differences of social class are not apparent. Data for the other statements on friendship for high-school students show the same results as in Figure 3.

There is, then, this important difference between the two age levels: while both age groups are discriminating along class lines in their selection of friends (and their parents' selection of friends), the older judges are not doing so as regards those whom they reject as friends.

There are a number of considerations which may explain the age difference. First, the adolescent probably exercises more independence of judgment than the younger child. Although factors related to social class may influence his immediate choice of friends, when he is called upon to make judgments concerning the larger group he may base his judgments on factors which are more directly the result of the behavior and personal attributes of each individual. The high-school boy or girl is probably judged more on the basis of talent and personality than as a representative of his class group.

Another possibility is that class differences are as clearly recognized among adolescents as among younger children but are differently expressed. It may be that expressions of rejection at an earlier age become expressions of indifference; that the adolescent boy or girl who receives no votes as a "best friend" may be socially rejected quite as much as the younger boy or girl who receives many votes on the item, "wouldn't want for a friend."

Not being mentioned at the high-school level may be indicative of an even greater degree of rejection than unfavorable mention at the elementary-school level. At the younger age, Group E children may still be considered potential playmates and, as such, come in for their share of attention. At the older age, Group B (and, to lesser extent, Group C) may be psychologically so far removed from Group E that the latter do not enter their thinking either as potential

friends or—as will be seen in the following section—even as persons to be mentioned on the test of reputation. Just as in other areas of human relations, indifference may express greater social distance than does antagonism.

Still another factor is that differences in social status may themselves be less recognizable at the high-school age. In the fifth and sixth grades, there are more children of

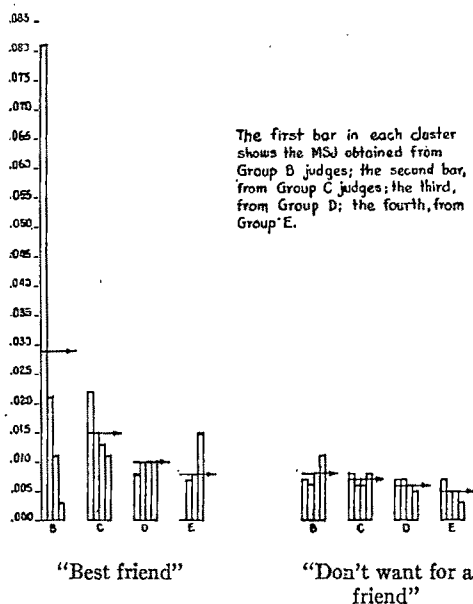


FIG. 3.—Votes obtained by high-school subjects on "best friend" and "don't want for a friend."

lower class (Group D, 62 per cent; Group E, 15 per cent) than there are in high school (Group D, 46 per cent; Group E, 6 per cent). The lower-class child drops out of school before the middle-class child.⁷ This suggests that Group E (and, to lesser extent, Group D) at the high-school level is not a typical lower-class group; its members may

⁷ In connection with another research project, a study was made of all sixteen-year-olds in Hometown. Forty-six boys and girls who were sixteen in 1942 were not enrolled in school. The families of 15 of the 46 had not been class-typed at the time of writing. Of the remaining 31, 5 fell in Group C, the other 26 in Groups D and E—all evidence of the operation of the selective factor in the high school.

be less representative of lower-class behavior and therefore less conspicuous than the corresponding group at the younger age level. If a boy whose family occupies the very lowest social position has continued in school to the tenth or eleventh grade, he is quite likely to have certain characteristics which set him apart from other lower-class boys: he is probably more ambitious, more studious; he may have certain special abilities; he is likely to find the school less frustrating socially, perhaps because he tries to adopt the middle-class values and behavior which he sees about him. In short, he is probably the mobile member of his social class.

If we follow this hypothesis further, we may assume that such a select group of lower-class boys and girls would not be the focus for unfavorable mention from their classmates; their appearance and behavior will not differentiate them markedly.

These factors probably explain the data on reputation, well as friendship.

THE REPUTATION OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

Figure 4 represents the data on the twenty statements concerning the reputation of high-school subjects. It shows essentially the same pattern as the data on friendship—there is a clear relation between social class and number of votes obtained on the positive items but no significant relationship on the negative items.

Group E high-school subjects receive very few votes on either positive or negative items (the same is true, to a lesser degree, of Group D). The older group of judges seem indifferent toward lower-class subjects and do not single them out on any of the items about reputation. This finding seems to support the hypothesis suggested above—that, in all probability, the lower-class high-school students are actually less conspicuous than lower-class students in the elementary grades. They probably look and behave like middle-class boys and girls.

Figure 4 illustrates, furthermore, a fact which was even more in evidence on other

statements about reputation—that Group B, so outstanding on the favorable items, receives the largest proportion of the votes on many of the unfavorable, as well. This suggests that boys and girls of families of upper status are conspicuous among their classmates, irrespective of their personal attributes—some of them enjoy desirable reputations; others, undesirable—but in either case they are mentioned a disproportionate number of times. Adolescents of high status seem to find themselves in the public eye so far as their peers are concerned. Once in the limelight, both attractive and unattractive features are revealed.

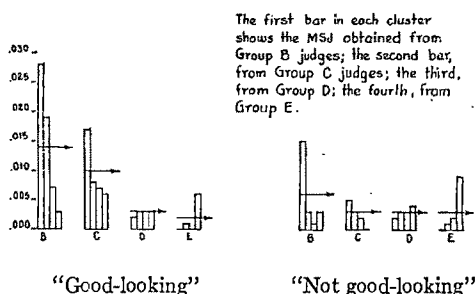


FIG. 4.—Votes obtained by high-school subjects on "good-looking" and "not good-looking."

Adolescents of middle and low status, on the other hand, being less conspicuous, have less well-differentiated reputations. Group E boys and girls, judging from the data on both friendship and reputation, are, as a group, socially isolated and ignored by their associates.

In short, as regards reputation, social class seems to operate differently in Hometown at the two age levels. At the fifth- and sixth-grade levels, membership in upper-class groups carries with it a kind of insurance that one's reputation will be favorable—certainly never unfavorable. Membership in the lower class is almost certain to result in unfavorable reputation among one's peers.

At the high-school level, upper status is a sure indication that the adolescent will at least be the center of attention in his group, whether his reputation is favorable

or unfavorable. As the lower-class child grows older, he drops out of school, or, by taking on the behavior and values of middle-class associates, he tends to lose his distinguishing lower-class features.

IMPLICATIONS

The finding that social-class differences in friendship and reputation are so well established by the time children reach the fifth grade may be of some importance to the psychologist. The child of eleven or twelve soon becomes aware of his reputation and desirability as a friend, and he must make his adjustment in the light of what others think of him. Perhaps one of the reasons that the child of lower class is so often a "behavior problem" in school is that he finds himself rejected by his classmates and enjoys such an unenviable reputation. This may also be one of the reasons why lower-class children often find school unpleasant and unrewarding and why the child of lower class so often welcomes the first opportunity to leave school altogether.

From one point of view the data also raise the general question of the extent to which the school, in communities like Hometown, is encouraging democratic living on

the part of its children. It is undoubtedly true that the teacher plays a central role in influencing the opinions of one child toward another. While there is no systematic research on the topic, anecdotes and observations suggest that teachers' behavior toward children of lower class is different from their behavior toward those of middle or upper class and that this discrimination follows the differences in reputation among the social groups.

One of the crucial problems facing the school today is the reconciling of its middle-class point of view with the lower-class culture of so many of its pupils. This might be done not only through the personal relationships created between teacher and child but also through the relationships between child and child fostered by the teacher. More research is needed, of course, on the whole problem of the school's role in relation to the social-class hierarchy: whether it encourages or discourages social mobility and in what ways. Certainly, this is a problem of far-reaching significance to a society which places so much faith in its schools as an agency for inculcating democratic attitudes in its children.

CHICAGO

DEFINITIONS OF ECONOMIC TERMS IN THE *DICTIONARY OF SOCIOLOGY*

A. B. WOLFE

ABSTRACT

The *Dictionary of Sociology* essays "authoritative" definition of some hundreds of sociological terms and a small number of economic terms. The definitions of most economic terms are adversely criticized: first, they were framed by sociologists who apparently are unfamiliar with current economic usage; second, the *Dictionary* has lost sight of the function of operational definition. The result is that, while some of the definitions are antiquated, in others the diverse significations which economists legitimately attach to the same term in different contexts are ignored.

Sociologists have a right to define sociological terms in any way they see fit, or at least in any way sanctioned by the usage of competent sociologists. But if sociologists take it upon themselves to attempt definitions of terms drawn from other social sciences, like economics, they should be at pains to define the terms as they are used by economists or others; or if, for some special sociological purpose, a definition at variance with accepted usage is advanced, the fact of such variance should be clearly stated.

The editor of the *Dictionary of Sociology*¹ put the responsibility of defining economic terms on sociologists, not on economists. Out of idle curiosity, I have culled out some twenty definitions of such terms. Of these, all but four were prepared by sociologists. The exceptional four were contributed by a single economist, and he was not always discriminating.

According to the Preface, "a good definition . . . has two main aspects. It should give the uninformed person a clear and adequate notion of the character of the object, even though he may never encounter it in his experience, and it should enable a person to identify the object the first time he does meet it in his experience."

How well does the definition given of "business," for example, conform to these specifications? Everybody knows, in a general way, what business is. But suppose an "uninformed person" or a curious student

wishes to know the difference, if any, between "business" and "enterprise," or the relation of business to production, on one hand, and acquisition, on the other. He consults this "authoritative" *Dictionary* and is told, by an anonymous informant, that business is "a situation-process devoted to the conduct of self-maintenance activities"—a beautiful illustration of the old gag that sociology is what everybody knows in terms which nobody understands! If the student is majoring in general sociology, such a definition may have some meaning, since it puts business in an abstract category—but in one so inclusive that it is meaningless. To an economist it means nothing; but this may mean that the economist is uneducated. Turning to Eliot's definition of "situation-process," we get a little light amid much verbiage. We learn that "situation-process" is "a phrase which, by hyphenation, draws attention to the inseparability . . . of the momentarily observed aspects of experience . . . and the changes . . . which are occurring even as observation is made." Is one, then, to take "situation-process" as a sociological appropriation of Heisenberg's "principle of uncertainty"? But what is "self-maintenance"? Keller defines it as "mores which promote, or are believed to promote, societal survival within given life-conditions." Eliot tells us that "practically every 'social process' may be considered as a situation-process." Putting two and two together, we must conclude that "business," or "a business," is a social process devoted to

¹ Edited by H. P. Fairchild (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944).

societal survival within given life-conditions!

Since every business firm, like every politician in office, tries to survive, the definition may be abstractly true, but it does not distinguish business from other "survival" processes; it could apply to any group or institution. The primary function of a definition is to define—to set the boundaries of a concept. To define business as a situation-process devoted to self-maintenance is like defining man as a vertebrate—and stopping there.

Realizing the need to be "more specific," Eliot goes on to say that "a business is a productive unit, organized according to whatever pattern is characteristic of any particular culture." Here, in the word "productive," there is at least some attempt at differentiation, but it is inadequate, since a family or a subsistence farm may be regarded as productive, but neither one is a business. Furthermore, there are some businesses which are "productive" only in an extremely formalistic sense of the term—a fact which one might expect a sociologist to recognize.

The *Dictionary* contains no definition of "enterprise," "private enterprise," or "free enterprise," though it is reasonable to suppose that, at a time when "free enterprise" (equivalent to private business) is a worldwide issue, the sociologist, to whom nothing human or social is alien, is interested in its distinguishing characteristics. Whether, for reasons of favorable publicity and propaganda, we now call business "free enterprise," or keep on calling it "business," the fact remains that the motive and immediate objective of all business is profit, and profit-seeking is the one characteristic which distinguishes business from other institutions and processes. Any economist called upon to define business would start from this patent and pivotal fact. Why does not the sociologist?

In the definition of "corporation" we meet with refreshing common sense and directness, although Ennis' definition does not adequately distinguish a corporation from

any other "socioeconomic" (why stick in this useless term?) interest group, "born of legal sanction," like a partnership. Incidentally, there is no definition of "community trust."

"Economy" is defined by Eliot as (1) "keeping a budget or balancing accounts or being thrifty" ("thrifty" is nowhere defined) and (2) "the structure of resources, intake and outgo, and distribution [nowhere defined] in any given group situation." Intake and outgo of what, by whom, for what? We are left in the dark whether they mean physical input of labor and other factors and output of physical product, or outgo (cost) and income in money terms. The term "resources" perhaps does not need definition, but resources for what? Resources are means or instrumental values, and means are meaningless in the absence of ends or objectives. Here again, as in the definition of "business," the distinguishing feature of the thing is completely missed, perhaps because the definition is in terms of structure rather than of function. Any good definition of economy would be in terms of means and ends, of scarce resources, on the one hand, and utility, value, satisfaction, or welfare, on the other. Not only the etymology of the word but a little observation of any economic situation or process reveals the essential fact that "economy" is the management of scarce resources to the end of securing from them a flow of income. Eliot comes nearer to this conception in his treatment of "social economy." Though the point is of no great importance, his inclusion of a "group situation" in his definition of economy unduly restricts the term: economy may be individual, without reference to any social group or situation.

Muntz, an economist, in his definition of "economics," comes nearer to recognizing the means-end relation inherent in economy. "Men organize [i.e., manage] natural resources, cultural achievements [capital?], and their own labor, to sustain and promote their material welfare." But why limit it to "material" welfare? The definition in terms of welfare would be rejected, as Muntz must

know, by many economists, who perceive that resources can be and often are managed for ends which have nothing to do with welfare or are patently detrimental to it. It is regrettable that he was not given enough space to point out this variant concept.

I see no evidence that the contributors to the *Dictionary* have made use, or, indeed, been aware, of the nature and function of operational definition, namely, that a proper, or expedient, definition of a term is determined by the use of the term in a given frame of reference or context of discussion. This means that a term may be defined in a certain way for the purposes of a given problem and in an entirely different way for those of another problem.

This idea is glaringly absent from the article on "capital," according to which capital is "material objects used in the production of wealth," a definition formulated by John Stuart Mill in 1848. The anonymous definer proceeds to remark that "the term *capital* is subject to many loose and vague usages, such as applying it to all forms of invested wealth," and to assert that "in strict analysis it should be confined to tangible instruments, apart from land, used in the productive process." It seems clear that the definer has read no economics since Marshall or that for some reason he prefers to ignore twentieth-century economic theory; otherwise he would not imply that John Stuart Mill's concept of capital is the only concept not "loose and vague." This old technological conception of "real" capital is still acceptable and proper for certain purposes, but it is now far less important and far less frequently met with than the financial or monetary concept. The whole theory of saving, capital accumulation, investment, and so of continuous "full employment," now pivots on the monetary or credit concept of capital as investment funds rather than on capital as tools, machines, and stocks in trade. Complete omission of the term "capital" would have been preferable to a definition—and that only—framed a hundred years ago to fit the economic con-

ditions of the England of that time. Furthermore, even if the financial concept of capital be ignored, it is surprising that the sociologist, much given to "cultural" interpretations, should fail to mention Thorstein Veblen's idea of capital as the race's accumulation of technological knowledge—a concept, surely, of some sociological, if not economic, import.

Two definitions of "monopoly" are given by Neumann. The first defines it as "non-competitive possession of, or access to, any object." This makes monopoly virtually synonymous with property. I know of no economist who uses the term in this broad, not to say loose, sense. The second definition is: "An enterprise in which the element of competition is wholly or partially eliminated." There follows reference to "exclusive control or possession of a commodity or service, involving command over its price or the extent of its use." An economist would say briefly that the essence of monopoly is unified control over supply.

There is no definition of "imperfect competition" or of "noncompeting groups," despite the fact that both are modal features of all modern economies.

In the item on "profit" one finds the misleading statement that "the actual owners of the business are the common stockholders and true profits are common stock dividends." Preferred stockholders are just as much owners of the business, of course, as are holders of common stock; and a great deal of "true" (=net?) profit is put back into the business as surplus, not paid out as dividends.

"Marginal" is defined as "lying on the borderland of any recognized and relatively stable area, either territorial or cultural." For most sociological purposes this definition is doubtless adequate, though it is questionable whether, as the article goes on to state, "marginal" necessarily carries implications of "unadjustment" or abnormality. Be that as it may, the definition completely ignores the economic connotations of the term. "Marginal utility" is defined by Muntz, as well as it can be in four lines, as

"the importance or value attached to the marginal or last unit acquired in a stock of like goods." Here is a use of the term "marginal" to which the above definition does not apply. There are items on "marginal area," "marginal group," and "marginal man," but none on "marginal cost," "marginal firm," or, more surprisingly, "marginal farm." In economics, "marginal" has nothing to do with area, except when we speak of the "extensive margin of cultivation." An economic margin is a situation in which the result of further extension or intensification of the utilization of given resources would not cover the cost, in terms either of money or of "sacrifice." A marginal farm is marginal because, for whatever reason, it does not "pay" to cultivate it. Surely, this concept of marginalism cannot be without significance to rural sociology or to sociology in any of its applied aspects.

"Medium of exchange" is defined by Murdock as "an article or commodity freely accepted in exchange for other goods," etc. Since 90 per cent of commercial transactions in this country are effected by transfer of bank deposits, through the use of checks and drafts, one may reasonably query whether a medium of exchange need be "an article or commodity." If a check is a commodity, the definition stands; if it is not, it needs revision.

The article on "money," by Himes, is much better than some others, partly, perhaps, because the editor gave him a whole column. Himes makes essential distinctions. In particular, he recognizes the function of credit instruments (checks, etc.) as mediums of exchange. He says that in modern societies they "substitute for money." It would have been well to note that many monetary theorists regard checks as money.

Under "want" we are told by Muntz that "in economics, wants are goods or services beyond the absolute needs of life or efficiency, sought by man." The statement may be merely a careless use of the English language, but in any case wants certainly are not goods and services but desire for them. Furthermore, desires for the requisites of

survival and of efficiency are just as truly wants as are desires for conventional values and luxuries.

There are acceptable definitions of "consumption goods" and "production goods," but none of "a good" or of "economic goods." The *Dictionary* does not define "income." Its definition of "wealth" is: "In relation to self-maintenance, material objects owned by human beings and external to the bodies of their owners." No hint here of either utility or scarcity, but the definer might answer that they are obviously implied in ownership, since no one would bother to own an object that did not have utility and was not at the same time scarce. For the "uninformed," however, definition by implication is hardly satisfactory.

Whether wealth be defined as an aggregate of economic goods or as material objects owned "in relation to self-maintenance," the definition is purely formal. There is nothing in either to indicate that what is wealth to one individual or group may be "filth" to another. All wealth, whether consumption or production goods, is means to ends, but some "ends" are clearly antisocial. It is a little surprising that the term social utility does not appear in the *Dictionary*. It is entirely proper to give a purely formal definition of wealth, if for no other reason than that a formal definition of it is indigenous to the logic of a political economy which nominally—never actually, except in sheer mathematical economics—dissociates itself from ethics and value-judgments. But a dictionary, and most of all one that aspires to being "authoritative," should recognize diverse frames of reference and provide alternative definitions accordingly. Why does this *Dictionary* make no move toward defining wealth in terms of welfare—definition from the *social* point of view? Definition in this frame of reference would at least distinguish between burglar's jimnies or marijuana cigarettes and rubber tires or penicillin. Are sociologists, like the "objective" price economists, so bent on being "scientific," *comme que coule*, and so afraid

of value-judgments, that they shy away from the most basic of all social problems—that of value and values?

For light, we turn to the definition of "welfare," but we meet with some disappointment, for Nels Anderson defines it as "an interest" directed to the "well-being" of persons or groups. It is not particularly enlightening to be told that welfare is well-being, nor does it help when we find "public welfare" defined as "that part of the activities of a community which deal with social problems of individuals and families, including social planning." So we turn to "social welfare," only to find that Nels Anderson, again, sticks to the social-service frame of reference and defines social welfare as "private or public services to ameliorate conditions of need or social pathology in a community." Were we to stop here, it would necessarily be with the inference that "social work" is the only frame of reference for welfare and that welfare is a condition, or a problem, pertaining only to defectives, delinquents, and the poor. But, persistent, we turn to Eliot's definition of "organic welfare." Here, at last, we find another frame of reference. To be sure, Eliot does not define "welfare" when he says that organic welfare is "welfare which is neither individualistic nor socialistic, but mutually constituted," but when he goes on to say that "as a goal for social-economic community organization it is also a criterion by which the value and results of economic, social, and political processes and programs may be tested," we begin to see. There is no article on "social value," but the one, also by Eliot, on "social values" goes a step further toward the broad welfare concept. Social values are "objects, inanimate or animate, human, artificial, or non-material, to which some value for the group (collectively or distributively) has been imputed by group consensus."

Starting from this idea of social values, we might define "welfare" as the aggregate of positive human values recognized by consensus of competent opinion. But this leaves the question, "Who are the competent

judges?" Probably no brief definition of "welfare" can be satisfactory, primarily because of the cultural relativity of value-judgments. This would hold true, also, of any list of the constituents of welfare, at least in the present state of knowledge and conflicting sentiments. We need not conclude, however, that an "objective" constituent list is impossible, especially if the list be limited to the basic physiological needs and the fundamental "wishes" (whether four, according to W. I. Thomas, or thirty-odd, according to the Harvard Psychological Clinic²). In the last analysis, the competent judges will be the physiologists and the psychologists, as they expand and refine their knowledge of the normal functioning of the human psychophysical organism, living in the only way it can—in social groups.

Incidentally, there should be a distinction between "social values," or "welfare" in the general sense, and "economic welfare," which is that phase of welfare directly dependent on economic conditions and processes.

"Waste" is defined as "the use of any object in such a way as to derive less than the maximum satisfaction from it." I do not wish to criticize this definition, although it would probably be better to substitute "welfare" for "satisfaction," but it does raise some interesting questions. For example: "Whose satisfaction?" If someone gave me a bottle of fine wine, I could figure out what times for drinking it would maximize my satisfaction. But it is probable (at least if the labels were removed) that I would get just as much satisfaction from a bottle of cheap wine. If, then, I live up to the principle of (social) economy which is to put things where they will do the most good, I should give the bottle of good wine to someone who appreciates good wine. For me to drink it would be a differential waste, which is the antithesis of economy. So it makes

²H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality: Harvard University Psychological Laboratory Study of Fifty Men of College Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930).

some difference whether we take "satisfaction" in the individual or the social sense. Again, is "eating only the heart of a lamb chop and letting the rest go into the garbage can" necessarily waste? It depends on the scarcity of lamb chops. Waste, in the economic sense, should be defined in terms of cost as well as satisfaction.

"Production" is defined, anonymously, as "the sum total of the processes involved in the creative phase of the self-maintenance [Is there no escaping this ubiquitous, concretely meaningless term?] of society." Why not, in heaven's name, say simply that production is the making and delivering of goods and the furnishing of services?

In the article on "division of labor," J. Harold Ennis states that "the term 'geographical division of labor' is frequently used to indicate international adjustments whereby different areas supply the products for which they are peculiarly fitted." There is no ground whatever for limiting geographical division of labor to the international field. The term is also generally applied to the location of industry within a country.

"Population movement" is defined as "a transfer of human groups from one geographical setting to another," although the author of the definition must know that in demography the term is also applied to the trend of vital phenomena as revealed in birth and death rates, etc.

"Depopulation" ought, for one thing, to mean the complete disappearance, in whatever way, of the population of a given area; but the term is rarely if ever used in this sense. The *Dictionary* defines "depopulation" as "an extensive reduction of population by death through disease or war, by expulsion, or by voluntary migration." But in population literature, as well as in popular usage, depopulation may result from fertility rates too low to maintain a stationary population. Outside war-torn areas, this is now, as everyone knows, the cause of prospective declining population, which, when that stage is reached, will be equivalent to depopulation in the relative sense. There are

some Cassandras, indeed, who regard any slackening in the birth rate as a sign of "depopulation."

"Industrial organization," according to an anonymous contributor, is "a cultural pattern characterized by extensive use of machinery, large-scale operation, mass production, and non-human power." Not content with the useless cliché "cultural pattern," the contributor has to bring in "self-maintenance," and industrial organization is accordingly "the self-maintenance type characteristic of capitalism." So there is no industrial organization in Soviet Russia? The term is, of course, properly applicable to any form of the organization of production, including the old domestic and commission systems. There is no warrant whatever for limiting it to large-scale, mechanized mass production or to capitalism.

We now come to certain terms not strictly economic but of interest to both economists and sociologists. These are "desire," "interest," "utility," "value," and "valuation." We have already criticized the definition of "want," which in economics is generally used interchangeably with "desire." Naturally, no definition of desire is attempted. "Value," "utility," and "interest" are defined anonymously but apparently by the same contributor, judging by an internal consistency—a consistency we have failed to find in the definition of some other related terms.

"Utility" is defined as "the inherent and real capacity of an object to satisfy a human desire." Further, "it is intrinsic to the object itself, and may or may not be apprehended by the human observer. Belief in utility is the basis of value, but the utility may be spurious or entirely lacking." Two definitions of "value" are given: (1) "the believed capacity of any object to satisfy a human desire" and (2) "the quality of any object which causes it to be of interest to an individual or a group." We are told, further, that "value is strictly a psychological reality . . . to be sharply distinguished from utility, because its reality is in the human mind, not in the external object itself."

(Yet, in the second definition, value is explicitly stated to be a quality of the object.) Further, "value is strictly a matter of belief; an object, the utility of which is strictly spurious, will have the same value as if it were genuine, until the deception is discovered."

If we for the moment ignore the second definition of "value," the distinction between "value" and "utility" is consistently held to. "Value" is belief that the object has the capacity to satisfy a given desire; "utility" is the object's capacity to satisfy that desire. "Value" is in the mind; "utility" is in the object. John, normally a teetotaler, is bitten by a rattlesnake and wants a pint of whiskey in a hurry, in the belief that whiskey cures snake bite, though actually it will not. According to the above authoritative distinction, the whiskey (under the circumstances) has value for John but no utility for him. If we do not demand precision, discrimination between value and utility on the ground that one is in the mind, the other in the object, is logical. But the question remains whether it is consistent either with current philosophical conceptions of value or with the popular use of the term.

But suppose we do demand the "precision and exactitude" which the Preface emphasizes as essential to good definition? Will we be charged with pedantic hair-splitting if we point out that both person and object are essential to the existence of either value or utility (whatever distinction we may in the end find it advisable and expedient to make between them) and that both value and utility subsist in the *relation between* person and object? To say that utility is "intrinsic to the object itself" is certainly not an example of "precision and exactitude."

One thing seems clear. Desire is not essential to value or to utility. An object may be of great importance to me without my knowing it. Vitamins were important to the organism ("had utility" or "were valuable," whichever way you put it) before anyone knew of their existence. The *Dictionary's* two definitions of "value" escape inconsistency only because "interest" is defined as

"the relation between a person and anything which he believes will satisfy one of his desires." Now interest is essential to "valuation," but desire is not essential to interest. Whatever the correct definition of "interest" may be, it assuredly is not the one just quoted. I may be interested in my neighbor's dog without wanting it. The second definition of value is equivalent to Ralph Barton Perry's criterion of value: "any object of any interest." The error in both definitions is that "value" is confused with "valuation."

How does the *Dictionary* define "valuation"? We should expect a definition correlative to that of value. But we get nothing of the kind. "Valuation" is defined, by Muntz, in reference to economic, or exchange, value (which is not value at all but a ratio between two values), as "the relative importance of two or more goods or services, generally expressed in terms of money." This is a definition of exchange value but not of valuation, although it has the merit of relating valuation or value to "importance." Correctly apprehended, valuation is a subjective mental process of estimating the importance or significance of a cognized object. Interest (which we may relate to sustained attention) is essential to valuation, just as cognition of the object's existence is, but neither is essential to value. Valuation is a psychological process, but to say that "value is strictly a psychological reality" and thus identify value with valuation would compel us to say that there are no unrecognized values. That would mean that nothing which we do not already know and evaluate is of importance to us or that "what we don't know won't hurt us"—a palpably unfounded sentiment.

To be sure, we could say, if we accepted the *Dictionary's* distinction between value and utility, that there are unrecognized utilities, or we could exhort youth to be aware of our fundamental utilities, liberty and democracy; but it strikes me that this would be flying squarely in the face of both popular and philosophical usage.

Perry, because he confuses value with

valuation, refuses to identify value with importance. I personally believe that only by thus identifying it can we make sense out of the intricate and as yet unsettled general theory of value.

Certain other definitions have caught my eye.

"Conflict" is said to arise "out of the principle of limitation inherent in a finite universe." Why not say simply that conflict is due to scarcity?

"The essence of *education* is the inculcation of one individual with the mental accumulations of another." It is best to pass this by without comment.

We are told that "social engineering" differs from other engineering in that the forces it utilizes are "social forces." I had supposed that sociology had discarded the idea of social forces. At any rate, the *Dictionary* gives us no definition of the term.

"Democracy" is defined as "a philosophy, or a social system, that stresses participation in, and proportional control of, the affairs of the community by the individual member, on the basis of his personal selfhood," etc. Here democracy is defined as an instrumental, essentially political, process. But democracy should also be defined from the ethical and economic points of view. Ethically, democracy is an attitude of respect for the individual human person, regardless of sex, race, or previous condition of servitude. This is in more fundamental contrast with nazism or fascism than is political democracy, because the individual is regarded as an end, and no one, even the state, can be permitted to regard him exclusively, or even primarily, as means or sheer instrument. Economically, democracy also rests on the premise that the individual is an end, and accordingly economic democracy means the distribution of opportunity in proportion to the individual's capacity to use it.

"Institution": "an enduring, complex, integrated, organized behavior pattern through which social control is exerted and by means of which the fundamental social desires or needs are met." The only essential truth in this definition is that the function of an institution is social control. I see no reason to say that an institution must meet only the "fundamental" social desires and needs, unless all desires and needs are regarded as "fundamental." Furthermore, an institution need not be enduring, complex, integrated, and/or organized. It may be very simple and non-enduring. The concept "institution" seems to give sociologists a lot of trouble. They could avoid this by accepting Commons' definition "collective action in control of individual action."³

Finally, at random, I note the absence of definitions of "isolationism," "utilitarianism," "authoritarianism," "Geisteswissenschaft," "youth movement," and "tribalism." Since these are omitted, one would like to know why such barbarous atrocities as "rurban" and "rurbanization" are included. One would hardly expect definition of the "yin and yang" idea, but omission of such terms as these others, as well as the sloppy definitions we have cited, indicates that the *Dictionary* was prepared and published in too great haste and with too little care.

According to the Preface, "the usefulness of such a dictionary . . . must depend largely upon the extent to which sociologists are content to accept the definitions given . . . and to use them consistently and scrupulously in accordance with the meanings indicated." I am compelled to doubt whether many sociologists will be content to accept the duty thus imposed upon them.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

³ John R. Commons, *Institutional Economics* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934), p. 69.

COMMENT ON "DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OLDER WORKERS IN INDUSTRY"

STANLEY LEBERGOTT

A recent article in this *Journal* on the subject of discrimination against older workers in industry came to the interesting conclusion that discrimination, "if it exists at all . . . , is very small indeed."¹ A conclusion so at variance with common belief is surprising. A review of the evidence used by

it does, for the rates move steadily upward as established workers reach and then pass the forties.³ Chart I gives us the same information for different industry groupings.⁴ For the groups which include most workers exposed to discrimination—i.e., employees—the upward course of unemployment rates

TABLE 1
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF EXPERIENCED WAGE-SALARY WORKERS, BY AGE, APRIL, 1940

Age	MALE			FEMALE		
	Unemployed	Labor Force	Per Cent Unemployed	Unemployed	Labor Force	Per Cent Unemployed
14-15.....	12,120	82,680	14.7	6,660	31,980	20.8
16-17.....	129,940	404,580	32.1	68,180	233,780	29.2
18-19.....	359,880	1,190,380	30.2	183,940	852,060	21.6
20-24.....	846,540	4,148,680	20.4	323,780	2,511,120	12.9
25-29.....	654,900	4,292,980	15.3	169,900	1,869,220	9.1
30-34.....	539,520	3,889,800	13.9	127,740	1,455,600	8.8
35-44.....	953,620	6,576,940	14.5	231,540	2,153,340	10.8
45-54.....	895,780	5,088,580	17.6	177,400	1,360,860	13.0
55-59.....	370,520	1,721,960	21.5	60,020	399,380	15.0
60-64.....	269,140	1,164,180	23.1	38,640	258,240	15.0
65-74.....	156,580	817,820	19.1	17,080	167,820	10.2
75+.....	8,860	83,160	10.7	1,320	19,720	6.7
All ages..	5,197,400	29,461,740	17.6	1,406,200	11,313,120	12.4

Mr. Pollak suggests that it is also questionable. Such a review very forcibly suggests—to employ Mr. Pollak's apt formulation—that advancing years do, in fact, "place workers at a disadvantage in the competition for new jobs and endanger their hold on those jobs which they already have."

Table 1 indicates the changing course of unemployment rates from age to age.² Mr. Pollak takes this as the primary test of whether discrimination exists. Apparently

with age is quite clear. A major exception is, of course, the transportation and utility group. For there, seniority is an active prin-

³ One of the reasons adduced by Mr. Pollak is that unemployment rates of younger workers are so high. But the fact that younger workers are only tenuously attached to jobs is not germane to the question which has exercised the interest of a nation. That question is whether discrimination exists against the employment of workers passing from their thirties into their forties and thence into the upper-age groups.

⁴ The width of the various bars is in proportion to the number of persons employed in each group. Industries with similar unemployment patterns from age to age are combined, the data being from *Industrial Characteristics*. The average unemployment rate for each grouping is taken as 100.

¹ Otto Pollak, "Discrimination against Older Workers in Industry," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (September, 1944), 106.

² Data are from Tables 3 and 4 of *Industrial Characteristics (1940 Population Census)*.

CHART I
INDEXES OF MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS
APRIL 1940
AVERAGE RATE FOR ALL AGES = 100

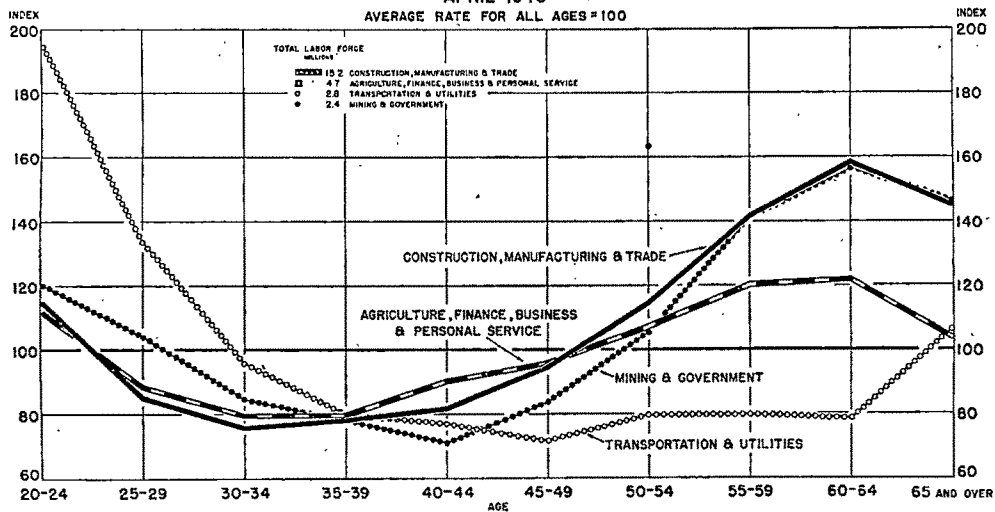
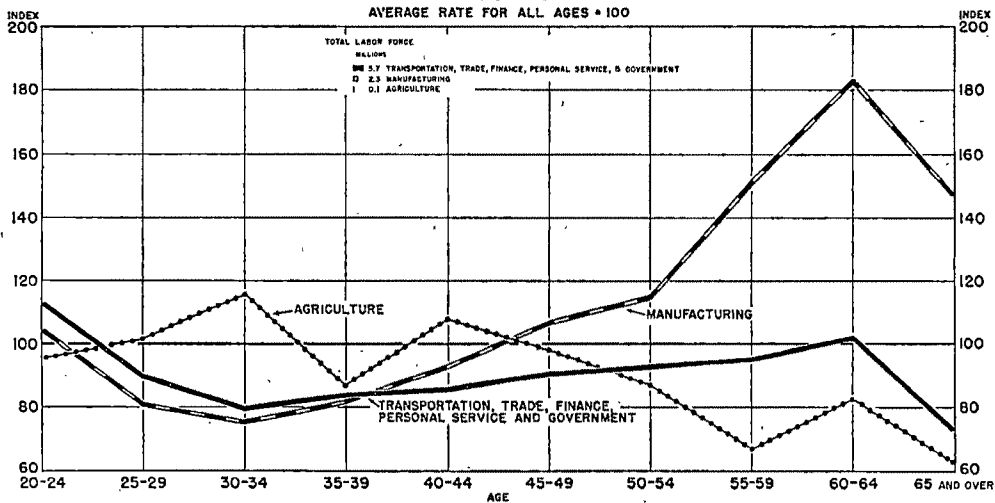


CHART II
INDEXES OF FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS
APRIL 1940
AVERAGE RATE FOR ALL AGES = 100



ciple, and workers, within limits, grow more valuable with age.⁵ Chart II points to a roughly similar pattern for women in manufacturing and to a much more stable pattern for women in other industries. Aside from the smaller numerical importance of the female labor force, it must be realized that unemployment rates for women characteristically differ from those of men. Women are more able to withdraw from the labor force altogether when they cannot find employment than are men. The snapshot picture given by the 1940 data is confirmed by follow-up studies of workers in special groups and by the various state censuses taken during the thirties.⁶

A further point of interest is the relative size of the group of employees over forty-five, the group potentially exposed to discrimination in hiring and firing. Census data indicate that 22 per cent of the male labor force and 17 per cent of the female labor force were included in that group as of March, 1940.⁷ Apparently, therefore, it is no unimportant one.⁸ Given the aging of our labor force, the long-term drop in farm employment, and the retarded growth of self-employment, we must look forward to a still

greater number of older employees, absolutely and relatively, than we have had up to now. The problem, if anything, will grow.⁹

Apart from statistical measurements, however, is the spirit in which the problem is approached. Granted that the work life does not abruptly finish at forty or forty-five, granted further that, even at its worst, unemployment left "836 persons out of 1,000 employed" in the upper-age group with the highest unemployment rate.¹⁰ The situation still may call for serious thought and considered action. It is the mark of intelligent social action not to scoff at problems until chaos supervenes. We cannot allow the old age problem to become increasingly serious or permit discontent to tunnel itself into the Townsend movement or its many successors. In part the need has already been met by the adoption of old age benefit and insurance provisions. In part it will have to be met by expanding social security coverage, by increasing benefits, and by taking such other steps as national policy may recommend. But we shall get nowhere in serious study of the issues if the basic data are not put into proper perspective, comprehensively evaluated and suitably weighed.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

REJOINDER

OTTO POLLAK

Mr. Lebergott's "Comment" seems to be based on the impression that the paper under discussion culminated in the conclusion that the situation of older workers does not "call for serious thought and considered action." Unemotional reading of my paper,

⁵ Mr. Pollak treats not twelve industry groups, as is done here, but only manufacturing and transportation and utilities. (Actually he includes construction in his 1930 data, though not his 1940 figures. This is because he deals with the manufacturing and mechanical group as a whole in the former year, without excluding building.) It has seemed more advantageous to deal with the picture in the whole of industry rather than in these two segments.

⁶ Cf. the well-known studies of Creamer, Myers, and others and the population censuses of Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Equally relevant are data on duration of unemployment by age (*Occupational Characteristics*, Table 17 in the 1940 *Population Census* gives such data for employees. Similar information by industry is available only for all experienced workers).

⁷ The percentages are taken of total wage and salary workers plus emergency workers (*Employment and Personal Characteristics*, Table 11 (1940 *Population Census*)).

⁸ Mr. Pollak finds for a trivial figure of 3.2 per cent, but his percentage is calculated on a base which includes housewives, children, and others not even in the labor market.

⁹ *Normal Growth of the Labor Force, 1940-1950* (1940 *Population Census*, Ser. P-44, No. 12).

¹⁰ Mr. Pollak introduces this small unemployment percentage as a further reason for thinking that discrimination, if it exists at all, is small. However, the percentage which is adduced as trivial is the same as the unemployment percentage which existed nationally in the depression year of 1931. The social order need not be utterly prostrate for a critical condition to exist and for remedial measures to be indicated.

however, will disclose that no such view was presented. The stated purpose of the paper was to investigate the justification of the popular belief that industry scraps the worker at the age of forty and that all differential treatment of older workers represents discrimination, i.e., unequal treatment of equals and therefore unfairness.

On the basis of census material for the years 1930 and 1940 the writer came to the conclusion that the notion of the industrial scrap-heap at forty represents an overstatement of the problem. This was based on the finding that even the most unfavorable unemployment ratio in the whole material—the 1930 figure of unemployed workers in the age group of sixty-five and over—left 836 persons out of every 1,000 gainful workers employed. With this figure Mr. Lebergott seems to have no argument because he expresses willingness to "grant" it. Since he also grants "that the work life does not abruptly finish at forty or forty-five," the writer does not quite understand how Mr. Lebergott can disagree with the conclusion that the widespread belief that industry scraps its workers at forty is exaggerated.

On another point, also, there is disagreement between Mr. Lebergott and the writer. According to Mr. Lebergott, the fact that unemployment ratios "move steadily upward as established workers reach and then pass the forties" indicates that discrimination exists. In other words, he takes the position that an unfavorable employment differential between various age groups by itself represents discrimination. The usage of the term "discrimination" in the social sciences, however, has a different connotation. The writer refers again to Frank H. Hankins' definition in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XIV, 131 and 132, according to which discrimination means unequal treatment of equals or a difference in treatment accorded various categories of persons which are disproportionate to the importance of the marks of differentiation between these categories. Since advancing age must at some point lead to a decline of physical fitness for the job and there-

by of productivity and since it seems to be correlated to a degree with a decrease in geographical mobility of workers to the spot of highest demand, the writer came to the conclusion that at least a part of the unemployment figures shown for the higher age brackets may be justified in terms of the profit motive which management and large sections of labor accept as the guiding principle in this matter. This part of the evidence presented by the writer has not been discussed in Mr. Lebergott's "Comment," although he started his discussion with a quotation of the closing sentence of the following paragraph from my paper:

In view of the reality of a decrease in productivity in cases requiring physical exertion, the existence of physical unfitness to a noticeable degree among older workers, and a decrease in geographic mobility, we have reason to believe that the comparatively small age differentials which we have observed are at least partly justified. We have to conclude, therefore, that discrimination against older workers in industry, if it exists at all, is very small indeed.

On the basis of a historical analysis of claimed occasions of discrimination, the writer came to the further conclusion that the overstatement of the problem was to be explained by the zeal of reformers who painted the situation darker than reality justifies. And here we come to the discovery of a misunderstanding. Mr. Lebergott puts great value on the "spirit" of social concern in which the problem is approached. He seems to be apprehensive of a lack of such spirit in the paper under discussion and will probably be surprised to learn that the plight of the aged in our society is one of the guiding professional and social concerns of the writer. Only the latter does not believe that it is conducive to constructive social action to overstate the facts which we want to remedy, because by so doing we forge weapons for our opponents. Age discrimination where it exists should certainly be discovered and remedied, but remedial action should be based on a scientific appraisal of facts and not on acceptance of imagery and popular myths.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

NEWS FROM ABROAD

Through the courtesy of Professor Ogburn, the *Journal* prints this extract of a letter from Mme Maurice Halbwachs, whose husband gave a course on suicide and one on French sociology, as a guest professor at the University of Chicago in 1930. At that time he was a professor in the University of Strassburg.

DEAR DR. OGBURN:

I did not reply to your friendly letter of the eighth of February because I did not have the courage. I was at that moment in anguish, my poor husband having been deported with my younger son. The Gestapo, on the eve of the liberation, arrested my son in July, 1944, for his resistance activity and came to get Maurice, as an accomplice of his son, in his office twenty-four hours later. Since that date I never again saw my husband, nor was I able to get the least message of comfort to him, a single package, the smallest salutation from his fireside. He died in Buchenwald the twenty-first of February—died in abandoned and physical misery, without having been able to give me the least sign of life or of tenderness, having succumbed less to the physical cruelty than to discouragement and to disgust at seeing his own human person outraged.

Now that all is over, I wish to tell you, who were his friend and for whom he had so much affection, what these miserable Germans have done to a good and true man, loved by his friends, one of those men of science, original and scrupulous, who know the honor of the French academic world. But it was the best of our men that they persecuted and made to perish with the most savage rage; the purest and the bravest of our women; all those values of intellect and patriotism which represented our hopes for the future.

By a miracle my younger son, also deported to Buchenwald, has been returned to me and my elder son preserved. For our two boys were part of that army without uniform which fought secretly during the years of slavery. You perhaps know (perhaps your influence had some-

thing to do with it) that an American foundation generously proposed to Maurice at the beginning of the occupation, and to a number of his colleagues at the Sorbonne as well, that they come to the United States to pursue their work sheltered from the Germans. He refused, wishing neither to desert his country in the hour of misfortune nor to abandon his sons.

At that moment a first misfortune struck me. My brother, a physician in the hospitals of Paris, veteran of the two wars, could not face the shame of the armistice and committed suicide, leaving four orphans. Later, in January, 1943, a new and terrible blow fell upon me. My father, Victor Basch, professor of aesthetics at the Sorbonne and president of the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme*, enemy No. 1 of the Nazis, who immediately after the occupation of Paris pillaged and sacked his apartment and library, was assassinated with my mother (both aged eighty-four years) by a mixed horde of militia and Boches, who snatched them from their lodgings, dragged them in the fields, and killed them with a ball in the back of the head.

All these terrible trials, the mortal anxiety over our sons, anger and indignation against the ignoble Pétain regime—all these had broken the health of my dear husband and had aged him by ten years. He had, however, kept his power to work and succeeded during the occupation in writing and publishing an important work, *The Legendary Topography of the Holy Land according to the Gospels*. I will try to send you a copy, knowing that he would have liked to keep you abreast of his work. He had been named, a little before his deportation and in spite of the opposition of Vichy, professor at the *Collège de France* and rejoiced to think of beginning new instruction there—but he never gave even his first lecture.

There, dear monsieur, you have what I wished to relate. My life has been destroyed and my home ravaged by the gratuitous ferocity of the German bandits. You will understand in reading this tale the bitterness which sometimes appears among us in spite of our profound gratitude to the noble and heroic American armies (I will never forget, for my part, that I owe them the

life of my son, freed by them at Buchenwald when he was on the point of succumbing as did his father), the bitterness we show when we see you consider and treat the hunted-down and ensnared beast of prey as though he were an honorable adversary. I have succeeded with great effort in restoring my deported son in spite of the cruel insufficiency of food. He has nearly recovered physically. But his moral being remains deeply shaken. He cannot console himself for having left his father behind and cannot recover without him the sweetness of life.

My sons and I join in expressing to you our joy and relief over the capitulation of Japan. We also share, to the bottom of our hearts, your sorrow over the death of Roosevelt. All of us have a cult for this great citizen, especially so my father, who put his hope in him and who had believed for a long time that he would be able to save the peace of the world. . . .

YVONNE HALBWACHS

Dr. A. M. Meerloo, Dutch psychiatrist, visited the department of sociology at the University of Chicago briefly in October.

Dr. Meerloo practiced psychiatry and medicine in The Hague during two years of the German occupation. He had the good fortune to escape from the Gestapo while being put aboard a train bound for a concentration camp in Germany. He reported his psychological observations in the *British Journal of Psychology*, January, 1945, under the title: "A Study of Treason." Early this summer he published *Total War and the Human Mind: A Psychologist's Experiences in Occupied Holland*.

Dr. Meerloo reported the death in a German concentration camp of Dr. B. Schrieke, whose book, *Alien Americans* (1935), reported his study of racial minorities in the United States made under the auspices of the Rosenwald Foundation. Before making this American study, Dr. Schrieke was for eighteen years a colonial educational administrator in Java and professor of social anthropology and sociology at the University of Batavia.

NEWS AND NOTES

The American Sociological Society will meet at the Hollenden Hotel in Cleveland on March 1-3, 1946.

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.—Dr. Carter G. Woodson, director of the Association, announces that "Negro History Week" will be observed, beginning February 10, 1946. Its purpose is to invite the attention of Negroes all over the world to their own development and present condition.

Atlanta University.—Visiting professors for 1945-46 in the social sciences are: William E. Cole, George S. Counts, H. H. Giles, Melville J. Herskovits, Owen Lattimore, E. C. Lindeman, L. D. Reddick, T. Lynn Smith, Frank M. Snowden, Arthur Spingarn, Colston E. Warne, and Eric Williams.

Brigham Young University.—Harold T. Christensen, chairman of the department, has returned to the campus after a year's leave of absence, during which he was employed by the War Food Administration in the Office of Labor, Washington, D.C., and by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics as regional leader for the northeastern area of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

Ariel S. Ballif has just been awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Southern California. His dissertation was on "An Analysis of the Behavior of Rural People on Relief in Utah County, Utah, during the Years 1932-1943." Dr. Ballif, who is at present Relocation Adjustment adviser for the intermountain area of the War Relocation Authority, resumes his position at Brigham Young University in January.

John C. Swenson, professor emeritus, is assisting with special courses for upper-division and graduate students.

Professors Christensen and Ballif have both been appointed members of a Utah Legislative Tax Study Committee with special assignments in the field of public welfare.

Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo (Brazil).—Donald Pierson was appointed to the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution, to direct its research and research-training program in Brazil in co-operation with the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, where he has been teaching sociology and training research personnel for six years.

Professor Pierson has recently published a Portuguese translation of his *Negroes in Brazil—Branços e pretos na Bahia*—and has also brought out in Portuguese a manual of sociology.

Harvard University.—Pitirim A. Sorokin was elected one of forty members of the new Institute of World Polity, recently established in Washington, D.C.

Editora Universitaria of São Paulo, Brazil, announces the publication of Sorokin's *A Crise do nosso tempo* and *Russia e Estados Unidos*, Portuguese translations of Sorokin's *Crisis of Our Age* and *Russia and the United States*. *Crisis of Our Age* is translated also into German and French, awaiting the conditions when its printing is possible. The Associated Organization of Publishers of Italy announces a coming Italian edition of Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories*; this will be the ninth foreign translation of this work.

Howard University.—The third conference of the Cooperative Study Project of the seventeen Negro Land Grant Colleges and Affiliated Institutes was held at Howard

University in November. E. Franklin Frazier is the co-ordinator of the project.

University of Illinois.—At the beginning of the fall semester the curriculum in social welfare administration was expanded to become a two-year program leading to a Master's degree, under the directorship of Marietta Stevenson.

Florence I. Hosch, who until recently has served as secretary of the Board of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare, has been appointed associate professor. She will conduct a new course in the history of English philanthropy and social welfare. She also will collaborate in a course of medical lectures and in the direction of field work.

Among the new courses is a course on social insurance, which will deal with problems arising under the Federal Social Security Act, offered by Henry McCarthy of Chicago, regional director of the Social Security Board. Katherine N. Handley, associate professor and supervisor of field work, will direct two other new courses: advanced social case work and advanced field work. Dr. Stevenson will conduct a new seminar course in public welfare administration.

A course of medical lectures provided last year through the co-operation of the faculty of the college of medicine, will be continued during the coming term by Carroll L. Birch, M.D., associate professor of medicine; F. C. Lendrum, M.D., assistant professor of medicine, and Professor Hosch. The course will deal with maternal health, the development of the child, orthopedic conditions, and major diseases of children and adults.

Virginia Lehmann, Chicago attorney and social worker and counsel for the Legal Aid Bureau of the Chicago United Charities, will offer weekly two-hour lectures on legal information for social workers during the second semester.

Special lectures on psychiatry will be offered during the year by Richard L. Jenkins, acting superintendent of the Institute for Juvenile Research; and lectures on child welfare will be presented by Ione H.

Agnew, social service consultant of the Public Aid Commission.

Indiana University.—Alfred R. Lindsmith and A. S. Hollingshead have been released from the Army and have resumed their academic duties.

Annabelle B. Motz is an instructor in sociology for the first semester of the current year during the leave of absence of Paul Campisi, who is teaching sociology in the Army University in Italy.

Metropolitan Youth Council, New York.—The Council has established a periodical, *Metropolitan Youth Council News and Views*, as a service publication between teen-agers and adults and as a morale-builder for young people. The Council also maintains a radio program over WOR. The office of the Council is at the Town Hall, 123 West Forty-third Street, New York City.

Michigan College of Mining and Technology.—A new department of engineering administration was created this fall, embracing courses in economics, psychology, sociology, and American government and politics. The chairman is E. J. Townsend, who has taught economics at M.C.M.T., his alma mater, since 1931. Professor Townsend served as the college's postwar planning consultant to four hundred governmental units in the Upper Peninsula and as field representative of the Michigan State Planning Commission.

Michigan State College.—Charles Loomis, head of the department of sociology and anthropology, has returned from a War Department assignment in the American, French, and British zones of occupation in Germany.

Frederick Thaden has been granted nine months' leave of absence from teaching and research, beginning October 1. He plans to spend his leave traveling and studying, principally in the Southwest. The map from his Purnell project, *The Delineation of Ethnic and Religious Groups in Michigan*, is now being published.

Walter Firey's Doctor's dissertation, *The Role of Social Values in Land Use Patterns of Central Boston*, is being published by the Harvard University Press. Dr. Firey became a joint staff member of the department of sociology and anthropology and the department of effective living this last year and is also conducting research in the Agricultural Experiment Station. He is now engaged in an ecological analysis of three neighborhoods in the congested fringe of Flint.

Richard Myers, formerly instructor in sociology at the University of Michigan, joined the staff in the fall term. He recently received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan. He will teach a course entitled "Social Aspects of Modern Industrialism."

Paul Honigsheim spent most of the summer working at the University of Chicago on his "Sociology of Music" and on special monographs commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of Max Weber's death.

Judson T. Landis, formerly acting head of the department of sociology of Southern Illinois Normal University, has been appointed as associate professor; and Norman Kinzie, formerly director, Social Service Department, Detroit Council of Churches, has been appointed assistant professor, both being in the department of effective living in the basic college.

Hugo Engelmann, who is preparing his dissertation in the department of sociology and anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor; and Orden Smucker, who will soon receive his Ph.D. degree in sociology at Ohio State University, has become assistant professor, both being in the department of social sciences. Austin Vander Slice is returning to the department of social science, from which he has been on leave, working with the International Labour Office.

Midwest Sociological Society.—The newly elected officers are: president, Ernest Mannheim, University of Kansas City; first vice-president, M. W. Roper, Kansas State Teachers College; secretary-treasurer, How-

ell J. Atwood; representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, Noel P. Gist, University of Missouri; new members of the Executive Committee: Judson T. Landis, Southern Illinois State Normal University; Joseph B. Gittler, Iowa State College; Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas; John Phelan, Carleton College; W. B. Bodenhafer, Washington University. Appointed chairman of the Research Committee, Noel P. Gist; editor of the *Bulletin of the Midwest Sociological Society*, Joseph B. Gittler.

The members of the Research Committee, in addition to Professor Gist, are: F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas; David Lindstrom, University of Illinois; Ruben Hill, Iowa State College; Svend Riemer, University of Wisconsin; Stuart A. Queen, Washington University. The committee began a census of the research interests of members, last autumn, with a view to facilitating co-operative projects among them.

National Bureau of Economic Research.—Following the resignation of Wesley C. Mitchell, the election is announced of Arthur F. Burns, professor of economics, Columbia University, to succeed Dr. Mitchell as director of research. Dr. Mitchell will continue as a member of the research staff.

National Headquarters, Selective Service System.—Lieutenant Raymond V. Bowers, U.S.N.R., and Lieutenant (j.g.) William H. Sewell, U.S.N.R., who have been Navy liaison officers of the Selective Service System for the past year, are being temporarily detached to join the Morale Section of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey of Japan. They expect to return to this country sometime in January and take up their former duties with Selective Service.

Pennsylvania State College.—After an absence of four years, Seth W. Russell, assistant professor of sociology, has returned to

his teaching position at the college. At the time of his discharge, Professor Russell was a lieutenant commander in the Chaplains' Corps of the U.S.N.R., having served one year at the Naval Operating Base, Norfolk, two years aboard the light cruiser "Santa Fe," and one year at Marine Corps Base, San Diego, California.

University of Pennsylvania.—Hugh Carter has resigned his position as assistant professor and has accepted the position as director of general research with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice.

Princeton University.—A program of instruction in sociology has been introduced, with the first courses being given in the winter term.

Kingsley Davis, formerly associate professor of public affairs, has been made associate professor of anthropology and sociology.

Dudley Kirk and Wilbert E. Moore have been appointed assistant professors of sociology.

All these three retain their research affiliation with the university's Office of Population Research, whose director, Frank W. Notestein, will continue to teach demography. Edward C. Devereux, instructor at the University of Toronto before serving with the United States Navy, has been appointed lecturer in sociology.

Social Science Research Council.—Seventy awards for the academic year 1945-46 have been announced. Thirty-eight of the fellowships were granted under the Demobilization Award program, initiated last year, to assist in the return to academic and research careers of social scientists whose scientific work has been seriously disrupted by service in the armed forces or other war activities. Ten Fellows were appointed under the regular program, which the Council has maintained during the entire war period, for the research training of promising young social scientists through advanced graduate

study and field experience. The remaining twenty-two awards are grants-in-aid of research designed to assist mature scholars in the social sciences in the completion of research projects already well under way.

The list of awards of interest to *Journal* readers follows.

DEMobilIZATION AWARDS

Ralph H. Bowen, country economic specialist, U.S. Department of State, A.M. Columbia University: for research in the development of corporatist doctrines in Germany, 1870-1920.

John A. Clausen, Information and Education Division, Army Service Forces, A.M. Cornell University: for study of the postwar plans of selected groups of Army personnel as expressed in advance of separation from service.

Lieutenant Samuel Davis, U.S.N.R., A.M. University of Missouri: for a study of the attitudes adopted by the English Labour party toward foreign affairs, 1919-24.

Lieutenant John C. Eberhart, U.S.N.R., Ph.D. Northwestern University: for study of the functions and procedures of the House of Representatives.

John P. Gillin, Smithsonian Institution, Lima, Peru, Ph.D. Harvard University: for study of the Ladino culture in eastern Guatemala.

Lieutenant Commander Oliver Garceau, U.S.N.R., Ph.D. Harvard University: for research in behavior patterns in the field of public administration.

Richard M. Goodwin, instructor in physics, A.S.T.P., Harvard University, Ph.D. Harvard University: for research in business-cycle theory.

Whitney A. Griswold, director, Civil Affairs Training School, Yale University, Ph.D. Yale University: for a comparative study of agrarian political movements and the main trends of agricultural policy in England, France, Germany, the United States, and Russia, 1750-1945.

Sidney S. Harcave, research analyst, O.S.S., Ph.D. University of Chicago: for study and consultation in the field of social psychology with special reference to the application of its techniques to the history of social movements.

John H. Herz, research analyst, O.S.S., Ph.D. Cologne University: for study of recent developments in foreign government and politics.

Ensign Herbert G. Heneman, Jr., U.S.N.R., A.M. University of Minnesota: for research on techniques for measuring the dynamic characteristics of urban labor markets.

Lieutenant (s.g.) James W. Hurst, U.S.N.R., L.L.B. Harvard University: for research in American legal history.

Henry M. Oliver, Jr., economic analyst, Treasury Department, Ph.D. Duke University: for research in the effects of the structure of industry upon the volume of employment.

Sergeant Kenneth G. Orr, A.U.S., Ph.D. University of Chicago: for research on the nature of ethnological resources in Oklahoma.

Lieutenant (j.g.) Alfred R. Oxensfeldt, U.S.N.R., Ph.D. Columbia University: for research on the creation and assimilation of new industrial techniques.

Ensign Ira Polley, U.S.N.R., A.M. University of Minnesota: for research in the politics and administration of the labor relations acts of selected states in the Middle West and the East.

Sergeant Arnold M. Rose, A.U.S., A.M. University of Chicago: for research on the characteristics of unattached persons in selected cities and other study, leading to the doctorate in sociology.

Captain Murray Ross, A.U.S., Ph.D. Columbia University: for further research on labor problems in the railroad industry.

Lieutenant Harry Schwartz, A.U.S., Ph.D. Columbia University: for research on American farm labor during the second World War.

Shirley A. Star, study director, Research Branch, Information and Education Division, A.S.F., M.A. University of Chicago: for further graduate work leading to the doctorate in sociology.

Lieutenant (j.g.) Kirk H. Stone, U.S.N.R., M.A. Syracuse University: for research on the economic geography of Alaska.

Harry Tschopik, Jr., Smithsonian Institution, stationed in Peru, M.A. Harvard University: for further graduate work leading to the doctorate in anthropology.

Lieutenant (j.g.) Robert F. Winch, U.S.N.R., Ph.D. University of Chicago: for additional study and research in the field of sociology.

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH TRAINING FELLOWS

John P. Dean, Ph.D. Columbia University, instructor in sociology, Queens College: for research training in the sociology of housing and neighborhood planning for the middle-income group.

Lawrence R. Klein, Ph.D. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Research associate, Cowles Commission: for research training in economic theory through study of the formulation of econometric business-cycle theories.

PREDOCTORAL FIELD TRAINING FELLOWS

Frederick J. G. Dallyn, sociology, Harvard University: for field training in industrial relations by participation in the activities of the organizations representing management and labor in a manufacturing plant.

David Herbert Donald, history, University of Illinois: for field training in intellectual history, by tracing the sources of intellectual history in the Ohio Valley, 1830-70.

Seymour M. Lipset, sociology, Columbia University: for field training in the development of political parties through participation in the activities of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada.

Clement G. Motten, history, University of Pennsylvania: for field training in economic history through study in Mexico of the long-range effects of technical improvements introduced into the Mexican silver mines in 1775-1825.

GRANT-IN-AID APPOINTEES

Henry Allen Bullock, head, department of sociology, Prairie View College: for the completion of a study of the leisure-time patterns of Negro youths of Houston, Texas.

Joseph M. Cormack, professor of law, University of Southern California: for the completion of a study of Mexican labor law in action.

John Hope Franklin, professor of American history, North Carolina College for Negroes: for the completion of a study of the emergence of military spirit in the Old South.

Viola E. Garfield, instructor in anthropology, University of Washington: for the completion of a study of Haida and Tlingit Indian economics (Alaska).

Norman S. Hayner, professor of sociology, University of Washington: for the completion of a study of the changing structure of representative Mexican cities.

John I. Kolehmäinen, professor of history and political science, Heidelberg College: for the completion of a history of the Finnish people in America.

Harvey C. Lehman, professor of psychology, Ohio University: for the completion of a study of the chronological age levels at which men do their best work in various lines of endeavor.

Elon H. Moore, head, department of sociology, University of Oregon: for the securing and analysis of case studies on personal adjustments to retirement.

Koppel S. Pinson, assistant professor of history, Queens College: for the completion of a study of Jewish social and intellectual movements since the time of Moses Mendelsohn.

E. E. Schattschneider, professor of government, Wesleyan University: for the completion of a study of certain hypotheses in political behavior since 1940, in the United States.

Kimball Young, professor of sociology, Queens College: for the completion of a study of the Mormon polygynous family.

Wilford J. Eiteman, assistant professor of economics, Duke University: for the completion of a study of the economy of Alaska.

Eugene S. Richards, professor of sociology, Langston University: for the completion of a study of racial attitudes of college students in the Southwest.

Rodman Sullivan, associate professor of economics, University of Kentucky: for the completion of a study of businessmen's reasons for using the corporate form of organization.

The Sociological Review.—The *Journal* received with pleasure the first postwar

issue of the *Sociological Review*. Issued from Le Play House, London, in September, this copy bears the date-line "July-October 1943," but the contents take account of studies and publications now current.

State College of Washington.—R. W. Roskelley, of the Colorado State College, has accepted a position as associate professor of rural sociology. Dr. Roskelley will give three-fourths of his time to research in the division of rural sociology and one-fourth time to teaching sociology in the department of sociology.

Milton Maxwell, of the University of Texas, has accepted an instructorship in the department of sociology. Mr. Maxwell attended summer school at the University of Minnesota during the summer.

Vanderbilt University.—Wayland J. Hayes has been appointed acting chairman of the department following the sudden death last summer of Ernest T. Krueger.

Belle Boone Beard, chairman of the department of sociology at Sweet Briar College, is visiting professor of sociology for the year 1945-46. She and Dr. Hayes are working under a grant from the Rosenwald Fund upon the problem of sociological materials for professional personnel and also doing part-time teaching.

University of Washington.—Donald R. Taft of the University of Illinois taught courses in criminology and the sociology of war during the summer session.

George A. Lundberg gave the 1945 Charles Coolidge Parlin Memorial Lecture on *Marketing and Social Organization*, at Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. The Parlin Memorial Lecture was established by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Marketing Association in collaboration with the Curtis Publishing Company to honor the man who is recognized as the founder of marketing research. The lecture is published as a pamphlet.

Norman S. Hayner spent the summer in

Mexico studying the Mexican family and urban problems.

Robert W. O'Brien, who was assistant to the dean of the college of science and arts for the last five years, has now been promoted to assistant professor and will have charge of the introductory course.

Ch'eng-K'un Cheng has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor.

Gwynne Nettler, who was instructor at Reed College during the past year, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Frank Miyamoto has been appointed assistant professor. For the last three years Mr. Miyamoto has held a predoctoral S.S.R.C. Fellowship.

Calvin F. Schmid has been elected chairman of the Washington State Census Board. The Census Board was created by the last session of the legislature for the purpose of deriving postcensal estimates of population for the 223 chartered and incorporated towns and cities of the state.

Wayne University.—The department of sociology has moved to 5103 Cass Avenue, a remodeled residence now given over to the department's seminar rooms and offices.

Theodore M. Newcomb and Werner S. Landecker, of the University of Michigan, offered one course each during the fall semester. Professor Newcomb is teaching a course in social psychology, and Professor Landecker one in criminology. These courses had been taught by Edward C. Jandy, who is now on a leave of absence, serving as U.N.R.R.A. director of welfare for Ethiopia, with headquarters at Addis Ababa. Professor Jandy left for his new assignment on October 26.

Melvin Marvin Tumin, instructor in sociology and anthropology, has just published *Inter-group Conflicts in Northwest Detroit*, a study made under the auspices of the Jewish Community Council of Detroit. Professor Tumin has also published *The Indians of San Luis Jilótepec* as No. 2 in the "University of Chicago Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American

Cultural Anthropology." The 825 pages represent a selection of his field notes on a study on the Guatemalan community.

Norman Daymond Humphrey, assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, has returned from Tecolotlan, Jalisco, Mexico, where he is studying a town typical of those from which American urban Mexicans migrated.

Eleanor Papierno Wolfe has been appointed instructor in sociology to teach courses in the college of nursing. Other sociology staff members in the college of nursing are Maude L. Fiero and Elizabeth B. Lee.

The first number of the *Wayne University Sociologist*, edited by Assistant Professor Norman D. Humphrey, has been mailed to the 800 alumni of the department for whom addresses were available.

Whitman College.—Philip M. Smith, who has taught the sociology courses for the last two years, left in September to assume his new duties as head of the department of social studies of Union College.

University of Wisconsin.—The *Journal* records with regret the death of John Rogers Commons.

He was born in Hollandsburg, Ohio, on October 13, 1862, and died at Raleigh, North Carolina, on May 11, 1945, at the age of 82. He studied at Oberlin College and Johns Hopkins University and taught at Wesleyan University, Oberlin College, the University of Indiana, Syracuse University, and the University of Wisconsin.

He did original work in an extraordinary range of subjects, including, in economics: value and distribution, history of economic thought, public utilities, immigration, housing, labor legislation, social insurance, trade-unionism and industrial government, labor history, monopoly price, index numbers, business cycles and stabilization, and tariff. He also contributed to political science, on the following topics: civil service and ad-

ministration, municipal government, and proportional representation. Commons was the creator of American labor history, although in this he had been preceded by his teacher and original inspirer, Richard T. Ely. Ely brought him to the University of Wisconsin in 1904 to prepare the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, as well as to teach. The history was published during 1909-11 in eleven volumes.

Commons retired after thirty years of teaching at Wisconsin. However, during the decade between his retirement and death he steadily continued his researches and publication, as well as his close connection with his students in administrative posts and in academic life. The John R. Commons Labor Research Library at Madison has nine large volumes containing a complete collection of his shorter works.

BOOK REVIEWS

Configurations of Culture Growth. By A. L. KROEBER. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944. Pp. x+882. \$7.50.

This handsome volume, one of a group commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the University of California, caps the prolific and extraordinarily varied publications of the most distinguished of living American anthropologists. Since the death of Boas, Professor Kroeber has been, in some sense, the sole general anthropologist in the United States. At any rate, only Kroeber has made distinguished contributions to such diverse branches of anthropology as ethnology, physical anthropology, archeology, linguistics, and anthropological statistics. In this book he demonstrates his control over amazing ranges of world history. Kroeber's versatility and intellectual robustness are all the more refreshing when viewed against the background of the narrowness and overspecialization, the relative isolation from the main currents of contemporary thought, and the inbred parochialism which have, on the whole, characterized twentieth-century American anthropology. Besides the depth and breadth of the author's learning, this book is remarkable for its scientific detachment and restraint and, not least, for singular graces of style. Few anthropologists have written well, but the simple elegance and matchless lucidity of Kroeber's prose incite the reader to try long passages aloud.

This book attempts, says its author, to answer sociological questions by anthropological methods on the basis of historical data. The basic induction from which the inquiry proceeds is that "culturally productive individuals appear in history, on the whole, prevailingly in clusters." Kroeber examines the distribution in space and time of aesthetic and intellectual figures whose eminence has been generally granted by the leaders of thought in subsequent generations in their own and other societies. Persons are treated as "indicators of cultural phenomena." Kroeber's position, he convincingly insists, assumes rather than denies the superiority of certain individuals over others but

regards the investigation of the determinants and consequences of such individual superiority as another—though utterly legitimate—problem.

The relevant facts are first examined from the point of view of the following activities: philosophy, science, philology, sculpture, painting, drama, literature, and music. The plan of each of these chapters varies somewhat according to the nature and availability of the materials. In general, there is a chronological review of the data for each major civilization in which a florescence in this field has occurred, followed by a discussion or summary for the whole field. But in the case of music, for example, the treatment is restricted to modern Europe because the data on ancient music are too scant and Kroeber doubts the capacity of any occidental to judge non-European music. In some cases the West or the Arab-Muslim civilizations are treated as wholes; in other instances there is considerable breakdown, by area or chronology or both. Particular attention is paid to these great civilizations: Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, Greek, Roman, Mohammedan, Japanese, medieval Western, and modern Western, but there are occasional passages on middle America, Mesopotamia, marginal nations, and Hebrew civilization, as well as sections restricted to a single European country. The United States gets a total of only three or four pages in the entire book.

Technical arts and economies are excluded from detailed and systematic consideration because they are harder to classify satisfactorily: "[they] tend to go on with less evident fluctuation" (p. 22); "... subsistence activity ... expresses purely cultural processes, such as pattern formation, less sharply than do activities of the type of philosophy" (p. 92). Wealth and population are likewise excluded on the ground that these phenomena "are of a different order and seem much more difficult to acquire over continuous long ranges of history" (p. 839). Religion is mentioned occasionally, and in the final chapter there is some consideration of the interrelationships between aesthetic and intellectual activities. But religious pat-

terns are not described in a formal substantive way; for,

So far as a given religion varies temporally, it is in the intensity of emotion with which it is felt, and in its organizational expression and status. Its growths and declines in these respects would be hard to estimate. Moreover, they would be something different from the growths and declines in the intellectual and aesthetic products. They might be compared but only partially [p. 799].

In chapter x, "The Growth of Nations" (nearly a hundred pages in length), some new material on politics and architecture is introduced; but for the most part, as Kroeber says, "the data are the same, but harrowed across the furrows."

The final chapter (xi) not only reviews the evidence and draws certain inferences but also treats systematically various topics peripheral to the main argument that have been touched on incidentally earlier: "Retarded and Insular Growths," "Growth at the Peripheries," "Spengler, Exceptional Isolated Genius." A Selected Bibliography with a few brief but interesting annotations and an adequate Index follow.

To turn now to the more specifically conceptual aspects of the organization of the book, the central questions are indicated on pages 5-6. For convenience in tying them to the findings (which Kroeber does not present in precisely the same order) the reviewer has, numbered both.

1. Do "such clusterings or spurts of higher cultural productivity" correspond to any empirical reality?
2. Is there a tendency toward a norm of duration for such successful growths or anything to show of what the duration is a function?
3. Must the florescence extend over the whole of the culture, or may it be partial?
4. Is there an order, or tendency toward order, for the several activities to come successively to their zeniths?
5. Can a culture pass through a cycle to full decline and then enjoy another cycle of prosperity or are we in that case dealing with two cultures?
6. Can the cycles or bursts be induced from without, or must they develop from within?
7. Do the peaks tend to come within early growths, toward the end, or is the growth curve most often symmetrical?

The essence of Kroeber's answers to these queries is, in the reviewer's judgment, suggested by the following quotations:

1. It is clear that aesthetic and intellectual endeavors resulting in higher values preponderantly realize themselves in temporary bursts, or growths, in all the higher civilizations examined. The same sort of bursts or growths tend to characterize nationalistic development, as expressed in successful political organization and expansion [pp. 838-39].
2. They range all the way from a single productive lifetime, say thirty or forty years, to a thousand years. The briefest ones usually represent a localized pulse in larger growths, like French seventeenth century philosophy and science. The longest-seeming ones occur in Asia, in civilizations intimately known to very few westerners, and therefore difficult to analyze or evaluate comparatively with regard to their historic parts. . . . This much can probably be affirmed inductively from the data reviewed: that qualitatively great growths tend to be of considerable duration [pp. 804-5].
- On the whole, ethnic or national energy and higher cultural energy tend to be related. . . . Factors of population and wealth no doubt tend, other things equal, always to play a part [p. 795].
- What it is that binds high-value culture patterns to such transience—lower-grade ones can apparently go on with much less change and much longer—is far from clear. . . . The patterns which we adjudge as of higher quality are selective from among a number of potentialities. They cannot remain undifferentiated and attain quality. As they begin to select, early in their formation, they commit themselves to certain specializations, and exclude others. If this arouses conflict with other parts of the culture in which the pattern is forming, the selection and exclusion may be abandoned, the pattern as something well differentiated be renounced. . . . If . . . the other patterns of the culture reinforce the growing one, or at least do not conflict with it, the pattern in question tends to develop cumulatively, in the direction in which it first differentiated, by a sort of momentum. Finally, either a conflict with the rest of its culture arises and puts an end to the pattern, or it explores and traverses the new opportunities lying in its selective path, until less and less of these remain, and at last none. The pattern can be said to have fulfilled itself when its opportunities or possibilities have been exhausted [p. 763; cf. also p. 840]. Essentially, the culture which survives in competition is the more viable and therefore the one we consider superior. . . . [p. 819].
3. The obvious example of Islam as lacking in representative art suffices to settle the matter negatively. . . . [p. 778]. [The history of Iranian civilization] . . . serves . . . to dispel any possible impression that, because high florescences in different cultural activities tend to come associated in time among a people, they must do so [p. 811].

4. . . . No nation has ever developed sculpture late in its growth. . . . Also, painting can arise late: as in England not until 1750 [p. 781]. . . . It seems normally to be religion which first reaches its chief climax, and then the aesthetic and intellectual activities as they free themselves from religion [p. 804]. There is no marked evidence of an inherent order of succession in which the several cultural activities develop. So far as there is a tendency for sculpture to precede painting, the cause lies not in anything cultural, but in the fact that sculpture is the physically simpler art [p. 843].
5. It is plain that we are dealing with an intergrading series of phenomena, without either measure or touchstone, and can only hope to arrange them in order from the more clear-cut to the more difficult or dubious instances [p. 770].
6. These factors which cause philosophy to be produced in bursts, though they may rest ultimately on other factors external to philosophy, must be in some measure internal to it. . . . In short, there are no constant conditions beyond a certain level of general cultural activity. . . . [p. 89]. Can successful cultural movement in any one direction persist indefinitely, or is a sort of rejuvenation through cultural cross-fertilization necessary sooner or later? I pose the problem as intellectually significant, without being able to offer an answer [p. 667; see also pp. 313-14]. . . . Some patterns productive of high values have been developed with astonishing rapidity; and . . . there have been others in which such productivity fell off and ceased with equal rapidity, the withering apparently not having been enforced by any external factor [p. 776]. All I am contending for is the possibility of specific connections between the beginnings of Chinese, Indian, and Greek philosophies; not indeed in their content, but as functions of other cultural activities which were carried and transmitted by contact. . . . The total space-time distribution of philosophies being in accord with chance, there was no need to assume an immanence in this instance. . . . Did the development or diffusion of something else than philosophy, such as the growth of the use of writing, help to bring about philosophical growths as a function of itself, and therefore contemporaneously? [p. 790].¹

¹ Question 6, though touched upon explicitly and implicitly from time to time, never—so far as the reviewer noted—receives a definite answer. However, if one may venture to infer Kroeber's opinion (which he is unwilling to commit himself to because he regards it as unproved), it may probably be expressed in a simple generalization of this order: "No amount or type of external influence will produce a burst of cultural productivity unless the internal culture situation is ripe; however, the greater number of florescences can be shown to have a direct re-

7. The growth curves are sometimes symmetrical like a normal variability curve; sometimes skew, the crest appearing either before or after the middle of the duration. Skew curves are, if anything, more frequent for single activities. The curves for total cultures show somewhat more of a tendency toward symmetry, presumably because they are a composite of curves for several activities. There is enough variability to make it uncertain whether growth is typically expressible by a symmetrical normal curve [pp. 841-42].

Such are some of the principal conclusions. But it is impossible in a review even to suggest the factual and conceptual richness of this book. Many other findings cry for mention. For instance, Kroeber does not discover the least empirical support for Henry Adams' famous "law" that, as thought accelerates, the succeeding phases decrease in length according to the principle of inverse squares. Kroeber concludes: "So far as high quality growths are concerned, they seem to take about as long now as they did one or two thousand years ago, speaking in terms of estimated averages of fairly variable periods" (p. 808).

Something should be said of the approach, beyond what has been implied by the statement of plan, questions, and answers. The author himself says: "I have offered an adumbration of an explanation in terms of culture patterns" (p. vii). The key concepts are: culture, pattern, configuration, and growth. "Cycle" is avoided for the most part because of its implications. Culture growths are frequently described as "wavelike." Metaphors (frankly, explicitly, and repeatedly recognized as such) are frequently employed: pattern (or culture) "saturation," "realization," "exhaustion," and "death." The concept "law" is expressly repudiated as inappropriate to historical data. Rather, the effort is to "formulate such norms as there may be . . . of complex factors never expressing themselves alike and yet ever with certain likenesses . . ." (p. 93). The terminology of cultural anthropology and culture history predominates. In addition to "culture" and "culture pattern" the principal anthropological ideas are those of "diffusion" and "stimulus diffusion." The intellectual influences, other than those of history and anthropology, which stand out are those emanating from biology and

relationship to external influences, often in the form of 'stimulus importation' ('stimulus diffusion')" (cf., e.g., p. 201).

statistics. The premises and theorems of probability theory permeate the thinking (cf., e.g., p. 87) and give it rigor. Biological concepts and analogies are also frequent: radiation, age, and area; the life-histories, senescence, and senility of culture; and the like.

In broad perspective the resemblances to Spengler, Toynbee, and Sorokin, as regards both conceptual scheme and conclusions, are massive. Indeed, the extent of agreement between these four scholars of such different temperament and background is an effective refutation of the view that history "is a sort of Chinese Play, without end and without lesson." Of course, there are important disagreements. Professor Kroeber, in the course of a fair and even sympathetic survey of Spengler, remarks:

The opinions at which I halt are three. The first is that the basic patterns of each culture can necessarily be reduced to a single master or key pattern which controls the culture. The second is that the cultures necessarily develop through essentially parallel stages; and the third, that they die of themselves. All three of these "necessarily's" I hold to be legitimate problems, but wholly unproved, and difficult to investigate because it is difficult to evaluate the objective comparability of the facts [p. 828].

There is only very brief comment on Toynbee and Sorokin, for *Configurations of Culture Growth* was written before Kroeber was able to read *A Study of History* and *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. The over-all impressions which strike the reviewer are these: Kroeber's study is the most modest of the four from the point of view of elaborateness of factual detail and sweep of generalization. Spengler and Sorokin are much more passionately intense. Spengler felt he knew the answers before he wrote his book, and Sorokin's data are ordered in accord with a scheme ("ideational," "idealistic," "sensate"). Kroeber lacks the brilliant apperceptive intuitions of Spengler, the creative fire and the wealth of material of Sorokin, and the "original and penetrating historical insights" of Toynbee. However, his methodology is surely more rigorous than that of Spengler or Toynbee and, in the reviewer's opinion, sounder than that of Sorokin—for all of the latter's statistics and his care. And the reviewer would say without hesitation that Kroeber's book has more intellectual and emotional poise than those of the other three writers.

To write a brief critique of this book without distortion is even more difficult than to summarize it. Full appraisal of the factual side is al-

together beyond the reviewer's competence; in those sections dealing with civilizations (Greek, Roman, Japanese) which the reviewer has studied intensively he was impressed by Kroeber's judicious sifting of the evidence, and disagreement was limited to minor points.

The conceptual side of the book is appreciably less tight than the factual appears to be. One criticism which is certain to be widely made is that of the hypostatization of culture. The reviewer confesses that passages like the following making him somewhat uncomfortable: "It is entirely possible for a culture not to seize upon its finest pattern potentialities; to be lacking in the ability to select and concentrate, and, instead, to dissipate its energies in random or conflicting endeavors at expression" (p. 796). While this seems a needlessly abstract and metaphorical mode of expression which invites misinterpretation, the objections which have been raised in the past to Kroeber's notion of culture as "the superorganic" and which will, without doubt, be roused anew over his treatment of culture in this book rest, in considerable part, upon a failure fully to comprehend the concept.

Behavior is never culture. Rather, concrete behavior or habits are part of the raw data from which we infer and abstract culture. Behavioral products (artifacts) comprise our other class of raw data. Culture, thus, is not something which is seen but an inferential construct. This worries a few anthropological positivists a great deal, but one can point to excellent precedents in the physical sciences. No one has ever seen an electromagnetic field. This is also an inferential construct but, like culture, a highly useful one in helping us to understand phenomena and to predict existences and events.

Seen from this perspective, the much debated question as to whether culture exists outside the individual is largely a false question. In one sense culture is certainly supra-individual, for a culture or some portions of it live on after any particular set of individuals has died. In another sense, too, culture is not dependent upon the continued survival of human beings; for culture may be reconstructed on the basis of cultural products, such as books, utensils, or other artifacts. Culture, it must be repeated, is a logical construct. It may be manifested either in men's acts or in the products of those acts. All analogies are dangerous, and this one not less than others. Nevertheless, there may be some enlightenment in comparing culture to a postu-

lated but yet unseen virus. The host whose behavior indicates the activity of this virus may be a human being or a domesticated animal or some aspect of inanimate nature which has been reshaped in accord with standardized, group-shared blueprints. From the point of view of this analogy, the question as to whether culture is ever the cause of anything takes on a somewhat new phrasing. It is fashionable to warn beginners in anthropology that it is "the Indians and not their culture patterns" who determine certain events. But we must remind ourselves that there are different levels of causation. Does a man who has a communicable virus cause an epidemic? Does the unseen virus to which he is supposedly host cause it?

The danger in Kroeber's favorite locutions is that the student or reader is likely to forget that, in the concrete, culture and culture products are always mediated by individuals. Kroeber's refusal to deal with these agents of culture in psychological terms makes it impossible for him to develop a satisfying theory of culture change. It is useful to point out that culture patterns supply a framework which conditions and limits the direction of culture change—but this obviously is not the whole story.

The greatest weakness of the book, in the reviewer's opinion, is a certain conceptual timidity. Kroeber is not overcautious in drawing historical inferences, although he scrupulously makes the distinction between a well-documented generalization and a plausible guess. But he seems very unsure of his conceptual distinctions. For example, he worries (pp. 798-99, 844) about culture content and culture forms as "imperfectly distinguishable." Some years ago in discussing American Indian cultures of the Southwest he was bolder: he made a fruitful generalization to the effect that, although the content of many of these cultures had altered markedly, the "container" remained almost unchanged. To be sure, all reality is a continuum; and the sharp lines of all abstractions do some violence to the intergradations of the phenomena. But that the forms of the observable world are as actual as the materials is excellently brought out by Hocking:

Let us take these walls as an example of something we might consider real. Assume that they are made of brick. Then let us unbuild the wall, brick by brick. Have we destroyed anything? "No." Have we not destroyed the wall? "Yes."

Then by your answers the wall was nothing. But let us say, it was not real: it was simply the form into

which the bricks were set. Now it is the bricks we consider real, not the wall. But let us pulverize a brick. We have destroyed the brick: yet again we have destroyed nothing. The brick was not real: it was simply the form into which its particles were molded. Could this process not be continued with the brick particles? [*Fortune*, August, 1942].

More serious is Kroeber's wariness about conceptual innovation. He uses conceptions which he recognizes as inadequate without, apparently, trying to invent new and better ones. He gives no fully explicit definitions of his key concepts. "Culture" is a slippery idea with considerable spread in its denotations and connotations, but Kroeber seems to assume that its referent is established and that it will mean the same thing to his readers that it means to him. The best definition of pattern we get is: "A cultural or historical pattern is a larger nexus which we perceive as possessing a certain objective validity" (p. 20). This does not help very much, particularly since it is never made clear as to whether "pattern" and "configuration" are to be regarded as synonyms (this implication is often present—cf., e.g., p. 844) or as distinct, though related, concepts. "Configuration" evidently means something quite different from what it does to the Gestalt psychologists or to certain anthropologists (Sapir, Benedict, Kluckhohn). By reconstructing scattered bits (pp. 6, 314, and *passim*), "configuration" comes out as meaning something like this: "a set of relationships in space, time, and quality (achievement) between historical phenomena." But statements such as the following remain puzzling to the reviewer: "Guarini, 1538, suffices neither as a bridge to the past, nor for a quite satisfactory constellation around Tasso. . . ." "The Norwegian Dane Holberg, born 1684, is too early for a configuration" (p. 836). Kroeber says: "The 'rectification of names' has a way of taking care of itself if concepts are sound" (p. 91). However, is not a clear and explicit delimitation of concepts a prerequisite to judging of their soundness? Elsewhere Kroeber has given a more adequate definition of pattern: ". . . basic patterns are nexuses of culture traits which have assumed a definite and coherent structure, which function successfully, and which acquire historic weight and persistence" (*Scientific Monthly*, LVI [1943], 112).

For the reviewer's taste, Kroeber's treatment remains too much on the purely descriptive plane. He more than once flirts with the

problem of implicit culture (cf. pp. 313-14), only to shy away from it. And yet he does fully recognize the indispensable importance of the organization (as contrasted with the content) of culture:

.... The characteristics of patterns, or pattern systems, are: first, their individual uniqueness even when similar in kind or genus; and second, an inner coherence or organization which tends to push them on to fulfillment or exhaustion and sets a limit which is none the less real because we cannot foresee it [p. 91].

.... Cultures appear to grow in patterns and to fulfill or exhaust these. Why cultures so often behave in this way, especially in their intellectual, aesthetic, and nationalistic aspects, is not clear; but it seems to be one of their most distinctive properties [p. 83].

Whatever reservations—and they are almost exclusively those within the realm of taste or opinion—the reviewer has about this book, he must also make it plain that he has found a close study of it a most exciting and rewarding intellectual experience. *Configurations of Culture Growth* deserves those abused adjectives “great” and “monumental.”

CLYDE ELUCKHOHN

Harvard University

The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background. By HANS KOHN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1944. Pp. xi+735. \$7.50.

This impressive book is the first volume of a world history organized around the ideas of nationalism and universalism—Christian, humanist, cosmopolitan, or imperialist. Dr. Kohn carries his story from ancient Palestine up to the French Revolution. Further volumes are to follow.

The author's way of writing world history differs from that of Sorokin or Toynbee. His is not an effort in colossalism, in the organization of comprehensive structures, trends, cycles, and oscillations. Rather one is reminded of Ranke, who wished to “present historical life as it progressively moves from one nation to the other, from one circle of peoples on to the other.” Thus there is underlying constancy in change, unity in diversity. History is not a Calvary of senseless and shattered hopes, of ruined grandeur. History seems to make “sense.” Peoples, men of ideas, and men of deeds are assembled in one great pantheon, through which the au-

thor follows the thread of “dominant ideas.” Kohn's history is a history of ideas in the sense of Meinecke. “The emphasis is not laid on events.... but on their interpretation and evaluation in the chain of history.”

The organization of periods is traditional. Mediterranean antiquity, the Middle Ages, the period of the Renaissance and Reformation form the first three chapters; the next four chapters take the reader up to the French Revolution. The transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages is made smoothly by grouping Israel and Hellas together and by discussing the legacy of Rome in connection with the Holy Roman Empire.

This procedure dismisses pre-Christian Germanic antiquity as “chaos” and “barbarism,” gives the northern Alpine tribes too great a part in the decline of the Roman Empire, and blocks insight into the reasons for the disintegration of its structure. Besides, those Puritan divines who would fancy their flock to be “a lost tribe of Israel” seem to be more estimable than those who pride themselves as Anglo-Saxons. The sociologist, free to stress “practical” ideas besides the spiritual ones, might credit these “noble savages” of Tacitus with the invention and spread of the moldboard plow, contour plowing, strip farming, the art of hitching draft animals nose to tail, and, last not least, the art of sailing against the wind. Perhaps these unbookish ideas helped the universalist ideas of Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome to gain a wider setting?

Up to the Reformation, Kohn has more to say about universalist aspirations of popes and emperors than about nationalism. Although discerning nationalist beginnings among isolated intellectuals, the author disputes Max Weber's qualified and Carlton Hayes's more sweeping views that nationalist sentiments inspired the patronage struggles during the conciliar movement or the Hussite war. The argument is hardly settled. The Counterreformation is somewhat scantily dealt with; one would not realize that the Rhineland, Bavaria, Austria, and much of Hungary once were Protestant countries and that Ignatius de Loyola, Luther's contemporary, made quite a contribution to the Western world. Although Luther's religiously inspired rebellion against pope, emperor, theologians, and medieval asceticism is mentioned, Kohn feels that the Reformation period separated Germany from “the West.” The reactionary and medieval traits of Luther are consid-

ered "typically German," a term which comes to mean "not Western." By contrast it is worth while to note that "German classical literature and philosophy never became representative of the German nation" (p. 391); Kant and Schiller and Schiller's "Ode to Joy," which Beethoven used for the *Ninth Symphony*, we take it, are "common property of mankind"; that should save them from representing something "German," by definition.

The retardation and retrogression of central Europe is well contrasted with England's contemporary heroic age of merchant-adventurers and Cromwellian saints, with victories over Spain and Holland and punishment for Ireland. The author shows impressively how British nationalism got its stamp in the crucible of civil war and blended with Puritanism so as to identify its causes with those of Christianity and Western civilization. Kohn at this point sees no problems because he evaluates British imperialism "as a process of regeneration and moral education . . . invigorating ancient races and awakening masses, downtrodden, since time immemorial, for the first time to human life."

The ascendancy of France under her kings and cardinals to a leading position in Europe is brought out in admirable crescendo up to the point when the court and salon pattern of the Sun king and his successors sweeps across Europe and into Russia. Catherine II vied with Frederick II of Prussia for recognition by French philosophers. An essay on Rousseau interestingly brings to the fore the image of Sparta and sterner stuff than would befit "gay Paris" of the *ancien régime*.

The panorama of national differentiation is unfolded from west to east. We follow the rise of the American national intelligentsia, there are short and informative sketches covering the smaller European nations, northwest, northeast, east, and southeast. All this material is skilfully interwoven and organized with rare erudition and a great sense of proportion so as not to disrupt the unifying canvas of the march of ideas.

One-fifth of the book is devoted to a literary history of Germany from the Thirty Years' War to the Weimar poets in an effort to arrive at the "national character" of the Germans. The chapter brings out the diversity of intellectual currents, the pitiful state of German literature at the end of the Thirty Years' War. (One might mention that Bach's Masses were sung in

German lest one be inclined to believe that to be "civilized" meant to speak French.) Then follows, step by step, the rise of German literature, which, according to Kohn, "reached at the end of the century one of the highest peaks in the whole panorama of the human spirit." At this point Kohn feels Schiller—to take but one—had done too much. Although the play-right of *Die Räuber* had been decorated by the French Assembly, Kohn feels Schiller stood so high that "no roads led down to the plains where the people lived" (p. 391). Schiller is performed in New Glarus, Wisconsin, and is quite popular there. We see no reason why Iffland and his successors should not have reached German audiences. Evidence to the contrary is to be found in Goldfriedrich's *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, histories of the German stage, and any old "reader." Schiller's heroes preach Kantian ideas. It is not true that what is popular must be vulgar and what is great is only for the few. One might quibble about some points, as, for example, the lack of attention to Shaftesbury's influence; one might focus attention on the reception of Adam Smith via Göttingen and Königsberg, on Büsch's and Archenholz's circles at Hamburg and Bertuch's promotional activities at Weimar. In Bertuch's *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* incipient nationalism is quite evident.

One might continue to bicker about fine points and prefer to locate Catherine II's reactionary turn at 1774, when Pugatchov's flaming rebellion was suppressed, rather than at the time of the French Revolution. Catherine then was conquering the Crimea; and Russia, reaching the Black Sea, would hardly seem to fear a France in turmoil. One might attribute to Catherine rather than to "Russian reality" the extension of Russian serfdom (decree of 1785); and, just as with Frederick II of Prussia, one might evaluate her administration as more important than philosophical musings of the salon.

These comments are not meant to detract from the value of a great book. The sociologist, interested in the social history of intellectual vanguards and their aspirations, will find the volume very informative and stimulating. The over-all philosophy of history, running through the book, reminds us of Ramsay Muir's conception as stated in his war book *Nationalism and Internationalism* (1917).

H. H. GERTH

University of Wisconsin

Food for the World. Edited by T. W. SCHULTZ. (Lectures of the Twentieth Institute of the Harris Foundation.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+355. \$3.75.

This series of twenty-three essays on the fundamental elements appropriate to a world food policy is divided into six parts: (1) "The Food Movement"; (2) "Population"; (3) "Nutrition"; (4) "Food Supplies"; (5) "International Relations"; and (6) "Consequences and Policy."

One of the chief lessons drawn from the pre-war international food movement was the need for integration of the health, agricultural, social, and economic aspects of the problem of improving diets. This series of lectures is a well-rounded and scholarly attempt to review all these aspects of the present role of food in world affairs.

A study of population growth, both long-term and qualitative, lays the groundwork for an examination of the world food problem. Three population types are analyzed—the incipient decline (i.e., the United States), transitional growth (i.e., Russia), and high growth potential (India is of this type). An estimate of three billion people in the world by the year 2000, with the capacity for growth of backward populations still unimpaired, re-emphasizes the importance of advances in food production and in that kind of social and political organization that gives new value and dignity to the individual and so lowers fertility.

A series of five essays on nutrition follows. These stress the recent advances in nutrition and point to many lines of research needing further study. The essay on the attitude of the medical profession toward food in relation to health is a revealing commentary on their skepticism, fragmentary training, and confusion over the significance of rapidly developing research. If the facts of nutrition are to be effective in food policies, close co-operation is needed between economists, medical scientists, and administrators, to reach an integrated approach.

The fourth section of this book deals with food supplies. The so-called "marriage of nutrition and agriculture" is a remedy for many agricultural ills and when implemented by a long-term sound nutrition policy is a powerful force for raising levels of living. The prospect of food surpluses after the war is of immediate concern to economists. A brief survey of the world dietary situation leaves no doubt that these surpluses could be done away with if the pur-

chasing power of the low-income groups throughout the world could be raised. The beneficial effect of home-produced food on dietary levels of farm families is brought out in several chapters. Of greater interest to the participants in these lectures, as indicated by the observations at the end of this section, are the pros and cons of the government's farm-income and price policy. At this point, the discussion inevitably loses its international character.

The subject of international relations, particularly as affecting food and agriculture, brings the essays back to focus on food for the world. Our postwar trade policy is vigorously discussed in one essay, followed by various viewpoints on the merits and limitations of alternative international arrangements. Commodity agreements come in for critical examination. High hopes are held for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization as an educational and informational tool, but considerable doubt is expressed as to the vigor of its approach, especially to economic problems.

The final section of these very readable lectures deals with food policy in a developing world economy. Many of the controversial aspects of government policy are recapitulated in this section. Lively discussion following the lectures indicates that by no means was there agreement among the participants. Their observations make this series of lectures particularly interesting reading.

FAITH CLARK

U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities. Edited by FRANCIS J. BROWN and JOSEPH SLABEY ROUCEK. New York: Prentice-Hall Book Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. xvi+717. \$3.75.

In this revision of *Our Racial and National Minorities* (1939), the editors have retained the general sequence of the earlier work but have introduced a new part (II) on the histories of organized action in minority groups, over-emphasizing this war period. These chapters overlap some of Part I, which describes separately each minority's immigration, culture, assimilation, and contributions and of Part III, which now includes not only generalizations on minority conflicts and accommodations, by institutional areas, but adds special chapters on

the Negro and the Indians. One misses possible chapters on Caribbean groups, say, by Rogler—and on current refugee-adjustment problems, which are barely touched.

Some of Part IV overlaps some of Part I, on minority contributions to "America." New chapters in Part IV bear out the editors' shift of goals from "cultural pluralism" to "cultural democracy," evidenced in the predictive assumption of the book's new title. The change of direction seems to be not in any drive for uniformity or any contempt for differences but in a wishful emphasis upon observed insistence that groups forego whatever culture traits interfere with the spontaneous growth of national unity and loyalty. This goes not only for minority ideologies but *also for such* "American" practices and attitudes as conflict with the *realization of American democratic ideals* of liberty, equality, tolerance, etc. There is danger here that the editors may "overcorrect": that teachers may assume that minority people are expected to accept national policies of "our country, right or wrong." It is only asked that they judge them by American or world-wide criteria, not by minority or "home-land" criteria.

Adding seventeen chapters while cutting the total bulk from 877 pages necessitated heavy abridgment of the descriptive materials on the several groups, at the expense of some of the most interesting and enlightening sections and authors of the first edition. Much of the re-writing was done by one of the editors, who, though very widely informed, was largely and unavoidably dependent upon secondary and occasionally partisan sources upon reports of reports. Chapters by selected representatives of the minorities usually are or would be superior, especially if introduced by a "who's who" of the writers and a connecting statement by the editors.

The revision redates the work but fails to streamline it. Items on important groups are dotted about in widely separated chapters. New sections by Frazier, Davie, Dodson, are very good.

The general melioristic, pedagogical, and patriotic orientation of the book is frankly stated but limits its usefulness as a text for advanced students, who will detect errors of inconsistency, inaccuracy, or bias, possibly influenced by "war psychology." To find misleading discrepancies, for example, in the sections on Japanese-Americans, on Indians, and even on Yugoslavs (Titojinorid and Mihailovitch [*sic*] being praised) makes one wonder

about the firmness of materials on less well-known minorities.

The reported study, by Katch, of one of James Weldon Johnson's classes seems to corroborate the reviewer's opinion, long held, despite Young's earlier similar study of his own students, that college "race courses" can influence attitudes but that the amount and direction of such change depends less upon factual content than upon the personality and methods of the teacher. This being the case, it is regrettable that, as a source book planned ostensibly for educators, the revision does not itself offer more materials on person-to-person and local group relationships and provide visual and other teaching aids stimulative of such methods as the new chapters on "intercultural education" describe and advocate. For example, the chapters on minorities' contributions to "America" (i.e., the United States) would be the most effective propaganda in the book if they could be liberally illustrated by portraits and art facsimiles and implemented by exercises and projects. Space could be afforded at the expense of superfluous pages, such as those which debate whether Columbus' pilot was a Negro. Good points noted include: (1) the needs of minority people for interpretive contacts with those of other minorities and for reinterpretation of the majority group to them; (2) the need of vigilance and correctives against misleading stereotypes subtly, often unintentionally, introduced into children's books, radio and comics, and grade-school texts; (3) the significance of full employment for assimilative attitudes not only in minority members but on the part of the dominant or majority group; (4) the significance of the increasing percentage of Negroes in "America's" population as soon as immigration is shut off (globally, "whites" are a racial minority group); (5) the importance of nostalgia in the attitudes and propaganda controlling immigrant groups; and (6) reference (casually) to our neglect or mistreatment of minority folks as a basis for their occasional receptivity to "anti-American," "antidemocratic" attitudes or ideas.

The proofreading of this edition was poor. The format is improved. It still seems to be the best available text for courses in its field, but not for courses limited to race relations. The postwar period, however, already begins to call for a new edition: events are too fast, nowadays, for our textbooks!

THOMAS D. ELIOT

Northwestern University

Boundary Making—a Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors, and Boundary Commissioners. By STEPHEN B. JONES. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, 1945. Pp. v+268. \$3.00.

This is a scholarly, if not exhaustive, presentation of the multitudinous complexities of the world's one hundred thousand miles of frontiers and the techniques of demarkation of the boundary lines. S. Whittemore Boggs, of the State Department, himself an authority on boundaries, says almost apologetically in his Introduction, that "there is no better brief introduction in any language." The book contains a mass of fact and detail, and yet its brevity (273 pages) is forced upon one when it is discovered that the three parts are each for separate technicians: statesmen, treaty editors, and boundary commissioners. One feels it a book to read, then run and create a boundary. Each division is, however, excellent, informational, and suggestive; and, of the three, the second section dealing with geographic factors is the best. Jones is a distinguished geographer. Time accounts for its brevity, for the book is badly needed at the moment; but a large bibliography and a carefully annotated text will lead the expert to source material.

The volume is most welcome. No country is more ignorant and has fewer experts in boundary-making than America. Our boundaries are administrative, and, except for a score of specialists, we are not prepared to pass on such confusing problems as are found in Europe. This book will help tremendously. It is hoped that Jones, with his mass of research accomplished, will now give us studies in frontier functions and performances. Boggs notes that Jones "is well aware that a boundary is not simply a line on the ground, but a line in a zone of transition." The thesis deserves further elaboration for the uninformed. The agents and statesmen of peace are desperately in need of enlightenment. As excellent as this volume is—and I agree it is the best introduction in any language—it seldom carries one beyond the mentality of 1919. We need to go further, and one looks to Jones for that progress.

RODERICK PEATTIE

Ohio State University

Plan for Reconstruction: A Project for Victory in War and Peace. By W. H. HUTT. New York:

Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. viii+328. \$4.50.

The present essay is an able and thoughtful treatise on the problems of a war economy and the period of transition to normal peacetime relations. It consists of two parts: the first contains the text of three bills dealing with labor security, capital security, and resources utilization; and the second part contains, in sixteen chapters, an explanation of the bills and of the system which they are to create.

The main thesis of the book is that the British economy has suffered in the past under the "crushing economic disease" of restrictionism and that reconstruction aims must be shaped to eradicate it. The author then proceeds to outline a plan which is claimed to allow the full use of resources on the basis of equality and security. In order to achieve this, there is proposed the establishment of a "Labor Security Pool," to be raised through a uniformly proportional contribution by all receivers of earned income. Similarly, a "Capital Security Pool," to be raised through a proportional levy on all incomes from property, is to be set up. There are to be established guaranteed minimum incomes from labor and ownership of property, and persons whose incomes fall below the guaranteed minimums will be compensated from the respective pools. Provision is made for transfer of funds between the pools in case of deficiencies. The provisions are thus essentially modified social security arrangements, extended to all receivers of income regardless of its source and graduated in amount dependent upon "established expectations."

In addition, a "Resources Utilization Commission" is to be set up, whose functions are manifold but which has the chief purpose of insuring the permanence of competitive conditions. The commission is a hybrid organization performing the functions of an antitrust agency, of a supervisory agency, such as the Federal Trade Commission, and others. Further provision is made for state-owned plants, which are to function as yardstick plants and as vehicles to provide employment for assets and individuals set free by the decline of war production. The crowning function of the commission is to provide for planning and co-ordination where this is required on a wider scale than for the individual firm or industry and to prevent or abolish collusion and attempts at monopolization. Price discriminations of all sorts, strikes, and lockouts are declared practices cal-

culated to restrain trade or the free exchange of goods and services and are unlawful.

This sketchy outline hardly does justice to the careful analysis of the book, but, instead of following the author along all the minute turns of his argument, it might be proper to discuss some of the major thoughts underlying the whole essay.

One of the most labored points in the book is the discussion of the "ideal of equality." Hutt admits that the concept of equality of opportunity is one of the basic values in a democracy; still, he is not ready to grant unconditional equality of opportunity, because he fears, ironically enough, that this would endanger freedom. Hence he surrounds equality of opportunity with conditions, so that it finally emerges in an utterly emaciated form; equality means a guaranteed minimum income on the basis of "established expectations" and a "guarantee of gradual equalitarian achievement." The fundamental conservatism of the author's approach becomes still clearer when we find that the minimum income for various professional groups is computed (in accordance with the principle of "established expectations") so as to form a certain multiple of incomes of manual laborers, and when we encounter in the chapter on capital security an elaborate defense of a given distribution of wealth without regard to its "distributive justice" or its usefulness to the economic ends of the plan.

A subject which is almost completely neglected in the essay is consumption and the impact of the plan upon the propensity to consume not only of society as a whole but more especially of the various classes of society. This defect vitiates much of the constructive analysis of the book, since the tacit assumption is made that there must always exist monetary equilibrium. But such an assumption is entirely unwarranted, and there is no indication as to how business depressions could successfully be avoided. The book has thus an important defect: the monetary and fiscal angles of the plan are left out (with the exception of the relatively insignificant matter of the cost of the plan).

The book is as much a piece of political writing as of economic analysis. The author states quite frankly in his conclusion that he desires his work to become more widely known, and he expresses the hope that the policies proposed by him will be adopted by an enlightened political group. He believes that he is providing new tools to attack an old evil. But most of the policies

which are really new, such as the "Capital Security Pool" and the elaborate provision to freeze a given class structure, will probably not find many adherents. The most important policies stressed in the book, such as the use of state corporations for yardstick purposes, the discovery that income distribution may be arbitrary and need not be a reflection of processes of valuation of factors of production, the social security schemes and minimum-income provisions, and numerous others, are not new but have been incorporated in the recommendations of economic writers who in almost all cases were of a persuasion opposed to that of Hutt—they were Socialists. But whereas the Socialists outlined relatively simple rules, the author sets up a tremendous apparatus of committees and councils, of control agencies and advisory boards. If ever a scheme was devised in which bureaucracy was given a chance to run wild, it is the plan expounded in this book. The author defends his scheme by stating that it is workable and politically feasible. Its workability is, however, seriously impaired by its complexity, and its feasibility is made doubtful by the size and power of the bureaucracy provided for.

The book thus presents an attempt by an economist of liberal persuasion to devise a set of policies with the purpose of enforcing competitive conditions. Many of the policies advocated turn out to be dangerously similar to policies stressed repeatedly by Socialists, and the actual operation of the plan requires a staff of government officials of such magnitude and involves legislation of such complexity that even the most confirmed opponents of traditional liberalism would shrink from proposing it for fear that it might mean the "road to serfdom." That such a plan comes from a man who admires and shares Professor Hayek's political opinions is perhaps not insignificant. It shows the utter incapacity of traditional classical liberalism to deal with the intricacies of modern monopoly capitalism.

But even though the book fails to suggest real improvements in the field of economic policy directed toward the elimination or curtailment of monopolistic practices, it is a careful and sound analysis of all forms of restrictionism, and it is a skilful discussion of some of the most important economic evils of our era.

BERT F. HOSELTZ

University of Chicago

Approaches to National Unity: Fifth Symposium.

Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, and ROBERT M. MACIVER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1945. Pp. vi+1037. \$5.00.

This volume consists of sixty-two papers, together with comments thereon, that were presented at the fifth meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, held in New York in September, 1944. Thirty-two papers deal with the problem of group tensions under three heads: "The Industrial Problem," "The Social Problem," and "The Religious and Philosophical Problem." The remaining thirty papers concern the problem of communication of knowledge and experience, communication which might give rise to greater national unity. This problem is subdivided into that of communication among leaders in different fields and communication between such leaders and the general public.

The most striking thing about the papers is the unanimity with which they treat group tensions and the communicative process as constituting at bottom a moral or spiritual problem. We are a long way from Herbert Spencer's type of mechanistic thinking.

The sociologists who contribute to the symposium—Roucek, Parsons, Sorokin, Charles Johnson—do not say anything to startle those who know the general trend of their several minds. Their papers represent forceful sociological thought and as such should gain respect for sociology among other disciplines.

This reviewer found some of the papers by men in allied disciplines more challenging, perhaps because of the novelty to him of their points of view. Allee's paper, entitled "Human Conflict and Co-operation: The Biological Background," concludes that all research on animal societies testifies to a system of dominance and subordination, and the implication is strong that any species, like man, which tampers with this too much may not survive. It would appear that the author greatly underestimates the gap which human culture has opened between man and the lower animals.

In "Organized Religion and Pressure Groups," Liston Pope, of the Yale Divinity School, puts forward the interesting thesis that churches should get actively into the political game by evaluating the programs of pressure groups and supporting or opposing them according to their consonance with religious prin-

ciples. F. Ernest Johnson, of Columbia Teachers College, likewise raises a pertinent issue in "What Are We Trying To Communicate?" It is his view that we cannot really communicate facts without communicating frames of reference and that the latter process would break down the cultural pluralism in which we, as Americans, believe. In short, tolerance concerning really fundamental beliefs is impossible. The only solution he can see is a process of cultural transcendence.

In general, the volume is disappointing if one is looking for easy answers to the problem of national unity. But it is heartening to find so many able men thinking about it penetratingly and in a devoted spirit.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

Co-operative Communities at Work. By HENRIK F. INFELD. New York: Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. v+201. \$3.00.

At a time when airplanes spread seed grain over thousands of square miles and mechanized farming forces millions from the land, we meet with few back-to-the-land movements. Religiously or politically inspired rural communities are organized, whose members eat their bread by the sweat of their brow and jointly regress to the utmost frugality.

The author has briefly surveyed a great variety of co-operative communities, past and present, to find out the reasons for success or failure. He focuses attention on the Hutterites, various utopian schemes, the F.S.A. co-operative farms, Mexican Ejidos, Russian Kolkhozes, and Zionist Kvutzot. Each case is placed in its historical and ideological setting, and the pertinent sociological, economic, motivational, and managerial aspects are sympathetically and instructively discussed.

The intention of the survey is to "aid in organizing co-operative communities as a vanguard of rural resettlement." One of the prime requisites of successful communities seems to be faith. Expediency is not enough when sacrifice is wanted. That is why the Hutterite way of life, a plain way of life of plain people, is hallowed and held up as a lesson. That is why regression is hailed as a refuge. "Once comprehensive co-operation is entered into, the anxieties and doubts dominating competitive society often lose their force, and a way of life, which

formerly might have been totally unacceptable, becomes satisfactory beyond expectation." The author makes it clear, though, that this road "back to nature" is a road for the few. It is a sideroad, a road for the self-elected faithful.

H. H. GERTH

University of Wisconsin

Pacifism and Conscientious Objection. By G. O. FIELD. Cambridge: University Press, 1945. Pp. viii+123. \$1.25.

Field was a member of the Southwestern Tribunal which dealt with the claims of English conscientious objectors. Several thousand statements which he heard must have annoyed him enough to write this polemic against pacifism and conscientious objection. His purpose is to show that certain evils are worse than war and can be met only by fighting and that "there is no rational moral principle which requires an individual in all circumstances to refuse to participate in war once it has been started, even if he disapproved of it in the first place." He examines what he considers stock pacifist arguments in two chapters: "Pacifism as a Policy"; and "Pacifism as an Individual Duty." He then discusses the attitudes of the English conscientious objectors to alternative service and, lastly, the question of the relationship between society and the pacifist. Field's major principle or absolute is the preservation of the in-group against insidious minorities and the aggression of hostile out-groups. From this point of view pacifism is a major heresy and the pacifist absolutist no more than a "conscientious fascist," and Field points this out in great detail. Pacifism is dismissed as a historical failure and as impractical and unrealistic in a world of violence and aggression. He tries to show that there is no basis for it in Christianity, that individual conscience is not an infallible guide, and that pacifists are fortunate to live within the borders of tolerant, peace-loving nations. The book is an excellent demonstration of the conflict between value systems and between such systems and the social order in which their adherents attempt to realize them. Field's hope that the book will contribute to a settled public opinion with regard to the pacifist is hardly tenable.

H. OTTO DAHLKE

Berkeley, California

The Cult of Equality: A Study of the Race Problem. By STUART OMER LANDRY. New Orleans: Pelican Pub. Co., 1945. Pp. viii+359. \$3.50.

Landry is a native of Louisiana, who, according to the information on the book's jacket, has been in New York and some other parts of the country. He was born in 1884 and has had experience as a merchant, banker, and advertising agent. Among his previous publications are books or pamphlets on *Life Insurance*, *History of the Boston Club of New Orleans*, and *About Annuities*.

It is the author's purpose, in the present volume, to state his opinion on racial equality, to present evidence in support of the doctrine of racial inequality, to show the superiority of the whites, and to point out "the danger to the whites of advocating social equality, which in time might bring about the merging of the races of Mankind to the detriment of the Caucasians." The author feels that he is fulfilling a profound moral obligation. If we "maintain the purity of the white race . . . the whole world will benefit." "To dilute its pure stock by fusion or intermarriage is to destroy the white race, and to destroy it is to pull down the temple of civilization." "I have been forced to defend the theory of racial superiority, because no one else has undertaken it at this time."

The author is unaware of his own biases, uncritical of any statement that conforms to them, and unfamiliar with the nature of scientific evidence. The book shows no understanding of racial realities and no insight into the nature of race relations. The literary craftsmanship is not distinguished.

But to the student of racial realities the book is very valuable. The author seems to embody and faithfully reflect racial beliefs and attitudes that prevail in his social class and community. Various field studies have undertaken with more or less success to report the folk attitudes in isolated areas of the South and to show the hiatus between modern knowledge and the folk beliefs. Here it is all set out by a more or less unsophisticated native who expounds the true doctrine and refutes the errors and heresies of the social scientists.

The book is valuable, also, for the side light it throws on the evolution of racial ideology in periods of racial conflict. The efforts of excluded people to invade a dominant culture result in a mobilization of the dominant group to perpetuate the *status quo*. One aspect of the mobilization of the group is the fabrication of a body of

philosophy to justify the exclusion and perpetuate the traditional exploitation. In the American South the Negro has generally been excluded by force and fraud. But now the need is felt for a body of supporting doctrine, and the ideology must be pitched at various levels of literacy and sophistication. Donald Davidson's recent article is calculated to prevent the pseudo-intellectuals from being contaminated by the findings of science and scholarship. Howard Odum's report on rumors provides arguments for a stratum of the population unskilled in the humanistic sophistries. Landry's recital is pitched at the level of the village chamber of commerce and the man in the street. It will be particularly useful to the rabble-rousing politician who instructs the inarticulate and the illiterate.

E. E. REUTER

Fisk University

Business Leadership in the Large Corporations.

By ROBERT AARON GORDON. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1945. Pp. xiv+369. \$3.00.

This is a study of the "who," not the "how," of corporate leadership. From analysis of a wide variety of materials, such as investment manuals, reports to the S.E.C., congressional hearings, articles in *Fortune*, and interviews with executives, bankers, and others, the author concludes that it is the executive group which makes decisions and exercises leadership in large corporations. He also concludes that directors, stockholders, and financial interests usually play a subordinate rôle in the direction and control of these firms.

In the final section, "Incentives and the Professionalization of Business Leadership," he deals with the wages of leadership and with some of the effects of the development of a professional executive group. He sees the development of a powerful executive group which lacks a clear-cut set of goals and which is subject to little control from without. He feels, however, that while the executive must exercise leadership, he should be subject to more effective control by the board of directors.

It is interesting to note that, although no mention is made of Burnham's book, *The Managerial Revolution*, the author arrives at similar conclusions regarding the development of a powerful group of professional executives.

While this book presents much useful ma-

terial for the student of business organization, it leaves one with a feeling of superficiality of organization and analysis. Although it deals with a very important aspect of present society, it sheds little light on the nature of business leadership or on the business system in which it operates.

BURLEIGH B. GARDNER

University of Chicago

Employee Counseling: A New Viewpoint in Industrial Psychology. By NATHANIEL CANTOR.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. viii+165. \$2.00.

A sound body of literature in the field of employee counseling is gradually developing, and this book is a real addition. In fact, it should be placed beside *Management and the Worker* by Roethlisberger and Dickson and *Counseling and Psychotherapy* by Carl R. Rogers as the most important books in the field.

In the first section the author presents certain human problems found in industry, describes and analyzes the various approaches used in industry for dealing with them, and goes on to describe his own experiences in developing a counseling program in industry. In the second section he presents certain psychological concepts of the individual and his adjustment, and then describes the function and the techniques of the nondirective counselor. In the final section he describes the counseling organization and its relation to the balance of the company organization.

The program described is built around the nondirective interview, and a good use is made of quotations from interviews and actual cases. Much of the analysis and criticism of the ordinary counseling programs in industry should be of interest to personnel people, as it shows the degree of confusion and lack of clarity as to method and purpose which is so often found in the activities.

Careful study shows many weaknesses. The statement of the problem is very thin and cannot be compared with the masterly analysis found in *Management and the Worker*. The attempt to develop the basic psychological concepts is inadequate, and it is not too clear just why these concepts are needed by the counselor. And the discussion of the nondirective interviews falls short of the presentation in *Counseling and Psychotherapy*.

On the whole, the book is useful, but it does

not represent a real advance in our knowledge of either the nondirective techniques or their application in an industrial situation. It does reinforce many of the conclusions presented by the others and shows that the methods are not limited in their application to a few unique situations.

BURLEIGH B. GARDNER

University of Chicago

A Guide on Alcoholism for Social Workers. By ROBERT V. SELIGER. Baltimore: Alcoholism Publications, 1945. Pp. 8+94. Paper, \$2.00; cloth, \$3.50.

The modern conception of alcoholism as evidence of illness rather than dissipation runs throughout the book. The Rorschach analysis by means of ink-blots is explained and its use described. It is considered the best objective method for diagnosing the life-organization that needs alcohol or some other escape. Test questions (thirty-five in number) are given to reveal early signs of chronic alcoholism. Common-sense re-educational guides for abnormal drinkers are included.

This book will be of little use to the practicing social worker despite its modern point of view. What is needed is a study of our fundamental institutions to try to discover why they fail to prepare the person for the type of culture in which we live. Only this will give a usable basis for helping the alcoholic to face cultural situations.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Pioneering in Penology: The Amsterdam Houses of Correction in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By THORSTEN SELLIN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. xii+125. \$2.50.

According to Professor Sellin: "The Amsterdam houses of correction were created primarily to deal more effectively with petty thieves and professional beggars. They were reformatories, for the first time on the Continent utilizing labor and religious training as corrective instruments." He analyzes the economic background of their origin: "The gradual migration to the towns, caused by the breakdown of the feudal system and the growth of urban industries, was giving rise to a proletariat, dependent for their livelihood on the sale of their labor, suffering from each unfavorable fluctuation in employment, and from recurring epidemics of plague and pestilence."

Most of this monograph is devoted to a description of the construction and administration of these correctional institutions. In the last chapter the author endeavors to trace their influence elsewhere. They seem to have had most influence in Germany and Scandinavia, very little in England, and none whatsoever in this country. The book is, on the whole, a rather episodic contribution to the history of penal reform.

MAURICE PARMELEE

Chicago, Illinois

Character-Analysis: Principles and Techniques for Psychoanalysts in Practice and in Training. By WILHELM REICH. Trans. by THEODORE P. WOLFF. New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1945. Pp. xxii+328. \$4.50.

This is the second edition of Theodore Wolff's translation of Reich's *Charakter-Analyse*, first published in 1933. According to Reich's subtitle, it is a book primarily intended to furnish psychoanalysts in training or practice with "newer" orientations in the theory and technique of their specialty, and the greater part of the volume is devoted to this purpose. Some of Reich's points are of general interest; for instance, he holds that the patient's total character rather than merely his presenting symptoms are the proper concern of every analytic process and that the personality cannot be naively divided into Id, Ego, and Superego, libidinal "stages of development," or separate "levels" of function. Even more earnestly, he contends that Freud's concepts of the primary "death instincts" (*Thanatos*) are not only logically unnecessary but biologically misleading, since masochism and its related phenomena are covertly hedonic strivings, whereas sadism, far from being a "drive toward death turned outward," is a defensive reaction against anxiety-ridden needs for love or dependency. From the standpoint of technique, Reich goes beyond Freud's *topical* rule that the "unconscious must be made conscious" and stresses the *dynamic* approach of working through the patient's resistances according to the *economic balance* of motivations and defenses in the individual case. Similarly, he holds that since an analyst's every word and act is an expression of an intricate balance of a vast complexity of unconscious determinants, each of which has a bearing on the constantly changing analytic situation, no single "famulation" can ever be

either complete or therapeutically determinative. Instead, the analyst must discard the recently recrudescent mirage of "complete passivity," select his interpretations of content and transference (patient-physician relationships) with consummate skill, and be prepared for a contingent, fluid, and dialectic course of therapy. Moreover, the analytic treatment cannot be considered effective until the patient's schizoid "contactlessness" has been effectively bridged and the constricting facets and meshes of his "character armor" have either been shed or at least rendered comfortably pliable.

Thus far, Reich's theses—when they can be delivered from his peculiarly redundant, esoteric, and polemic writing—appear cogent and reasonable. It seems strange, of course, that orientations so obvious should need emphatic restatement as late as 1932, but it must also be remembered that they have not penetrated into certain psychoanalytic quarters even today. And yet, inextricably imbedded in Reich's dynamic and holistic thinking is a monothetic absolutism as rigid and uncompromising as any that can be found in the most orthodox analytic writings. To quote directly:

.... Every neurosis is based on unresolved conflicts which occurred before the fourth year of life [p. 5]. From the economic point of view the task is that of concentrating all object-libido in a purely genital transference [p. 127]. Sex-economic considerations force us to stick to a strictly prescribed path which begins with the dissolution of the pregenital and negative attitudes and ends with the concentration of all the liberated psychic energy at the genital apparatus. The establishment of orgasmic potency is the most important goal of therapy [p. 267].

In effect, Reich still contends that all neuroses are essentially disturbances in the attainment of sexual orgasm and that their cure must revolve about the re-establishment of this function. In fact, nowhere in his writing is there a hint that he is acquainted with the wealth of evidence from clinical experience, war psychiatry, animal experimentation, and other sources—evidence that has revealed the Protean biologic, experimental, and adaptive processes that play a role in every pattern of behavior, "normal" or "neurotic." Yet to support his position he invokes perhaps the most outworn *argumentum petitiū principii* in the analytic sanctum, to wit:

"A person who has not gone through a character-analysis is unable to criticize its findings,

simply because he lacks the sense organ for it the genuine orgasmic sensations which make their appearance for the first time with the involuntary contractions of the genital musculature" (p. 270).

Even here Reich might still be credited as an inordinately narrow but sincere pleader for a highly specialized approach to the dynamics of certain behavior disorders, were it not that throughout the text cryptic passages appear that seem to transcend biologic fact and scientific reasoning altogether. Again to quote directly:

.... Compulsive talking is nothing but a biological manifestation of a chronic spasm of the deep muscles of the neck and throat [p. 37]. The patient complains about affect-lameness because of a block in his plasmatic currents and sensations [p. 55]. The living "orgonotic system," the "bio-apparatus," represents nothing but a special state of concentrated "orgone" energy. "Orgone" is a visible, measurable and applicable energy of a cosmic nature. With hypothesis one cannot charge blood corpuscles or destroy cancer tumors; with orgone energy, one can. A block of the orgonotic pulsations, say in the throat, makes the most complicated problems of oral sadism understandable in a simple manner [p. 272].

As Reich himself complains, he was expelled from the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1934 because "its leadership no longer wished to identify itself with my concepts." Elsewhere in the book he implies that this expulsion really occurred because Freud suspected him of subverting his theories to Communist policy. In either case, the reader interested in the social implications of psychoanalytic metapsychology will find no apparent recognition of the role of cultural or economic factors in neuroses other than a periphrastic lament that current restrictions prohibit the free expression of "genitality." All in all, the reviewer must regret that this curious mixture of analytic insights, bizarre formulations, and mystic fantasies presented as facts, reverting as it does to the gaucheries and extravagances of the early years of psychoanalysis, may even now be mistaken for, rather than contrasted with, the increasingly objective, biologically orientated, and scientifically valid organon of behavior theory toward which psychoanalysis is striving.

JULES H. MASSERMAN, M.D.

University of Chicago

Sexual Anomalies. By MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD.
New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1944.
Pp. i+630. \$4.95.

This book is a summary of the works of the late Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld compiled by his pupils. There is no mention, in the Preface or anywhere else in the book, of who these pupils were or in what way the material was collected. Apparently, therefore, the material in this book is a presentation of what the pupils considered the most important of Dr. Hirschfeld's contributions and also the most original. The book is divided into twenty-eight chapters, of which the first attempts to present a review of the material on the physical basis of sexuality and the second a psychological theory of development of sex behavior. The remainder of the book is concerned with abnormal phenomena.

No new data or theories are presented. The book contains a large number of brief case histories, which are designed to illustrate the various beliefs of Hirschfeld. Occasionally there is an attempt to develop a theory of the particular type of sexual abnormality which is discussed. These theoretical discussions seem to be halfhearted, however, as if they were chance ideas or statements. For example, in discussing homosexuality the authors state that Hirschfeld's theory is consistent with the psychoanalytic theory as well as with the contrary theory (p. 274). They also state that the nature of homosexuality is such that it is most intimately related to the personality as a whole. In other words, homosexuality is closely connected with a specific constitution of the personality which may be defined as "intersexual," that is, neither feminine nor masculine. This statement of the theory of homosexuality is a fair sample of other statements in the book regarding theories of other forms of abnormal sexual behavior.

It would be unfair to disregard the importance of Dr. Hirschfeld's contribution from a reading of this book. It is certain, however, that this memorial has either been drawn up too hastily or is an indication that Dr. Hirschfeld may not have organized his material in a systematic way.

MANDEL SHERMAN

University of Chicago

Crime and the Human Mind. By DAVID ABRAHAMSEN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. xiv+243. \$3.00.

The attempt is made herein to present a balanced psychoanalytical interpretation of criminal behavior. In the author's own phrasing, he says that his is the psychiatric-psychologic viewpoint, according to which the approach to an understanding of crime is made through personality factors as the psychoanalyst conceives them. Paramount is the working of unconscious forces which lead to a neurotic character, which represents practically the old relation of crime to neurosis that psychoanalysts insisted upon in years gone by. The neurotic character includes, in addition, what persons of other training consider as psychopathic personality traits.

Coming back to the balanced interpretation of factors, Abrahamsen arrives at the following formula:

$$C = \frac{T + S}{R},$$

in which C stands for crime, T for tendencies, S for the situation, and R for resistance. "Crime may then be considered a product of a person's tendencies and the situation of the moment interacting with his mental resistance."

"It is basically an instability of the three factors that leads man into crime. It is an alteration in the balance between what society demands and what the person is able to achieve." The personality may not be able to meet the demands of the situation.

One of the important factors of crime is the sense of guilt and its unconscious ramifications: a need to suffer or a need to be punished. According to Abrahamsen, these are very obvious in the explanation of murder: the classic example, of course, is found in the personality of Raskolnikow in Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment*.

Abrahamsen classifies offenders according to the degree of personality involvement. There are the "momentary offenders," including situational, accidental, and associational, who show little personality involvement. And there are the "chronic offenders," including those afflicted with organic or functional disorders; chronic situational, accidental, and associational offenders; neurotic and compulsory offenders; offenders with neurotic characters; and offenders with faulty development of the superego—all of whom have personality involvement.

Sociological and cultural factors are given a prominent place in Abrahamsen's work. These situational factors, however, are not always

handled with the finesse of a person of sociological training.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Ohio State University

After-conduct of Discharged Offenders: A Report to the Department. By SHELDON GLUECK, ELEANOR T. GLUECK, FELIX FRANKFURTER, and P. H. WINFIELD. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1945. Pp. xvi+119. \$2.50.

This book is the fifth volume in a series, "English Studies in Criminal Science," and continues the scientific work of these two well-known authors. It contains a Foreword by Dr. Felix Frankfurter, a Preface by Professor P. H. Winfield, and an Editorial Note by Professors L. Radzinowicz and J. W. G. Turner.

The inclusion of this book in the Cambridge University series is an honor rightfully earned by the Gluecks. They have made noteworthy contributions to prediction in the field of delinquency. This work continues their study of the history of the delinquent prior to sentence, of his behavior in the institution, and of his record on parole. The purpose is the administration of criminal justice.

When released, 88.2 per cent of the parolees committed delinquencies, while only 11.8 per cent were nondelinquent. The rate of delinquency decreased in the second five-year period and slightly in the third five-year period after release. This shows the failure of peno-correctional treatment and the methods used to determine treatment. Improvement in the second five-year period is explained by *maturation*. In "the factor of ageing (up to a certain period) must be sought the chief explanation of reform. . . . It is the lack of adequate maturity, therefore, that seems to underlie persistence in recidivism" (pp. 79-85). This is an important point, but it ignores the fact that the criminal may be well integrated emotionally, intellectually, and physically. Criminality may be a matter of maturation, just as any other activity, approved or disapproved, may involve maturity. Not all reformed delinquents are mature. There is still a tendency in most research to create dichotomies, like "normal" and "abnormal," and make them seem diametrically opposed to each other. When delinquent patterns disappear, it is a sign of maturation in a nondelinquent direction rather than in a delinquent direction.

Though the Glueck studies should be used

extensively in every course in criminology, there is one important weakness in their research. Not enough emphasis is placed on the study of the social situation in which postinstitutional treatment is to be carried out. This is necessary for prediction, since success depends on encouraging the socially approved aspects of the delinquent's human nature. One can predict success only where the social situation does not provide a chance for the use of existing delinquent attitudes, ideas, interests, and desires. One can predict that if a person has a criminal nature he will use it, given the appropriate situation. Prediction and treatment must be based on a study of the nondelinquent potentialities of the person and the selection of an environment friendly to the use of these potentialities. It is obvious that the social situation is not the same in the second and third five-year periods as in the first. Maturation and the disappearance of delinquent patterns seem to be due, in part, to the appearance of new factors in the life and environment of the person. Aging brings contact with new circumstances.

Recidivism is an important concept in this study and in the field of criminality. It is unfortunate that it has this limited denotative meaning. There is recidivism in every area of life—in eating, in religion, in reading, etc. All people, not only criminals, tend to repeat acts. The relationship between delinquents and nondelinquents must be seen if there is to be prediction and control. Stability in human nature depends on recidivism.

The authors make no exaggerated claims for their clinical recommendations, showing that only a slightly lower recidivism might be expected if their recommendations were followed. Every student of human nature, however, knows that they are on the right track and improving their techniques as they proceed.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Human Nature: The Marxian View. By VERNON VENABLE. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945. Pp. xii+217. \$3.00.

Venable's book is based entirely on the original writings of Marx and Engels without even a reference to the considerable secondary literature. Moreover, the author has set himself the sole task of systematizing Marx's and Engels' philosophical fragments rather than proceeding

in the usual manner of shifting back and forth between description and critical discussion. Despite the vast literature which has been written about Marx and Engels and the author's disregard of it, it should be emphasized that his is an illuminating contribution.

The success of Venable's effort is largely due to the question which has guided his analysis and which is clear from the title: What view of man underlies the Marxian analysis of capitalist civilization? Externally, this question has become more prominent in "Marxist" literature since the discovery of some early philosophical manuscripts in the early 1930's. Substantively, it reflects perhaps a growing concern with the humanist aspect of classical socialism, which until then had been almost lost sight of. It is the great merit of Venable's work to have directed our attention forcefully to this aspect of Marx's work, the more so since only a few writers (such as Abram L. Harris and Herbert Marcuse) have dealt with this problem in English. Anybody familiar with the fragmentary character of Marx's and Engels' writings in this respect will recognize the considerable effort which has gone into the author's systematization.

The shortcomings of the book, if such they be, are largely those of omission. The author has not, as far as I can see, discussed some of the early Marx manuscripts (e.g., his doctoral Dissertation and especially a fragment dealing with the relation of economics and philosophy), although he deals at length with Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*. Nor has he adequately taken into account Marx's curious view that under socialism the division of labor would be more humane, because it would be considerably diminished, if not abolished. A more serious omission is perhaps the author's intentional disregard of all subsequent work. There are obvious advantages in refusing to mix systematic compilation with references to controversial literature. But the philosophical and "anthropological" aspects of Marx's thought are precisely those which have not been controversial as much as they have been disregarded. Venable makes one short reference to the affinity of G. H. Mead's psychology to that of Marx, but he does not expand on it. Nor has he referred to such writers as Veblen, Simmel, Mannheim, and the modern students of industrial relations. Such a confrontation would have been enlightening, partly because it would still contribute to current discussions of the "cultural crisis," the role of labor in human conduct, etc., and

partly because it would show how short the memory of some writers' really is.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of Chicago

Helping Teachers Understand Children. By the STAFF OF THE DIVISION ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND TEACHER PERSONNEL. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945. Pp. xv+468. \$3.50.

This study was undertaken voluntarily by a group of classroom teachers and principals in a public school system which was associated for some three years with the Commission on Teacher Education.

The problem of understanding children was approached by way of anecdotal records. Records on two boys report behavior for periods of from three to seven months; the behavior of a third boy was reported through Grades V, VI, and VII; the remaining records report the behavior of six girls as a group, at the level of the third grade.

It is interesting to see how the teachers' anecdotal records of these "problem children" changed from condemnation and judgment-making to objective descriptions of significant behavior. These changes were, obviously, the result of the teachers' growing ability to take a scientific attitude toward their subjects. These changes can also be described in terms of the teachers' learning to find patterns, discover cause-and-effect sequences, and generally gain insight where they had formerly been disposed simply to "order and forbid."

The method is not new. It is that which Healey and Bronner employed in the study of delinquent children. It has been used by Mayo, Whitehead, Roethlisberger, and others in studies of morale among industrial workers. The basic assumption in all these attempts to understand "what makes Sammy run" is that the whole person is involved, and that behavior is *caused*.

It is no disparagement of this well-disciplined study to observe that truly great teachers have understood much of what is involved in the cause and cure of "problem children." But they knew it privately and as an artist knows it. Through this and other similar studies the processes which induce deviant behavior have, through scientific study, become public knowledge. But as this knowledge has become public,

where it was once private and "intuitive," the tendency has arisen to set up experts in both study and "treatment." In the reviewer's opinion the task of understanding students, whether they be children at the elementary level or adults at the college and graduate level, is one which cannot be entirely bureaucratized. Nor does this study suggest that. In fact, it appears to imply that teaching and understanding go hand in hand. This implication is the book's chief contribution to the "understanding of children." If we take it seriously, we shall be somewhat less disposed to separate, at any educational level, teaching and "advising."

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

The Economic Status of the New York Metropolitan Region in 1944. By the REGIONAL PLAN ASSOCIATION, INC. New York: Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1944. Pp. xx+91. \$3.50.

This volume is presented as the first of a series of analytical studies of the economic trends and prospects of the New York Metropolitan Region and twenty-two counties surrounding the Port of New York, considered as "an economic operating unit." The series is under the direction of Dr. Homer Hoyt.

This first study deals with the opportunities for making a living in the New York Region after the war. Hoyt's basic analytic tool is one that he evolved with his associates in the Research Division of the Federal Housing Administration and that he applied to an analysis of Chicago on behalf of the Chicago Plan Commission. It proceeds from the premise that a city cannot feed itself or supply its own raw materials and that it must accordingly produce something for export, if it is to survive, beyond what it produces for consumption by its own citizens. Employment in production for export he calls "basic": it generates secondary employment in trades serving those engaged in basic production.

There is, in Hoyt's approach, a calculable relationship between the amounts of basic em-

ployment and service employment. In early studies he posited a one-to-one relationship; in successive inquiries he has come to see that it is variable. For the New York Region after the war, he estimates a relationship of 1 to 2.16. It is beyond the scope of this review to explain how he arrives at this ratio; indeed, it is beyond the scope of Hoyt's compact and tightly written report. He states what assumptions he made but does not expound his reasons for his choices. This theory hits at the belief that service employment can be expected to serve as a catch-all for workers not employed in basic manufacturing by showing the derivative nature of the local service activities.

Since the way in which people earn their livings affects their mode of life, this rigorous economic analysis has fascinating social overtones. I should suppose that Metropolitan New York would afford the highest ratio of service employment of any city, because it has high-wage basic "industries," including a substantial "income from profits, dividends and rents" resulting from investments by New Yorkers all over the world.

Examining the region as a whole, Hoyt's study points out the great extent to which large-scale heavy industry is outside the central city and yet how large basic employment is in the central city. It is dispersed, however, among 312 separate industries; in 1939 there were 35,496 establishments in the region, with an average of only 27 wage-earners each.

The conclusion is that, after the war, 855,000 more jobs must be found than existed in the region in March, 1940, to employ the prospective labor force in 1945-46, if there is to be a "fairly prosperous level" of economy, or the region must "face the prospect of vacant houses, declining property values, foreclosures and municipal financial difficulties."

Hoyt's study is a valuable contribution to methodology in working with the vast undifferentiated mass of data that can be assembled on the life of a city; it should be applied to cities of various sizes and types.

CHARLES S. ASCHER

*National Housing Agency
New York City*

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HUMAN BEHAVIOR IN MILITARY SOCIETY

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

This issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* is devoted to the social psychology of military life. It is an attempt to describe and interpret a central phenomenon of war-time: the transformation of the civilian into the fighting man. This gigantic demonstration of the mass remaking of human nature constitutes, for the various sciences of human behavior, a research challenge of the first magnitude.

The papers in this symposium are admittedly exploratory and their conclusions tentative. They present, however, concrete changes in attitudes and behavior in the transition from the ways of peace to those of war. They pose problems for future research. They indicate, in greater or less degree, the pertinence and validity of our present stock of concepts and techniques for an understanding of the process of the conversion of the mechanic, the clerk, and the farmer into the infantryman, the sailor, and the bombardier.

So far, very little has been published on the social psychology of the soldier. Army experiences have been presented to the public almost solely by professional writers, by veterans with a flair for the dramatic, by journalists, and by cartoonists. Their writings vividly depict human behavior in military situations. Outstanding illustrations are the account of jungle combat in A

Ribbon and a Star: The Third Marines on Bougainville by John Marks, Jr. and John Falter; the thrilling adventure of fighter flying in *God Is My Co-pilot* by Robert L. Scott; the human-interest stories of the man at the front syndicated in newspapers and later appearing in *Here Is Your War* and *Brave Men* by Ernie Pyle; and the unforgettable cartoons of the common soldier by Bill Mauldin, republished with revealing comments by the author in *Up Front*. Although these are valuable human documents, they do not supply all the data needed for an explanation of the nature of military society and its effects upon its participants.

Psychiatrists and sociologists have also written on the adjustment of men to military service and on their readjustment to civilian life. Representative of these are the books by Roy R. Grinker, M.D., and John T. Spiegel, *Men under Stress*; Herbert Kupper, M.D., *Back to Life: The Emotional Readjustment of Our Veterans*; George K. Pratt, M.D., *Soldier to Civilian: Problems of Readjustment*; Edward A. Strecker, M.D.; and Kenneth E. Appel, M.D., *Psychiatry in Modern Warfare*; and Willard Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*. As their titles indicate, these works, in their treatment of the veteran's experiences, tend to emphasize individual cases of maladjustment rather

than the normal process of his incorporation into a new and different world of military life.

The present symposium, accordingly, concentrates on this central process of the induction of the novice into military society, not infrequently "a stranger and afraid, in a world I never made." The first articles analyze the social structure of the army and the characteristics which differentiate it from civilian society. Succeeding papers depict the process by which *esprit de corps* and morale are developed on an armed-guard ship, in the infantry, and in a combat-fighter squadron. Changes in language, behavior, attitudes, and personality are considered in reports which deal with the newly inducted man, the woman in uniform, and the soldier abroad. Problems of the personality adjustment of men in the armed services are presented in articles by military psychiatrists and social psychologists. Finally, the changes in role which accompany the transition to civilian life are treated in reports on the veteran returning to his family and to his community.

The authors of these papers are young social scientists who served in the different branches of the armed forces. Almost all the articles exemplify the participant-observer method. They represent the observations and interpretations of men trained in the disciplines of cultural anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, and sociology. The majority of the contributors are former

sociology students whose graduate training was interrupted by the war and who have had no previously published papers. In becoming soldiers, sailors, and aviators they did not, however, cease being social scientists; and in this symposium they are sharing with the readers of the *Journal* the insights and findings derived from their military experience.

This symposium, it should be repeated, is exploratory, and its findings tentative. The papers are presented to throw light on a neglected but an important area of human experience and to stimulate interest in further and more systematic research. With this point in mind the reader will not be disposed to jump to premature conclusions. For example, it would be erroneous to assume from the article on "Teachers in the Army Air Force" that the services of social scientists were, in general, inadequately utilized by the army. On the contrary, the record will show that, for the most part, the army was successful in selecting anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, social psychologists, and sociologists for those functions for which they were fitted by their training and experience.

Finally, it is significant to note that the findings and conclusions of the writers of the articles in this symposium are, in the main, consistent and, taken together, provide a unified picture of human behavior in military society.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY

ARNOLD ROSE

ABSTRACT

The bases of the Army's social structure are held to be (1) the modern American democratic tradition; (2) the medieval feudal tradition; and (3) the formal, written rules, regulations, and directives. An examination of situations where these three come into conflict with one another shows that the feudal tradition is still the strongest of the three. But the other two modify the effects of the feudal tradition in various ways, and the long-run trend seems to be in favor of their ultimate ascendancy.

The social structure of the American Army is determined by three traditions: (1) the modern American tradition of business efficiency, self-interest, individualism, democracy, and equalitarianism; (2) the medieval tradition of rigid separation of castes, of hierarchical control, of absence of moral accountability for the upper social strata, of regarding the privileges of the lower strata as a matter of the whim of the upper strata; and (3) the changing body of military doctrine that goes into the formal body of rules known as Army Regulations. While the Army Regulations (and subsequent orders, circulars, letters, etc.) theoretically govern the Army, the basic structure of the Army's organization is set by the medieval tradition. As far as social organization is concerned, Army Regulations serve only to bring to awareness of military leaders the existence of the modern American tradition.

There exists in the minds of most military leaders—that is, the officers—a theoretical picture of what the Army's social organization should be. This "theory of the Army" is common to all armies of western Europe and their offspring in the Americas. The reason for this similarity is simply that modern armies have developed out of the feudal system of the Middle Ages, and no civil government—with the possible exceptions of the revolutionary ones in Germany, Russia, and Yugoslavia—has been strong enough or interested enough to change them.

Of the three traditions that determine the social structure of the modern American Army, the medieval one is the strongest,

although it has been weakened over the course of years by the infusion of men with modern civilian attitudes and by the growth of new organizations—the Air Corps, for example—within it. Proof that the medieval tradition is pre-eminent is seen whenever there is a clash between any two of the traditions. Army officers will almost invariably violate Army regulations and even disobey direct orders when these go against the tradition of caste. A recent example of this is given by the War Department's first "Readjustment Regulations" (RR 1-1). This states, as part of a plan to maintain soldier morale in the post-hostilities period, that "particular emphasis must be given to living conditions and the elimination of instructions which tend properly to be regarded as harassing instead of necessary." It is safe to state that very few military installations reduced, much less eliminated, such instructions. Some installations, operating on the theory that enlisted men should never be allowed to forget that they are in the Army, increased their harassing instructions: ties will be worn, reveille will be held at 6:00 A.M., beds will be made with the "U.S." facing the head, there will be an additional period of drill every day, and failure to wear a hat out-of-doors will result in disciplinary action. These are simply "customs of the service," strengthened for fear that enlisted men will let down because the war is over, in direct violation of an Army regulation.

The best evidence that the medieval tradition is stronger than the modern American tradition is the manner in which practically

all officers will give up their standards of civilian efficiency—developed either in a business office, on a construction job, or in college—for the archaic means of getting things accomplished in the Army way. Go-getting American businessmen, when transformed into officers, will wait until their superiors place detailed instructions on their desks before they proceed to accomplish a job. They will refuse to take responsibility for the simplest decision but will pass it to their already overburdened commanding officer. They will forward information to other responsible Army officers only through hierarchical channels, even when they know that the information will arrive at its destination too late to be of any use. They will promote their subordinates according to their length of service and willingness to do nothing but carry out orders rather than according to their initiative or efficiency. The reason subordinate officers do these things is that the Army system of rewards and punishments forces them into this mold, and they gradually come to accept it.

While the medieval tradition is pre-eminent among the three traditions, the others have a role. Each one operates under the conditions set by the other two. The "American tradition" leads to recognition—more in regulations than in practice—that each soldier is an individual, with individual interests and rights. Most of the information and education activities—new to this war and still meagerly practiced—are based on this assumption. So are many of the personnel activities of the Adjutant General's Office, such as classification based on civilian skills and education. There is a certain confusion between this concern for the individual, based on the American tradition, and the medieval tradition. For example, I have heard a colonel in a Special Service Section state that the purpose of providing movies for soldiers was not to entertain them but to keep them off the streets so they would not get venereal disease.

While the American tradition operates through the medium of the Army Regula-

tions and tends to work against the medieval tradition, it also works *against* Army Regulations and for the medieval tradition, because it stresses individualism and "looking out for number one." From the day a man enters the Army, he learns—sometimes painfully—that he must look out for himself. Officers, of course, are in a much better position to do this than are enlisted men. With them it takes the form of the absence of moral accountability and of the suspension of rules out of respect for the status of "gentlemen"—which, of course, are congenial to the medieval tradition. Practically every officer knows that he can "get around" almost any Army rule if he can see the right people. He also comes to regard Army property as his own: seldom did officers hesitate, when overseas, during any period of the war, to use Army vehicles and gasoline for taking out "dates" or going sight-seeing, and officers in small units regularly took clothing out of enlisted men's supply rooms when they were supposed to purchase it at reduced rates at the P-X.

This spirit of "looking out for number one" does violate the medieval tradition of "responsibility" for the welfare of subordinates. While Army regulations try to preserve the paternalism of the medieval tradition, the American tradition has all but thrown it out the window. Rare is the officer who will make himself available to enlisted men for consultation on personal affairs. It is of interest to observe that the German Army made this paternalism the very heart of good officer-enlisted-men relations, which in turn was the keystone of German military morale. The American Army has emerged from paternalism, but it has no satisfactory substitute. The inspector general and the chaplain—who could be substitutes—have very little influence in the American Army. Thus the enlisted man, without enforcible right and practically without recourse to authority outside his commanding officer, is left to the good heart or carelessness of his immediate officers or to their fear of occasional inspection.

It is "natural," under these circum-

stances, for enlisted men to have developed an informal "underground" for self-protection. This is another manifestation of the American tradition of "looking out for number one." This did not exist in the early stages of the draft in 1940 and 1941, and it never existed under the rigid discipline of the training camp. But it developed with all sorts of ramifications in the American armies overseas. To understand how this informal organization could develop in an institution so bereft of rights for enlisted men as the Army, it is necessary to realize that every staff officer has at least one enlisted man to do "menial tasks" such as accumulating information, typing, and keeping files. Frequently an officer will get lazy when he finds that there is no pressure to keep him at his desk. Then his enlisted man will do all the work of the office, leaving the officer the sole task of signing his name to papers. At any rate, this system permits at least one enlisted man to know every piece of information there is to know in the Army overseas. It also permits most staff officers to be subject to the influence of the enlisted man who does most of their work. While "latrine rumors" circulating in an isolated company may be largely wrong, the very best place in the Army to get information of what the latest and highest decisions and plans are is the enlisted mess hall or barracks of a headquarters company. And the best and surest way for an enlisted man to get the Army to do something for him is to talk personally to the enlisted men who "run" the staff sections at headquarters. These "underground" channels can more than make up for official callousness and unconcern. Sometimes the solidarity of enlisted men is so strong that an enlisted man can get something which his officer cannot get even for himself.

Needless to say, some enlisted men are more adept at using underground channels than others. Such men are known to other enlisted men as "big time operators" (BTO's) or "wheels" (because they get around?). A BTO will make it a special task to cultivate a friend in each of the various

headquarters staff sections. He will assiduously do favors for these friends and in return expect them to do favors for him. The BTO is an enlisted man who, by his own efforts and by means of the amorphous solidarity of enlisted men, can get most of the irregular privileges which most officers take by themselves.

Rules and orders are very badly enforced in the American Army. That is largely because discipline is regarded as something for the enlisted men and not for officers, while it is the officers who must see that the rules and orders are carried out. Thus, the medieval tradition of no accountability for the upper caste and the American tradition of being concerned only for one's personal interests combine to make Army rules and orders the weakest influence of the three in the running of the daily business of the Army. This is not true of combat operations, where orders much more frequently determine action.

There are examples too numerous to mention of orders' being repeated over and over again without effect and of repeated letters from commanding generals calling subordinate commanders' attention to the fact that a certain Army regulation is not being followed. One such case may be safely repeated here because it appeared in the press. After repeated orders of the Commanding General of the Mediterranean Theater to ship back to the States men who had a certain point score, and there still remained thousands of men with this point score in units throughout the Theater, Major General White (G-1 of the Theater) expostulated that these men "are being held in direct contradiction to specific orders from the Theater Commander."¹ The commanding general of the air base at Santa Ana, California, designated a "gripe day" when enlisted men in his command could speak to him personally. Five hundred and fifty men showed up, and the general conducted a group conference in which he learned of some of the violations of his

¹ *Stars and Stripes (Mediterranean)*, October 8, 1945, p. 8.

orders. He concluded the session with the following remark: "If you don't see any improvement in the next couple of days come back and give me the facts of your case and I'll either do something about it or wring someone's neck."²

Army rules and orders, while they are as dated as one would expect the regulations of a highly bureaucratic structure to be, nevertheless exert a modernizing influence on the Army. The social structure of the Army is gradually changing under the constant repetition of Army regulations. The regulations themselves change as public opinion, the practices of business, and the findings of social science gradually penetrate to the chiefs. But for the fact that they presuppose a rigid caste system, Army regulations

today are fairly modern and almost radical in the eyes of many Regular Army officers who are expected to enforce them.

This comment on the social organization of the American Army in terms of the three traditions which determine most of the Army's actions and the relations between individuals in it does not touch upon the formal organization of such things as units and hierarchical channels—which information is available in Army manuals—or such trivial aspects of organization as the personal relations between individuals thrown together without any choice in the matter. The aim of this article has been to show how these determinants of social organization in the Army affect its efficiency.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

COMMENT ON CUSTOM IN THE ARMY

THOMAS H. HALL

I was in the Army only two days before the commanding officer of my induction center told a group that all passengers would be punished if someone broke a window on the train carrying us to a camp. At the training camp the company commander said the whole company would be denied passes for ten days unless the one who broke a toilet bowl confessed.

I asked the officer for his authority for such punishment, and he said it was an old Army custom. I told him it was not wise to follow old customs. "It once was a custom in this country to burn grandmothers as witches and sell human beings like cattle," I related. He replied that customs have the "force of law" in the Army.

² *Ibid.*, October 11, 1945, p. 3.

I said that I never had read any such statement in the Articles of War passed by Congress. My superior read from the *Soldiers Handbook*, which says: "Customs have come into existence which are recognized as our unwritten law of conduct."

He also quoted from the *Officers Guide*, page 343: "Customs which live and endure . . . tend to take on the force of law, as indeed they are—the Common Law."

According to Colonel Thomas R. Phillips: "Army regulations on discipline remain unchanged, in all essential respects, from those of 1821, and those were copied from the regulations of the noble and peasant army of royal France of 1788" (*Infantry Journal Reader* [1943], p. 291).

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

INFORMAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE ARMY

ANONYMOUS

ABSTRACT

The informal social organization of the enlisted men actually controls many army activities theoretically governed by the formal army organization. The informal social organization arises in the intensive interaction of army life. Customs which may contradict or reinforce formal army regulations are developed in the informal group to control many of the details of army life. The officially defined roles of the army leader are redefined by his allegiances within the status system of the informal group which he is expected to command officially.

Although in theory a formal, rational, social organization governs every phase of the army life of enlisted men, in practice many army activities are controlled and carried on by informal social groups. The informal social group of enlisted men may supplement, interpret, or even effectively negate the directives of the formal social organization. A similar extra-legal development of authority has been noted in industry, politics, and community organization. There is probably a greater contrast between the formal and informal organizations in the army, however, than in any other institution in the United States because the formal social organization of the army is designed to control completely the lives of the individuals involved.

The data on which this article is based were collected by the author while assigned to duty with the army at several air-force bases in this country. The author had the advantage of serving in the same type of organization as a private, noncommissioned officer-in-charge, and as a commissioned officer. Since most intimate contacts were with enlisted men, this article deals with the informal social groups of enlisted men alone, although similar informal social groupings are known to exist among officers. The groups described were technical units assigned to bases in this country. They ranged in size from eight to fifty men at various times and places and were variously organized as departments, sections, or detachments. In every case, however, they consisted of relatively small groups of techni-

cians—for example, radiomen, towermen, weathermen, mess-hall personnel, and crews of large planes, who had a definite common job to do. There was considerable turnover in the personnel of each unit as men were transferred to other bases or sent overseas. Discussion with men from at least twenty-five bases not directly observed confirm the belief that the units here considered are representative.

To provide a necessary background for discussing the informal social groups, a brief description of the formal organization is presented first. Unlike most formal social organizations, the army is designed to control both the working and nonworking hours of the individual. The group of men who work together in the technical unit also are usually organized as a formal unit for those aspects of army life not directly connected with their military jobs. In the technical units observed the minutiae of the daily job were prescribed in detailed technical orders, manuals and directives, issued by higher headquarters and reaching the individual through a hierarchy of military authority. In some units these regulations ranged over such subjects as specifications for the size of the head of the arrow drawn on a map, hours of work, proper dress for work of various kinds, size of working shifts, nature of supervision, punctuation in work reports, courtesies to be shown to visiting officers, and standards of cleanliness. These orders came from a more or less anonymous "higher authority" and carried the general formal sanctions of military law.

A similar set of formal regulations governs the life of the individual when he is not on actual work duty. It is this phase of army regulation which offers the greatest contrast to normal civilian social controls. Aspects of daily life considered by civilians to be solely within the realm of private discretion are regarded as fit subjects for regulation by the army. For example, the army has attempted to establish formal control over such matters as hours of sleep, hours of eating, the selection of social acquaintances (*viz.*, directives forbidding off-duty social relations between officers and enlisted personnel), hours during which latrines may be used, frequency of shaving, and the selection of seats in army theaters. Formal control over the frequency and length of passes and the places to be visited on pass was one of the most important restrictions on the activity of enlisted men. In fact, in the author's opinion, one of the citizen soldier's most difficult adjustments was to the fact that his off-duty hours and so-called "free" time were not subject to his own control. Free time and passes were among the most important interests of the informal social organization.

A hierarchy of officials and functionaries exists to effectuate the army's formal controls and regulations. In the actual life of the technical units observed these officials functioned at five levels:

- a) The more or less anonymous hierarchy of higher authority from which the original orders came. Contact with these authorities was restricted to the occasional visit of an inspecting officer.
- b) The commanding officer of the field, acting through his adjutant and first sergeant. Controls on this level did not generally affect the men directly but were channeled through the commanding officer of the technical unit¹ and the noncommissioned officer in charge of the technical unit.²
- c) The commanding officer of the technical unit and occasionally an additional assisting officer.
- d) The noncommissioned officer in charge of the technical unit.
- e) The noncommissioned officer in charge of the shifts which worked together and which consisted of from two to ten men.

The N.C.O.I.C. is supposed to act as the representative of the C.O. in passing on orders and directives to the enlisted men and in enforcing compliance with these orders. The shift chief N.C.O.'s are supposed to act in a similar intermediary capacity for the N.C.O.I.C.

Special privileges officially accorded to noncommissioned officers of the first three grades³ were designed to give these men a status distinct from that of the enlisted men to whom they gave orders and also served as rewards attached to their offices. Thus, if married, they either were given separate quarters on the post or were allowed to live off the post with their wives. In three of the bases observed they were required to eat at separate tables in the mess hall, and the separation of them from other enlisted personnel in the mess hall was firmly enforced by the commanding officer of the field. They were allowed greater pass privileges. A subtle, if humorous, distinction was made at one post where men of the first three grades were excused from standing the monthly physical inspection for venereal disease. The writer attended many meetings of first-three-graders at which commanding officers attempted to emphasize the distinct status the first-three-graders enjoyed and the responsibility which attached to that status in enforcing discipline and compliance with orders.

But, as a form of adjustment to the conditions of life imposed by the formal army organization, an informal voluntary social group existed in every unit observed by the author. In each case the informal group included almost every member of the formal unit. With the exception of a few men who

¹ The commanding officer of the technical unit will be identified as the "C.O." in all further references.

² The noncommissioned officer in charge of the technical unit will be identified as the "N.C.O.I.C.," and the subordinate noncommissioned officers as "N.C.O.," in further references.

³ Includes master sergeants, first sergeants, technical sergeants, and staff sergeants.

lived off the post with their wives, all members of the group lived in the same section of the barracks, ate together, used the same latrine, took physical training and drill together, worked together, went to the movies together, and shared almost every other aspect of army life. Personal contacts were so frequent that men learned to know each other as well in a few days as they might in a few years as civilians. There were practically no competing or overlapping groups; all significant social circles were coincident with the small group.

The vitality of these informal groups was evidenced by the fact that they maintained their continuity despite a rapid turnover in membership. Individual members were transferred in and out of the group at frequent intervals without breaking up the group or radically changing its customs. In one unit, observed by the author for two years, almost the whole membership of the unit turned over about once every three months. Approximately one hundred different individuals belonged to the group during this time, although the maximum size of the unit at any one time was twenty. The customs of the group and the status relationships underwent changes during the two-year period, but there was never a sharp break. Only on the few occasions when a large number of men were sent out from the unit at one time was there a period of temporary confusion in the social organization.

Newcomers to the formal unit were quickly integrated into the informal group. Generally within a week after transfer to the unit a man was a member of the informal group. The frequency and intensity of social contact was so great that new men were rapidly socialized to life in the informal group.

It is not surprising that a group of men who lived in such intimate physical contact developed a set of common attitudes toward the conditions of their common life. These attitudes were developed in frequent evening bull sessions, discussions while at work, latrine rumors, mutual observations

of gestures and verbal reactions to duties, common observations of the attitudes of the noncommissioned officer giving orders, and in the hundreds of other ways in which men who work and live together communicate their basic reactions. Some of the specific attitudes observed as held by a group at a specific time were:

1. Any noncommissioned officer who turns an enlisted man in for punishment for any but the gravest offense is an informer and an undesirable member of the group.

2. A man's pass privileges are sacred. Other enlisted men should do everything possible to protect and increase them.

3. Social distinctions between enlisted men by rank are undesirable, and men who claim these distinctions are legitimate targets for abuse.

4. It is not desirable to set too high a standard of work performance. (At another time, exactly the opposite attitude was held.)

5. Men who work together should co-operate in whatever manner necessary to get the job done in the manner easiest for the whole group.

Rapid development of the attitudes of the men toward each other resulted in a status system in the group not necessarily coincident with the officially prescribed status system. Certain men habitually took the initiative in leading discussions, proposing activities, and mediating relations between the enlisted men and the official hierarchy of authority. These leaders were not always the highest-ranking noncommissioned officers. In several cases an N.C.O.I.C. who lived off the post or who failed to express the attitudes of the group on basic matters was not the real leader of the group. The actual leader was a lower-ranking noncommissioned officer with greater status in the informal group. The real leader had to be willing to stand up for the interests of the group against such higher outside authority as the base first sergeant. An example of this occurred when a master sergeant was transferred into a unit where a staff sergeant had been acting as N.C.O.I.C. and had been the respected leader in the informal group for several months. The master sergeant replaced the staff sergeant as

N.C.O.I.C. Failing to observe the local customs and to work through the informal group, the master sergeant proceeded to exercise his privileges and duties according to the letter of the formal regulations. The informal group rejected him as a leader and continued to look for leadership to the staff sergeant, even on technical problems which were officially within the jurisdiction of the master sergeant. Considerable tension developed between the master sergeant and the informal group, and the working efficiency of the unit declined markedly. The conflict became so acute that the C.O. had the master sergeant transferred to another base and reinstated the staff sergeant as N.C.O.I.C.

This experience apparently gave the C.O. an insight into the importance of having the official leader accepted by the informal group. After several months another master sergeant was transferred into the unit. In this case the C.O. permitted the staff sergeant to continue as N.C.O.I.C. for several weeks while the master sergeant became acquainted with the local situation and a member of the informal group. The subsequent appointment of the master sergeant as N.C.O.I.C. was accepted by the group, although there continued to be some rivalry between the old and the new leader.

Group customs and systematic interpersonal relations hardened quickly and were enforced by the group. They were concerned not only with the areas of activity for which no official regulations existed but also with the interpretation of the official regulations. Who used what tool in doing the job, who gave him the tool, how fast the job "should" be done, how the finished product or report of work was handled—these were subjects governed by group customs. Such customs were absolutely essential in one unit where men worked on a three-shift twenty-four-hour basis, and it was necessary to cooperate in doing the job without benefit of face-to-face relations.

Many examples were observed in which the standards of the informal group prevailed in opposition to formal regulations.

Frequently it was not even necessary for the informal group to express its resistance to a formal regulation openly. When the N.C.O.I.C. was also the group leader, he frequently advised the C.O. to modify the proposed operation of a regulation so as to bring it into accord with local customs. Several C.O.'s who had worked with their units for some time were also so sensitive to the customs of the informal group as to soften in advance the effects of regulations interfering with established customs. For example, one unit was ordered by higher headquarters to institute a system of daily technical classes for all enlisted men. This would have necessitated curtailing the established system of pass privileges—and, of all customs of the informal group, the most sacred were those concerning pass privileges. In practice, classes were held only twice a week, and disciplinary action was never taken against men who missed these classes because of absence on pass. There was a tacit agreement to excuse them. Another example occurred when a shortage of trained personnel made it necessary for each man to work more hours each week. A new official work schedule was posted under which the additional work hours were gained by making workdays out of customary "off days." This was in accordance with official policy, and the new schedule was followed for several weeks, despite grumbling and a noticeable decline in the quality of the work. During this time, however, the men held a bull session about the schedule, and one man drew up a new schedule which retained the customary days off and obtained the needed extra hours of work by assigning each man an occasional double shift as overtime. At an official meeting of the unit called for another purpose, the men complained to the C.O. that the new official schedule was unfair in cutting customary pass privileges. One man said that if the group were again given their "old" pass privileges, "they" would see that the work was done. Finally the C.O. examined the new schedule drawn up by the men and accepted it as a replacement for the official schedule. In a similar

case the official schedule actually remained posted for the benefit of visiting inspectors, but the real working schedule was drawn up by the men and was kept available at the barracks in one man's footlocker.

The informal group had many ways to express and make effective its dissatisfaction with official regulations or arrangements, the most effective of these being control of the N.C.O.I.C. As a member of the informal group, he was subject to all its pressures. Failure to act in accordance with the interests of the group might subject him to name-calling: "brownnoser," "eager beaver," "chicken," "G.I." Even mild social ostracism would bring an offending leader "in line." Failure to be included in the activities and discussions of the group meant isolation and loneliness, because the offending leader had no other social group to which to turn. The whole basis of his social life and status was in this one informal group. The offending member of a street-corner gang may find refuge in a rival gang. The offending machine politician may sell out to the rival machine or enter an entirely different social world. The member of an army group rarely has such an alternative. He belongs to the informal social group or he is isolated.

Thus, membership of the N.C.O.I.C. in the informal group limits his ability to perform his official supervisory duties in the manner prescribed by official regulations. For example, the basic formal sanction which the N.C.O.I.C. has at his command to enforce compliance with orders is the power to report the offender to the C.O. In practice, however, the N.C.O.I.C. rarely turns in a man to the C.O. unless the infraction is important or impossible to conceal. The N.C.O.I.C. who turns in a fellow-member is felt to be betraying "his own." One N.C.O.I.C. who turned several men in to the C.O. was described as a "fellow who would turn in his own mother for an extra stripe." This comparison with a family betrayal indicates the intensity of feeling involved. The N.C.O.I.C. involved lived off the post and was not really a full-fledged member of the informal group.

The manner in which the informal group modified the official status relationships is also well exemplified in the lack of real power in the hands of subordinate N.C.O.'s. Officially, each shift of workers in the unit was under the management of a subordinate N.C.O., who, in turn, was responsible to the N.C.O.I.C. Actually, however, these N.C.O.'s exercised very little authority. They were on terms of closest intimacy with the men on their shifts, and this intimacy usually precluded any real observance of the official relations of superior-inferior. Leadership on the job was worked out informally and was almost as often in the hands of a dominating private as of an N.C.O. The informal group pressures which influenced the N.C.O.I.C. were even more powerful in controlling the subordinate N.C.O.'s because even their official work relations were entirely within the informal group. Furthermore, their relations with officers and "higher authority" were mediated through the N.C.O.I.C., to whom they stood in much the same relation as other members of the informal group.

In addition to name-calling and social ostracism, the informal group also enforced its customs by withholding from an offending member the means of enjoying certain privileges. For example, Charlie G—often took advantage of the privilege of taking an extended pass by exchanging duty shifts with another man. On several occasions, however, Charlie returned late from his pass, thus disrupting the work routine, forcing another man to work for him, and shortening the pass of the next man to leave. By common consent this matter was not brought to the attention of the C.O. Instead, the members of the group punished Charlie by refusing to change shifts with him again. This was considered a severe punishment and just retribution. It involved no formal decision by the group. One man said: "I'll be damned if I'll trade shifts with Charlie again. He louses up the whole pass setup." The others nodded assent, and the matter was settled. The informal decision of the group was later taken into consideration by

the N.C.O.I.C. in making up an official work schedule.

The activities of the informal group were by no means confined to resisting or modifying the unpopular aspects of the formal army organization. On the contrary, a very large part of the customs of the informal group supplemented or implemented the official regulations and relationships, most of which had to be worked out in terms of local conditions. During one period of several months the membership of the unit was stable and unusual *esprit de corps* developed. Under the leadership of the N.C.O.I.C. the group took considerable pride in proper performance of duties. Men who showed skill and initiative on the job were held in esteem in the informal group. An efficient division of labor was worked out for the various jobs. The importance of this informal work organization became evident when several key men were transferred from the unit. The formal regulations and status system did not change, but the informal system of putting them into effect appeared to break down. In fact, certain men did not seem to know their jobs because the informal division of labor had broken up. There was confusion as to who was to give and who was to take orders, although theoretically this question was settled in terms of rank. There was a kind of organizational vacuum for a time, during which routine jobs were done slowly or poorly. Gradually the work improved as the informal groups were reorganized and it became clearer what the working relationships were to be and whose decisions were to be accepted. During this period of organizational breakdown there was no loss in the number of technically trained personnel. New men, technically trained with experience at other bases, had replaced the transferred key men; but the new men could not automatically become key men in the informal working order. Indeed, in several cases "old" men who had occupied subordinate positions

moved up to positions of actual leadership, although there was no change in the official hierarchy.

Although the limited observations of the writer do not permit any specific generalizations, they do indicate the functional importance of the informal group in the American army. As in the case of most other social organizations, it appears necessary to go behind formal social structure into the realm of the emotional and interpersonal relations of the informal primary groups, to see how the army really works. In this connection it is particularly important to go behind the officially defined role of the army leader to discover how that role is redefined by his allegiances and attachments within the very groups he is expected to command. This duality of roles observed in the formal organization of the army is apparent, also, in the current controversy concerning the status of the factory foreman. In a rational diagrammatic outline of worker-management relations the foreman may be a part of management, but specific investigation is needed in each situation to discover the degree to which the informal social relations of the foreman limit his ability to act in the interests of management.

For purposes of generalization, it would be most valuable if other sociologists in the service would report on the role of informal organizations in other types of army units. Particular interest would be attached to reports on the informal organization of combat units of relatively stable membership. In such units, presumably, the informal group would reach a maximum of development and be most active in counteracting or modifying and supplementing formal regulations and organization. If generalizations could be developed concerning the functions of informal groups under various conditions of army life, the sociologist would be in a position to understand many of the problems which will arise under possible peacetime universal military training.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MILITARY SOCIETY

HOWARD BROTZ AND EVERETT WILSON

ABSTRACT

When men are inducted into the armed forces, they must make adjustments to the structure of activities and relationships of basic training. These are discussed in terms of the Army (1) as a hierarchy of command, (2) as a rigidly stratified society, (3) as a self-contained social world, and (4) as either socializing or isolating its members.

Situations in the Army vary from pure civilian routines at one extreme to actual combat at the other. Enfolding these differences, however, is an atmosphere which affects almost every soldier at one time or another. It is the situation of a combat soldier out of combat: in training, replacement depots, staging areas, rear areas, etc. It is what is meant when a clerk is told to be a good soldier. There is a community of experience which is inherent in the uniform structure of Army society: the procedures, rules, attitudes, and sanctions. It is testified to by the fact that all soldiers have a common language, one that is frequently misunderstood by civilians. This community is derived largely from a common basic training wherein the rules are first laid down.

Basic training for most troops is essentially infantry training: marches, marksmanship, field fortifications, military courtesy, and customs of the service. To service troops assigned to base sections this training may seem ludicrous. Assignments are hardly to be known in advance, however; and the fact that ordnance and quartermaster troops have been under fire seems to justify this minimum protective training.

Furthermore, it is in basic training that the whole fabric of Army life—the concrete social situation into which the soldier is introduced—is first revealed. This will be described in terms of four characteristics: that the army is a command society, is rigidly stratified, is self-contained, and can be atomized.

In a society organized in a hierarchy of command, power is sublet. This is the cause of many indignities and abuses; for a corpo-

ral can be more of a tyrant than an officer and very often the necessary controls by higher commands are not exercised in these cases. Ideally, military channels make for the most personalized control possible, as each commander knows the men *directly* under him and is responsible for everything within his command. Thus, execution of orders and policy proceeds through each echelon in the chain of command, insuring personal control at each step and final action only by the commander immediately responsible. A regimental commander avoids giving orders to a company commander, as this would undermine the position of the battalion commander. The converse principle is that one does not go over the head of his superior without first securing the latter's permission. (This is not necessarily followed in cases of extreme hardship or personal contact.) To the individual soldier, higher headquarters appears as an impersonal web, particularly in a huge army. An individual, initiating action by himself, is up against the prospect of going through channels, which requires concurrence at each step. Very often military requirements do not permit individual exceptions to be made. When a soldier applies for a transfer, for example, many factors have to be controlled beyond his reach that can frustrate his efforts. Many men never went to officers' school because, during the processing of papers, the quota had been cut or their outfit had been alerted for overseas duty.

In a chain of command, information drifts down slowly—and often hazardingly. This is because of the withholding power of a commander, often sheer negligence to cir-

culate such information, judgment by the commander of its irrelevance within the command, or military security. One of the best services which *Yank* provides is a weekly summary of current War Department directives. This is many times the first way a soldier learns of a policy, when the very circular from which this information was derived is lying in the orderly room. Note that *Yank* is out of the chain of command. Lack of correct official information is a great source of frustration, especially when one learns of the directive after it is too late. Also it is a setting for the unbounded spread of rumor, which is ever present in the Army. Furthermore, many seemingly ridiculous rules could be made intelligible by pointing out the intent of the directive as explained therein. What finally remains of an order at the lowest echelon is often nothing more than a direct command, without apparent reason.

This establishes the peculiar role of the clerk—the man in headquarters. He is the one in the know. (It is ludicrous to see that what is prized as such restricted information at company levels is common knowledge at higher headquarters.) In civilian industry clerical workers have an iota more of prestige in the factory hierarchy than the workers in the plant. But it matters little when the factory worker makes a higher wage than the typist. On the other hand, headquarters personnel have a much higher percentage of rank. Furthermore, commanding officers will go to all ends to keep from losing their clerks. It was found necessary in Europe to send General Lear on a special expedition to clear out the base sections of men fit for combat.

The second characteristic of a command society is that procedures are uniform and ordered. They are easily learned. Even policy is directed from higher headquarters. This makes for an odd relationship between an administrative officer and his enlisted men, in which the latter are able to do most of the former's work save signing his name. This is not true on lower levels only. The relationship between a colonel and a ser-

geant in his confidence is no different than that between a company commander and his first sergeant.

Conformity often means doing no more than you are told. That's playing it safe; for self-assumed responsibility may conflict with established prerogative. This produces a tendency to shift responsibility. Doing exactly what is ordered—when it is known to be wrong—can be very frustrating, especially when the individual aware of the error will have to undo it eventually himself. The hardest orders to obey are those that require civilian duties to be performed the Army way. The Army has its own peculiar way of washing windows.

It is during basic training that conformity is carried to its extreme. This is partly the intent of basic training, partly the accidents of handling a group of recruits. Men have fallen out for a formation in one uniform to go back and change it two and three times until the commander makes up his mind. As a whole, basic-training programs adhere strictly to the Army's set of field manuals, which are revised as experience proves necessary. Occasionally, however, they lag behind it. Combat veterans who had been returned to instruct trainees complained that they were unable to teach their battlefield knowledge if it conflicted with the field manual. Furthermore, the manual is made artificial by the splitting of operations into numbered steps for instructional purposes. This emphasis on uniformity of method tends to become exaggerated, and "by the numbers" is a stock joke. It was found necessary to revise the bayonet manual when, in the North African campaign, men were observed bayoneting "by the numbers," to their own disadvantage.

The carry-over of much peacetime Army tradition in a basic-training program does much to generate conformity, for that was its intent. The snap and polish of close-order drill, formal guard mounts, personal inspections, and other ceremonies depend for their success on precise unison. Close-order drill was functional when whole armies or battalions were led by the command of one

man and when units moved into combat "dressed to the right." Infantry combat today consists of much squad and patrol activity, which requires individual initiative that is the antithesis of close-order drill. It is useless as a preparation for combat which can be acquired only in actual squad or platoon practice. Yet the Army holds onto it under the idea that it strengthens discipline. It is very deadening and was responsible for large-scale desertions and AWOL's after the last armistice. Garrison training emphasizes visible surfaces. One can occasionally get away with a dirty rifle at an inspection if his manual of arms is highly precise. The inspector is too easily impressed.

Another result of the use of the field manual is the uniformity of teaching practices and the ease with which teachers are made. It is not unusual for a student to succeed a teacher and know no less of the subject matter than the latter, since they are both limited to the same source.

Military society is rigidly stratified into two closed hierarchies. The officer-enlisted-man relationship often causes status dilemmas: when a line officer has an enlisted man of civilian acquaintance under him; when an officer and enlisted man meet on social terms (I know of one case where two former buddies walked around an Army camp for three hours, as there was no place on the post where they could go together); when an officer is responsible for enlisted men twice his age; when an employee and employer or student and teacher meet as officer and enlisted man, respectively; and, lastly, when an officer replaces an enlisted man in an identical assignment, especially if the enlisted man has to break in the officer.

American enlisted men have never accepted the officer as a superior being and tend to regard some of the normal exercises of his rank as undemocratic (complete relief from fatigue details, for example). This is largely to be expected, in a democratic society where there is no avowed aristocracy. In a feudal society high civilian status would automatically convert to an officer rank, as

is still much the case in the British Empire. Many American officers are flatly regarded as parvenus by better-mannered enlisted men.

But real indignities do occur. If privilege is not correlated with sincere responsibility, it disgusts. Certain company commanders have little interest in the welfare of their men, and they are despised. Also the system of sanctions in the Army wherein the punishment must not degrade the rank is a sore spot of contention. For identical infractions of the same rule, the higher rank will actually suffer less—and less proportionately. Officers are rather lenient with one another on courts-martial. A noncommissioned officer will usually be reduced to the grade of private for inefficiency, whereas an officer will merely be transferred—gotten rid of.

The Army makes an officer responsible for many things which he is incapable of judging. It is based less on reality than on the sacred institution of rank. A mess officer, knowing nothing about cooking, has to inspect mess halls. Thus surface observations are played up rather than the quality of the food. A man, once commissioned, acquires new "abilities."

Both in civilian life and in the Army there is such a thing as administrative skill, based on an understanding of the principles of organization and production, delegation of problems in a hierarchy of authority, and co-ordinated staff information which enables the executive reasonably to determine policy. Shifts of key men are common among government and business agencies that are related. Furthermore, similar principles of capital and credit formation in large-scale financing overshadow the technical aspects of different businesses. But the ability to handle new problems decreases from the top downward, as they become more technical.

This principle is certainly an ideal in the Army. But it is not uncommon to see a battlefield officer transferred for various reasons to administrative assignments for which he is unfitted but which he is *expected* to fulfil by virtue of the fact that he is an officer. Combat fliers who after fifty mis-

sions were placed in administrative duties were, as a rule, less qualified than their enlisted assistants to do anything more than sign prepared papers.

This aura which surrounds rank as such often places responsibility upon men who are less qualified than their subordinates. It is as true of enlisted ranks as it is of officers'. Although the rank may have been acquired in one branch of service, it is good for at least a first play in another, until inefficiency becomes too obvious. Thereupon the officer will be transferred to another assignment, and the same situation will recommence.

The third characteristic of the Army is that it is a self-contained society which must maintain its own housekeeping functions, take precautions for health and safety. This requires the diversion of efforts into necessary—but seemingly trivial—activities. To a former professional who is an enlisted man, policing the area, cleaning latrines, kitchen police, and care of the barracks seem at first an imposition. On the other hand, an officer or noncommissioned officer is not only in charge of an operation but also in charge of his men. This requires keeping the company's moneys, maintaining discipline, giving fatherly advice, keeping records, censoring mail, and a myriad of other duties that are the cause of amazing shifts in personality and that impose new roles upon the urbanized individual.

Living in the Army, one has to make the adjustment which enables him to accept Army standards and rules—without judgment as to how alien they were formerly. When a soldier begins to use the Army vocabulary and slang without deliberate choice and when a situation automatically evokes the correct attitudes, he has unwittingly acquired the rules and regulations whether he likes them or not.

To almost all enlisted men, military life is, in greater or less degree, an atomizing experience. Not only does entrance into the armed forces mean the lapse of civilian occupations and avocations, it also involves the increasing decline of the social controls

of the family and of the neighborhood. To the great majority of servicemen, their day-to-day routine of basic training has no meaning in relation to future goals after the war. For the most part they are living in the present and for the present. In several significant ways the attitudes and behavior of the men during and after basic training express this predominant feeling of the primacy of the present and the recession of the past and the future except at times of reverie and the writing and the receiving of letters.

The essential fact about induction, reception-center, and basic-training experience is the knifing-off of past experience. Nothing in one's past seems relevant unless, possibly, a capacity for adaptation and the ability to assume a new role. Those who are unable to do so readily fall into the psychoneurotic category and may get medical discharges. Two such men in my company were characterized by an inability to focus on the task assigned them, inability to report at the assigned place on time, sleeping through reveille, missing formations, fantasies, and an imaginative reconstruction of their pasts in which the importance and prestige of their civilian roles were emphasized and exaggerated. Psychoneurotic cases, of course, are not the rule. Nonetheless, the sense of being thrust into a completely alien role and some feeling of personal degradation is common to a large number of recruits.

The complete severance of accustomed social relations finds compensation in part in the acquiring of "buddies." Frequently the choice of a "buddy" was fortuitous, growing out of arbitrary barracks or hutment assignment. In many cases a very strong bond developed between buddies. Covering up for, defense of, and devotion to one's buddy was expected. Sentiments that would be considered maudlin under other circumstances were sometimes expressed. For example, a Pfc, who was on the list to make Corporal, stated: "If Joe [his buddy] don't make Corporal, I won't take it. They can take their Goddam \$12 and. . . ."

In the early stages of an Army career, particularly in basic training, similarity of background and interests seemed unnecessary for forming a buddy relationship. Apparently, the unfamiliar situation and the need felt for someone to share the discomforts and perplexities of the new life were sufficient basis for the buddy relationship. In later months these intimate relationships were more often based upon identity of past, i.e., civilian interests and occupation. In my company, four men who always bunked together were attracted to each other by similarity of political convictions.

In spite of the intimacy of Army life, an individual can be very isolated—more so than in civilian life, as mobility, which permits wide selection of associates, is sharply reduced. If the soldier does not find an in-group with which to share his complaints at least, he may become psychoneurotic. To avoid this, soldiers acquire some very queer friendships, which would have a dubious future in a civilian background. It is rare to see a soldier or sailor alone, whereas most psychoneurotic servicemen have few or no friends. To a hypersensitive individual, basic training can be a horror, as he will invite vulgar treatment by a certain type of officer and noncommissioned officer.

The impersonality of the military method of handling great numbers also makes for anonymity. This impersonality, as evidenced in serial numbers, squad and platoon numbers, queueing up by alphabet, numbers designating main civilian occupation and main occupational specialty, tent numbers, and laundry numbers, is soon accepted by the G.I. He learns, somehow, that his new role will be easier if the anonymity of numbers is preserved—if, to be specific, his officers and the orderly room never identify his name or number with face and personality.

While lack of objectives and other incentives discouraged initiative and creative effort among men in the Army, another condition contributing to the same effect was the security, however minimal, offered by the services to their men and dependents.

Since, on the one hand, effort went largely unrewarded and, conversely, slothful disposition of duty did not jeopardize the soldier's rating and his monthly stipend, the tendency was to "soldier" on the job, to get away with as little work as possible. Over any period of time the dull, do-nothing routine stimulated escape reactions, which, in decreasing order of frequency, were movies, gambling, liquor, and brothels.

The complete exhaustion of the monthly paycheck within a few days was comparatively common. A soldier could squander his cash with equanimity, knowing that next month would see him "flush" again; while, in the meantime, there was always the assurance of food and shelter. In the Army, money came to have a new and more direct meaning for many soldiers. Time had only a present phase. Money had only its immediate goods and services value. It was used or loaned or gambled with considerable abandon. The future could and would take care of itself.

These different evidences of the atomizing effects of military experience upon the individual should not blind the observer to the forces at work in the creating of a unified combat group out of the initial aggregate of heterogeneous individuals with widely different civilian backgrounds and experiences. In this transformation many factors are at work, one of the most important of which is companionship. No amount of orientation courses can supplant the necessity for comradeship. The morale of the whole unit is dependent upon firm in-group bonds in terms of which the group can execute its mission with gratification. When something internal to the situation chokes or defies this solidarity, the prospect for high morale is weak. This is too often the case in the Army. Poor leadership which is directed at privilege instead of responsibility, selfishness, intolerable regulations, and a disregard of the common amenities will divide an outfit. In this case it is impossible to cement it by words.

HQ. U.S.F. (INFORMATION AND EDUCATION)
NEW LENOX, ILLINOIS

THE MAKING OF THE INFANTRYMAN

ANONYMOUS

ABSTRACT

The infantry is the most strenuous, least envied, branch of the services. Yet the infantrymen's morale and pride is exceedingly high. The rigors and real dangers of their unusually severe basic training lead to a conception of themselves as soldiers who can endure what other soldiers cannot.

It is, in a sense, ironical that some of the finest fighting men in the war came from the United States—in a citizen-army of men who hate war. Postwar developments indicate that the morale of the nation was based upon the practical necessity of defending itself against an attack, with the feeling that war was undesirable and must be finished as soon as possible. Everyone wanted to go home. Yet, American soldiers, drafted unwillingly, have proved to be superb in fighting ability and have been more than a match even for professionals of other nations.

In a war full of sacrifices, there is general agreement that the most challenging and undesirable task has been that of the infantryman—the “dogface.” The infantryman, particularly the rifleman, is a fighting man, whose prime function is to “close on the enemy and destroy him.” Reports from all battlefronts of the feats of the American rifleman in the heat of battle bear testimony to the self-sacrifice and earnestness with which he has taken his task.

Many have gone into the infantry unwillingly, partly because it is known to be difficult and partly because of the general tendency among civilians to look upon the infantry as the reservoir for those not qualified for anything else. Once they have tasted infantry life, however, many change their opinion. Many who have seen action in the front lines as infantrymen say that anything else is better. Even those in training advise their friends to go to some other branch. Despite all this, however, they become proud, not so much of the fact that they are “good soldiers,” but of the fact that

they are “infantrymen.” They are proud to have been able to do what they did; proud to have been able to “take it”; proud that they are “men.” They feel convinced that, even if civilians do not appreciate their efforts, all other “G.I.’s” will. They wear with pride the blue braid on their overseas cap and their crossed rifle insignia on their lapels.

A group of men who were trained as infantry replacements were stranded at Fort Meade after V-E Day and were offered an opportunity to transfer into an easier job in the army service forces. Many flatly refused to go. Others who wanted to go did not dare say so. They said they were not interested in “replacing WAC’s for active duty.” There is a tendency among riflemen to look with disdain upon those in other branches of the service—particularly non-combat, rear-echelon men. While recognizing the importance of their work and realizing with envy the relatively easy life that they lead, they look upon noncombat men as “male WAC’s” and “chair-borne troops.” Air-corps men are singled out as “sloppy.” The infantryman comes to look upon himself as the most versatile, capable soldier in the service.

This raises the question: What is so good about the infantry, which is generally agreed to be the least desirable branch of the service? Many feel that there is less “chicken” than in other units, that petty things are not stressed quite so much.¹ In

¹ “Chicken,” a much-used term in the army, refers to the emphasis on petty regulations, such as polishing shoes, keeping the area clean, and saluting. Since soldiers on the field regard as useless and petty

contrast to garrison life, the relationship between the men is frank and less strained by conventions. There is less "back-stabbing" and "brown-nosing" for promotions. Men say what they feel and do what they please. It is understood that they may pay with their lives for stupid errors. The riflemen expect one another to ignore petty things and petty regulations and to "take life easy"—except when they are in the front lines fighting. Men are expected to be "good Joes," to be anonymous and avoid attention—except in dangerous and challenging situations, where they are expected to give all they have. However, this, in itself, is not sufficient to explain the exalted self-conception of the infantryman. The explanation may be found in the character of his training.

While those drafted early in the war were given opportunities to develop their civilian interests, as far as possible, within the army table of organization, those who were inducted after the summer of 1944 did not have much choice. The invasion of Africa, the landings in Normandy, the Battle of the Belgian Bulge, as well as the fighting in the South Pacific, led to heavy casualties among combat men. Infantrymen were needed badly. While most inductees tried to get out, only a few succeeded. At first many were disgusted, but they had no alternative but to make the best of it.

At the beginning of the war, the United States Army, like that of most countries, activated new divisions whenever there were enough trained men, and then trained and used the men as a unit. However, during the war, it was decided to train, as individual replacements, men who could do any job in the infantry and who could be sent to replace casualties in any division. The individual replacements were trained (generally from thirteen to seventeen weeks) in the Infantry Replacement Training Command

(I.R.T.C.) camps throughout the nation. It is in basic training that the raw recruit is turned into a soldier and develops pride in his branch of service.

I.R.T.C. graduates lack only battlefield experience. When they arrive on the field, they can be assigned to a rifle squad (as a scout, rifleman, grenadier, or automatic-rifleman), machine-gun squad (as a gunner or ammunition-bearer), bazooka team, mortar squad (as a gunner, ammunition-bearer or observer). Each man knows how to take care of himself, with or without weapons.

There are innumerable situations in basic training in which the men come to look upon themselves with pride. In fact, after the first six weeks—Branch Immateriel Training—most men are convinced that the infantry is the "toughest outfit" in the army. Indoctrination in the orientation meetings is important. The men are told that they will be the "most versatile men in the Army," and the strenuous and varied training schedule is enough to convince anyone that this will be true. For six weeks the men work for six days a week, and in some weeks for two or three nights besides.² The men are told that they must learn to be self-sufficient, that, if necessary, they must learn to live off nature. They are told, much to their surprise, that they must always use their heads and not necessarily follow stupid orders when the situation requires some other course of action. They are told that the primary mission of the infantry is "to close on the enemy." "Without the infantry, wars cannot be won. All the air corps and the artillery do is to set the stage for the foot soldiers." In classes on military courtesy, the trainees are told: "You're an infantryman; act like one. Don't be sloppy like them air-corps guys." Night problems, mines, explosives, booby traps, maps, rifle marksmanship, compass courses, and other items on the strenuous routine introduce the men to simulated combat conditions;

anything without some foreseeable aim defined as important, any order which is given for the sake of military regulation rather than for the performance of some particular purpose is labeled as "chicken."

² The training schedule differs from camp to camp. Some camps, with longer training cycles, give the men Saturday afternoons off.

and the physical strain is enough to convince the men that any person who can master it all is indeed worthy of respect.

After the first six weeks comes the period of specialized training. Riflemen learn scouting and patrolling; cover and movement; hasty fortifications (foxholes and gun emplacements); squad and platoon tactics; bayonet fighting; close combat, and dirty fighting—with or without weapons; and the use of the Browning automatic rifle, the 30-caliber air-cooled machine gun, and the 60-mm. mortar.³ They not only learn to fire the weapons and how to use them tactically but also learn the nomenclature of the parts, as well as how to disassemble them and put them together in the dark. The rifleman is indeed a trained specialist. Finally, bivouac—with the much-discussed infiltration course⁴—climaxes the training and affords the men two weeks in the field to put into practice all the things that they have learned. The training is strenuous, and some are unable to complete the course; others barely pass. Those who do graduate feel that they have passed the supreme test of their lives and are proud that they have done what others could not do.

If one values his life, he cannot "gold brick," even if an opportunity is afforded him. One error on the battlefield can mean death. For example, early in basic training, men are required to enter a gas chamber filled with chlorine gas without gas masks and to put them on after they are inside. It would be easier and more comfortable were one to "cheat" and unbutton the flaps on the gas-mask-holder so that he could take out the mask faster. However, this is rarely done, for it is assumed that on the battlefield

³ In some I.R.T.C. camps the 30 caliber water-cooled machine gun and 88-mm. mortar are also taught.

⁴ In the infiltration course the men are required to crawl through an area full of dynamite and barbed wires while live rounds fly over their heads. Because of the movies, many have a tendency to regard this as the greatest test; but most trainees feel that it is not too difficult because by the time they have gone through it they are accustomed to explosions and live rounds near their heads.

a man is more likely to have his flap on securely. Training is taken seriously, because one never knows when his life may depend upon his knowledge. There is a common understanding that the training is "for our own good"; therefore, most men try their best.⁵ "Gold bricks" are at once resented and pitied: "Wait 'til he gets over there; he'll be sorry!"

Furthermore, in the army, a man is constantly evaluated by his fellows as he performs his various tasks. The values are "toughness" and one's ability to "take it." Paratroopers and rangers are most highly regarded because they are considered "rugged." There is much sympathy and mutual understanding, for each man, from his own experience, knows how hard it is for the others. Therefore, it becomes a matter of personal pride to perform well the things which are defined as important. Some of the work in basic training requires the supreme effort on the part of many men. For example, the 4-mile cross-country run with full battle equipment and the 20- or 30-mile hike with full field pack are dreaded by trainees.⁶ Men who can "take it" in these ordeals are most respected, as are the marksmen and those who can carry heavy loads without faltering.

In basic training a rifleman gains self-confidence. The raw recruit who first enters an I.R.T.C. camp wonders how, after only 15 weeks of training, he can engage an enemy who has trained for years. By the time he leaves, he has the feeling that he has accomplished something, that if he could go through "basic" he could do other things that are worse.

One factor reinforcing this conception is the *esprit de corps* that develops during the

⁵ Needless to say, this attitude disappears as soon as the men finish training.

⁶ Some camps have a 20-mile course; others have a longer one. After about five or six months in the infantry a hike of this length would not tire the men too much—in fact, they are ready to fight at the end of the march. However, after only thirteen or fourteen weeks of training it is rather difficult.

training. The men have a feeling of comradeship, of belonging together. Throughout the weeks of rigorous training, they share hardships, dangerous tasks, rewards, and "gripes." They are together constantly. They are all treated alike. There is no privacy. In one another's presence, they come to feel at ease, and personal reserve breaks down. They develop a sense of belonging together in a common undertaking. By sharing experience, they have a feeling of closeness and begin to feel that they form a select group. They can do things others cannot do. This *esprit de corps* reinforces their new conception of themselves because the rifleman gets collective support from the sense of belonging with others.

Finally, in basic training—the recruit's first experience in the army—many find life more ordered than they had found it before. Each soldier has a definite status. Aside from the formally prescribed rules and regulations, which are at first enforced by the officers and noncommissioned officers and later sustained by the expectations of the men themselves, there develops a set of common understandings, defining the relative importance of various duties, the relationships with those of higher rank, and the character of duties that can be shirked and

those that cannot. From reveille to bed-check the soldier knows what is expected of him. Despite "gripes" and desires to leave the service, the soldier finds, in the army, comradeship, a feeling of belonging, and an ordered life such as many have seldom experienced before.

Citizen soldiers forced into the infantry against their will soon come to develop great pride in being in the "Queen of the Armies" and come to look upon the rear-echelon troops as effeminate. This feeling develops early in their army career, during basic training, where the strenuous training convinces them that they are the "toughest," most versatile, and most valuable men in the army. It is out of the agonies of training that they develop pride in having done what they believe many of their former friends could not have done and which they themselves never thought they could do. It is in the comradeship in the training unit that their *esprit de corps* developed and reinforced this conception. One wonders why American soldiers have made such excellent combat troops. Perhaps the character of their self-conception and of their mutual expectations provides a clue to an understanding of their courage in the field of battle.

LIFE ABOARD AN ARMED-GUARD SHIP

PAUL L. BERKMAN

ABSTRACT

In port an armed-guard ship, divorced of its primary function, becomes unorganized and tends to lose its shipshape character; a "scattering-ashore" process begins. The ship, devoid of men and with social interaction reduced to a minimum thereby, disintegrates as a social unit. Under way, with routine duties and collective expectations re-established, the ship assumes a social identity through the development of group solidarity and integration. A landlubber, thrust into this situation, becomes a sailor in a context of shipboard discourse, rough weather and the development of sea legs, informal initiatory ritual, standing watches, general quarters, and the imminence of enemy attack.

The naval armed-guard ships are unique among the ships manned wholly or in part by naval personnel. They are, in fact, not naval vessels at all but, rather, merchant ships—lumbering Liberties, Victory ships, former luxury liners, tankers, World War I Hog Islanders, fast ships, slow ships, new ships, old ships—on which guns have been mounted for protection against enemy air and submarine attacks. To differentiate them further from regular navy ships, the crews were composed of two separate groups of men—one civilian and one naval—performing different functions, subject to different systems of discipline, receiving different scales of pay, and motivated by different occupational considerations.

Furthermore, officers and men of the naval armed-guard crew (which manned the guns and communications equipment) were exclusively naval reservists, whose formal training and indoctrination in things nautical and naval consisted of approximately two to four months of relatively intensive instruction and drill at naval training stations throughout the country. This complete absence of regular navy men, particularly of Annapolis-trained officers, had an important bearing on the degree of formality observed by the armed guard at sea and added significance to the armed-guarders' characterization of themselves as attached to "the detached branch of the navy."

These differences make it apparent, therefore, that experiences among the navy crew aboard an armed-guard ship are not necessarily those of men aboard a regular

navy ship. Nor, for that matter, are they consistent from one armed-guard ship to another. Areas of operation, the degree of U-boat and enemy air activity, ports of destination, the type of ship, the personalities and attitudes of the officers—these and many other variables mitigate against broad generalizations based on experiences on one or two ships.

This paper will be limited to two phases of life at sea: (1) social solidarity, and (2) factors contributing to the transformation of an individual from civilian to sailor. The data consist of observations made aboard two different armed-guard ships on which the writer served as communications officer during 1944. One was a Liberty ship that had been converted into a transport, carrying troops and cargo into the Mediterranean area; and on its return trip transporting German prisoners-of-war to this country. The other was a relatively fast tanker whose route described a vast triangle: loading high-octane gasoline in the Caribbean, a run up the coast to join an English-bound convoy in New York, arrival at an English west-coast port for discharge, and then back again on ballast to the Caribbean for another load of high octane.

When I reported aboard the Liberty, my knowledge of ships as such consisted of what I had learned in a hasty two-month course in seamanship at an indoctrination school, plus ten-minute visits aboard a destroyer and Liberty ship, respectively. And there she lay, tied up to a dock—reminding me, after arrival on board, of nothing so much as

a farmer's binder that has grown weather-beaten and rusty from constant exposure to the elements. Looking at such a binder or similar piece of farm machinery, a novice concludes that it is just an old piece of junk that the farmer has neglected to cart away. To imagine that, with a few repairs and adjustments, it will actually operate is far from his mind. The ship's deck seemed to be covered with a tangled maze of rusty wire; hoisting slings lay about as if they had always been and always would be there; one of them was filled with a load of 5-inch shells, about which a small group of slicker-covered men was standing, apparently doing nothing; tools lay about the deck; booms spread out in every direction; the deck was covered with splotches of grimy oil. And the cabin to which I was shown appeared to be no better. Granted that it was new, its newness had only reached that ambiguous stage that is replete with the litter of construction—shavings, pieces of metal, paper, wire, and the like. About 10 by 6 feet, it had just been built—as a sort of afterthought to the midship housing—for occupancy by the junior gunnery officer and the communications officer. It was, as yet, unheated; the lighting had not been completely wired; and water would not run in the little washbowl.

The shape in which I found the ship certainly did not conform to my idea of "ship-shape." In the next few months, however, I was to learn that a merchant ship in port is literally not a ship at all. Divorced temporarily of its primary function, it is little more than a big iron hulk aboard which things are allowed to *appear* to go to pot much as a temporary bachelor may allow dirty dishes to accumulate, the bed to go unmade, and dust to gather until just before his wife returns and his family is re-established.

More important than these purely physical aspects of abandonment, I soon found that the ship was practically deserted. A few members of the gun crew were listlessly engaged in taking aboard and stowing ammunition. Aside from them and the merchant mate on watch, however, there was just no one around.

This absence of men, except for a minimum gun crew and merchant watch, specified by wartime port requirements, is characteristic of a merchant ship secure in a friendly port for any length of time. As soon as a ship touches the dock, the process by which men are scattered ashore comes into operation. It has, in fact, begun to function long before shore is reached. In the first place, the very possibility of shore liberty or leave is provided by the fact that a ship tied up in port loses its primary function of carrying cargo and/or men. If the port is "secure," the probability of air attacks is reduced to a minimum. There is, therefore, little more reason or necessity for most of the men to remain aboard than there is for the driver of a bus to stay at the wheel after his run is finished. Secondly, a port, particularly a new one, provides opportunity for new experience and a needed relief from the monotony of sea life and the sight of the same faces day after day. It allows for leg-stretching, and release from cramped quarters and limited perspective. The absence of women and affectional response aboard a ship intensifies the desire for such shore-satisfactions.

Each man aboard has come to identify himself with a group within which "liberty" stereotypes flourish. Even before his induction into the navy the basis for acceptance of these stereotypes has been laid in books, movies, and other channels of communication. A good sailor, for example, has "a woman in every port." He can hold his liquor. He swaggers ashore. And from the moment that a man enters boot camp or indoctrination school, he is bombarded with immediate suggestions and examples that serve to confirm the great importance of liberty to a "real" sailor. In fact, to become identified with the group he is almost forced to take advantage of every leave opportunity that presents itself; the more so, once he is aboard ship, where the group is smaller and more intimate and where the conception of being a sailor becomes a reality. Here he is treated to tale after tale of other men's experiences in various ports. Leaving a port,

the talk relates to events that presumably have occurred in that port. ("Jeez, I hated to leave; you should'a seen the babe that I picked up here. What a set-up—apartment, liquor, food. . . .") Or, "Look at the Swiss watch that I got here, and for only the equivalent of ten American dollars.") Preceding arrival at the port of destination, the talk is all of what is to be done. If the city is a new one to all aboard, expectations are compared with experiences in other ports. ("It says here in this army pamphlet that Italian women have a 'warm disposition.' Wow! That's for me. Say, do you remember that time in Oran. . . .?") Or, "They say that Naples has been sewed up tight by the army. They've been here too long, anyway, to make it a good liberty port. You ought'a get into a port just after it's been taken. Everything comes your way then. Why at Brindisi, for example, . . .") If the city has been visited previously, the conversation revolves around experiences that have taken place there on a past voyage; expectations, therefore, have a basis in fact.

Women and liquor dominate in these discussions. The vocally aggressive are also often the most actively aggressive ashore and generally meet with many interesting and provocative situations that can be reported to their mates. There is enough variety in the talk to meet all tastes and inclinations: dog races in England; churches in Italy; the ruins of Pompeii; the Foreign Legion headquarters in northern Africa; English bookstores; a Red Cross enlisted men's center, serving good American beer; the opera in Naples; officers' clubs; the availability of perfume and silk stockings in Aruba.

A new man reporting aboard for the first time, with conceptions already of the importance of liberty, is therefore ready to take every advantage of liberty provisions; identification with the group of men aboard is furthered thereby.

Contagion begins to operate as the ship approaches port. This is so keenly felt that the men have a name for it: "channel-fever." They become restless; a rash of

clothes-pressing, clothes-washing, and shoe-polishing breaks out. Jocular accusations and counteraccusations of infection with channel-fever are made. ("Look at Jones, will you, getting his blues out already. Boy, oh boy, he's got channel-fever bad.") The men begin to inquire about specific provisions of liberty that the commanding officer is planning to make. ("Hey, Coxswain, what section has the first harbor watch when we get in? I hope they don't have that screwy rule here that only half the crew can go ashore at one time.") When the ship is finally berthed, the force of suggestion to go ashore (engendered by all the surrounding activity of other men changing into their blues, getting shore passes, borrowing money) is well-nigh irresistible. The ship empties of men, leaving only those aboard who are part of the necessary watch. For all practical purposes, the ship as a dynamic social unit disintegrates. This was the disorganized state of things aboard the *Liberty* when I arrived.

The ship was due to sail the next evening, however; so, singly and in groups of two or three, the men began to trickle back. They were, fortunately, all aboard by the time the pilot came over the side to take us down the channel.

By the time a ship reaches the open sea, a remarkable transformation has taken place. As soon as it gets under way, it begins to acquire the characteristics of a social unit whose influence is personally felt by most of the men aboard. Collective expectations that can be counted on begin to operate. It becomes actually a relief to be at sea again, where each man is a member of a unified group whose boundaries are so distinctly defined. Despite the hazards of life afloat during wartime, there is an element of security and certainty involved in the social organization of a ship under way. Routine is re-established. Authority is fixed. Familiar and habitual roles are reassumed in a familiar situation. Although the term "channel-fever," used to identify the disruptive influence of port life, has no corollary descriptive of the social stability of the ship underway,

expressions of satisfaction with the latter do appear during the first few days out. Men who are naïve enough, or have enough status to admit the fact, frequently say: "Man, it's good to be under way again." No objections follow. Agreement is expressed by affirmative headshakes or such statements as, "Yeah, I need some rest," or "It's a good thing; I'm practically broke."

The social stability and unity of a ship at sea reappears with the re-establishment of routine—with respect to both the ship itself and to the duties of the men aboard. The efficient operation of the ship on its course and the ship's safety are the nuclei of effort and attention about which the crew's hour-to-hour and day-to-day life is ordered and given meaning.

The navy's function aboard an armed-guard ship was defined by the formal organization of the crew at sea. The navy complement consisted of from about twenty to forty men, depending on the type of ship and the number of guns mounted. They were divided into two unequal groups, performing specialized duties. The gun crew, comprising the bulk of the men, was responsible for manning the guns during action and otherwise for maintaining them in a state of readiness. At their head was the armed-guard commander; usually a lieutenant (j.g.) or lieutenant, whose formal role aboard with respect to the navy crew was equivalent to that of the captain of a regular navy vessel. In other words, his authority was final and his word law. Immediately subordinate to him was the junior gunnery officer, if the crew was large enough to warrant one, who acted as an assistant to the armed-guard commander. He was also usually in direct charge of the group of guns mounted astern. The petty officers (equivalent to sergeants in the army) were the next step down in the chain of command. Usually there was one petty officer (ordinarily a gunners mate, third class) to each 3- or 5-inch gun. He was, in effect, a gun captain whose responsibility included the gun itself as well as the men who operated it. The gun crew complement also included a coxswain,

whose duties related primarily to the efficient functioning of the watch schedule and who was responsible for the transmission of general orders to the crew as a whole. The base of the pyramid was made up of non-rated men. All of them seamen first class (equivalent to corporals in the army), they were assigned either to the crew of a particular 3- or 5-inch gun or to one of the eight or ten rapid-firing anti-aircraft guns.

The balance of the armed-guard crew was composed of communications personnel, usually including three signalmen, two radiomen, and one communications officer. The enlisted men were invariably petty officers. The signalmen, in rotating bridge watches, received and transmitted visual flag signals and signal searchlight messages; the radiomen, rotating in the radio shack, received (and transmitted, whenever radio silence had to be broken) radio dispatches. Their immediate superior, the communications officer, was charged with responsibility for the maintenance of communications security and for the efficient operation of his crew.

All these men were squeezed aboard a ship designed primarily to carry no more than a regular complement of merchant seamen. The enlisted men's quarters consisted mainly of a concentration of three-tiered bunks, a couple of lockers, and about enough free floor space to turn around in. From three to twelve men were housed in a single cabin. The naval officers fared little better. Aboard the *Liberty*, for example, the junior gunnery officer and the communications officer shared a cabin approximately 10 feet long by 6 feet wide. Theirs, however, was equipped with a couch, a small desk protruding from the bulkhead (wall), a wash-bowl, and a suggestion of stowage space. In these cabins the men, of necessity, spent a goodly part of their time off duty—reading, "batting the breeze," listening to records, and "sacking in" (sleeping). Aboard the tanker there was just no other place to go except the messroom, in which a poker game was usually in progress. Armed-guard men were not yet sufficiently of the navy to have

learned the navy's inevitable game of acey-deucey. The Liberty ship, with more free deck space, permitted greater freedom from the cramped restriction of the cabins.

Function, prescribed organization, physical restriction, and the unavoidable, continuous face-to-face contacts constitute the framework within which experiences are shared and informal organization develops—within which the landlubber becomes a sailor.

A naval reservist reporting aboard a ship for the first time does so with the background of nautical knowledge and information that boot camps, indoctrination schools, and naval training schools have been able to develop. The actuality of the ship at sea, however, is a different matter. No one has explained where all those passages and ladders, seemingly so intricate, lead. No one has been able to give assurance against seasickness; "sea legs" is still just a salty term. Depth charges have never been felt. The isolation of a ship at sea and the consequently heightened desire for acceptance by the social group has never been described. A new man has never been awakened to stand a lonely night watch where the lives of 500-odd men may depend on his alertness.

Acquisition of sea legs is perhaps the most obvious and significant event marking a man's conception of the transition of himself from civilian to sailor. A new man, fresh from training school, comes aboard with considerable anxiety about seasickness. He is concerned not only for himself alone and the physical discomfort. More important is the symbolic nature of the event as it relates to acceptance by the group into which he has been newly thrust. He knows that he is being "sized up"; and he knows, furthermore, that part of this process involves speculation as to how he will take the first rough weather.

"Experienced" seamen themselves, the men aboard wish to impress their immunities upon the newcomer and at the same time unwittingly attempt to show him that he cannot really be regarded as one of their

group until he, too, has gone through some of the same experiences. To this end, an informal process of initiation begins to operate. Among themselves and ostensibly unrelated to the landlubber—but with him as the real recognized audience—a series of tales is paraded before him; tales of rough weather and seasickness that heighten his concern. ("I wonder what kind of weather we'll have off Hatteras this trip. That's one of the worst spots for lousy weather I've ever seen. We had forty-five degree rolls there the last trip—and did that new man get sick. Man! But he wasn't as bad off as one fellow I knew. He was sick *all* the time. Had a lot of guts though—stood his watches regularly even though he was gagging all the time.") If he enters into the conversation with queries about preventive measures for seasickness, he is given reassurances that do not assure ("Oh, you'll be a real gray-water sailor when this trip is over. . . .") and advice that is diverse and contradictory (chew gum; drink tea; stay in your sack; keep moving and on your feet; don't eat much; eat a lot; don't look at the masts; etc.). The stage for the first real test is therefore set.

Paradoxically, however, it doesn't make a great deal of difference (except for the comfort of the man himself) whether or not he does get sick with the onset of the first rough weather. If he lasts it out without showing any feelings of queaziness, his initial acceptance into the group is assured. The "experienced" men, however, often tend to show tinges of disappointment over the fact that, despite all their experience, on this level at least their feelings of superiority to the landlubber are not vindicated. "Don't you *really* feel a little rocky?" or words to that effect, is a common question. Finally, when it becomes obvious that he is not just feigning well-being, they are forced to accept the fact. He may then be told: "Well, if you can take *this* weather, you have nothing to worry about." The issue is forgotten. He has become a sailor; having found his sea legs, he is no longer different from the rest of the crew in this important respect. He can relax and cease worrying on this score.

He is free thereafter to join in the general chorus of cussing that arises whenever rough weather descends.

On the other hand, if he does succumb to seasickness, the felt superiority of the rest of the crew is thereby justified, and they can therefore afford to be solicitous and patronizing. ("I'll take the new man's watch for him this time; he's having a pretty rugged time of it. He's really *sick*.") Many of them also remember their own feelings of seasickness in similar situations and are consequently able to understand the misery the man is in. When his sea legs are developed, therefore, it is in the nature of an accomplishment that warrants acceptance. An obstacle has been overcome; a test successfully passed.

In both these cases, the acquisition of sea legs becomes symbolic of identity with the ship, with sea life, and with the rest of the crew. On this issue, at least, the man is assured that he has become able to hold his own.

The process of initiation into the group, however, continues. "Left-handed monkey wrenches" appear in the guise of "Charlie Noble," "sea stamps," and "mail buoys," among others. During a man's naval training ashore he has been introduced to a wide variety of words that are peculiar to the lingo of sea life. The range of possibilities for "catching him up" once he gets aboard ship is therefore somewhat limited. On a merchant ship, however, there is one term that is frequently unknown to a new man aboard—"Charlie Noble." Charlie Noble is the traditional name for the galley smokestack that extends somewhat above the midship housing on most merchant ships, as the new man soon discovers to his chagrin and embarrassment. Frequently he is sent to the bridge with a message or order to be relayed to Charlie. The men on duty straightforwardly enter into the conspiracy, and from there on he is sent on a merry chase over the ship in search of the mythical character until he finally discovers the hoax that is being played on him.

Another device for initiation of the cred-

ulous centers around the posting and receipt of mail. Among themselves, but for the benefit of the newcomer, the men discuss the remarkable system of "mail buoys" that has been established along the convoy routes—at which mail can be posted and received en route. But, of course, a special "sea stamp" is required; and, since the first mail buoy will be reached in a couple of days, inquiries arise as to whether anyone has purchased any of them. No one may have, but someone mentions that the armed-guard commander always has a supply. If the newcomer is sufficiently credulous, he may be quite taken in by the byplay and proceed to the armed-guard commander to get his quota of sea stamps, where he discovers that he has been ribbed. The very fact of his ribbing, however, indicates a measure of acceptance. Furthermore, it represents an addition to the nautical experience and lore that he is acquiring and further helps to distinguish him from civilians or from any new man who may subsequently report aboard.

The foundation for this nautical frame of reference is generated primarily by duties performed. They represent the end-products of, and give meaning to, his training. Efficient discharge of them is vital to the life of the ship and all aboard. They call into use skills and terminology that define the most significant aspects of his sailor role. Further than this, he is linked through them to the bridge, which is the ship's nerve center, and to the other men of his watch who are performing similar duties at other points on the ship.

This is especially true with respect to sea watches, maintained on a twenty-four-hour basis, and general quarters, which are called at dawn and dusk. Sea watches aboard a merchant ship are stood on the bow, amidships, and on the stern. It is the duty of the man at each of these stations to observe and report to the bridge everything that may have any possible bearing on the handling or safety of the ship or of the convoy—floating mines, floating debris, oil patches, periscope feathers, the approach of planes, untoward maneuvers of adjacent ships in the convoy,

visual signals from other ships in the convoy, and, at night, the appearance of any light aboard his or another ship. In so doing he uses and becomes habituated to the terminology whereby positions and events on the ship are located—abaft, amidships, forward, boat deck, flying bridge, port, starboard, bow, quarter, beam, points, broad, etc. In other words, he begins to acquire operationally the language of the sea, the use of which is in itself a means of identifying himself as a sailor. (If he comes to take particular pride in his sailorness, especially if he is new enough to the job to be vividly aware of his differentiation from a landlubber, he may even continue to use these terms ashore where their referents are unknown. One man, for example, who after a few weeks at sea had come to be particularly glib in the use of this sea language, would go ashore and speak to civilians and army men entirely in these terms. Confounded as they were, one could see him fairly burst with his sailor-like conception of himself. These, after all, were mere landlubbers; while he In indoctrination school, for that matter, the regular navy officers emphasized the use of ship lingo as one of the most obvious distinguishing features of the navy man. One officer nostalgically stated: "By the time this war is over you will never refer to a stairway as such. It will always be a 'ladder'; a floor will be 'the deck'; a wall, 'the bulkhead'; a ceiling, 'the overhead.' And you will always feel a glow of pride in the use of these naval terms.") On these sea watches, also, a new man is enabled to observe the behavior of the experienced men on watch and thus is provided with examples to follow. All of the duty stations are interconnected with each other and with the bridge by a telephone circuit through which reports are made and orders issued. Each man on watch, therefore, is a party to everything that transpires on the circuit; he is practically forced to be a part of the ongoing activity of the ship.

A new man's awareness of participation in an important group activity is made even more vivid during the hours of general

quarters, at which every navy man abroad is required to report to his duty station. Experience had shown that enemy submarines and/or planes were most likely to attack during the early morning or early evening hours, when conditions of visibility made it difficult to spot the attackers. During these periods, therefore, every member of the crew was required to be at his duty station in a condition of readiness for possible attack. Guns were uncovered, loaded, and manned; a doubly sharp watch was kept. To be roused out of the sack an hour before dawn and, along with everyone else on board, to dress hurriedly,¹ sling on a life-jacket, and rush down passageways, up ladders, and across the deck to the assigned duty station was an experience accentuating a man's partnership in the function of the navy crew.

This feeling was heightened when the convoy was proceeding through waters that had previously been reported as dangerous and in which attack could be definitely expected; or at times when depth charges dropped by the escorts could be felt throughout the ship. Learning to recognize a depth charge, for that matter, was a signal experience. At times they were so close as to be unmistakable. When dropped some distance away, however, a newcomer was not likely to recognize them as such. They sounded more like a wrench dropped on the deck of the engine room than anything else. A newcomer, still unacquainted with all the various ship sounds, was likely to ignore them as insignificant. It was impossible, however, for him to ignore the attitudes of the men around him. Momentarily all activity ceased; the men leaned forward, looking at each other for confirmation and straining to listen; another wrench was heard to drop and someone shouted "depth charges," the signal for a hurried rush to the bridge or the open deck. If the contact appeared to be genuine and the charges continued, general

¹ During the earlier months of the war, when a merchant ship was never free from the probability of imminent submarine or air attack, the men slept fully clothed.

quarters was called. Whether or not the depth charges continued, however, whether or not the contact was genuine, this represented the greenhorn's introduction to danger (particularly if he was reminded that the ship was carrying a cargo of high explosives or high-octane gasoline)—a type of alarm that was to be frequently repeated. He had undergone a taste of action; to that extent he could thereafter think of himself

as "experienced," acquainted with danger, and adjusted to take it. He had, furthermore, undergone another experience in common with the other members of the crew—an experience that contributed to identification with them and with the ship. He was well on the way to becoming "one of the boys."

NAVY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATUS AND LEADERSHIP IN A COMBAT FIGHTER SQUADRON

ROBERT C. STONE

ABSTRACT

In a combat fighter squadron it was found that the class differences of civilian society were unimportant in determining status. The adjustment of individuals to the squadron resulted in a social system in which status, leadership, clique participation, and value system were based upon criteria different from those found in civilian communities. The explanation of the differences is found in the integration of informal organization around the function or master-activity.

I

In studies of the adjustment of individuals from civil to military life and vice versa, Dr. Robert A. Nisbet, in "The Coming Problem of Assimilation,"¹ and Willard Waller, in *The Veteran Comes Back*,² have made admirable contributions to the knowledge of the effects of army life upon the individual. Both of these authors have made generalizations which apply to all army personnel. It is stated that the army weakens self-discipline and fosters paternalism. The soldier gains feelings of solidarity and "oneness" with his group. Also, the soldier learns to disregard the class differences of civilian society while in the army.

To make such generalizations valid, the authors have dealt largely with the formal organization of the army, which is the same throughout all branches. Neither of these authors has shown by analysis of a specific group just how these effects are brought about. This paper deals with a particular group, a combat fighter squadron, and with the informal organization of that group. The generalization chosen for analysis is that the soldier learns to disregard class differences of civilian life in his military relationships. The purpose is to determine the specific ways in which the conduct and thought of the individual in a fighter squadron are changed so that he disregards or de-emphasizes class differences. To do this it was necessary to deal not with formalized relationships, such as those existing between

officers and enlisted men, but rather with the informal organization which existed between officer and officer in a particular unit of organization.

Both the formal and the informal organization of a combat fighter squadron differ greatly from a company, battery, or other unit of the various branches of service, because there are thirty or more flying officers in each squadron who have little or nothing to do in a formal capacity with the enlisted personnel of the squadron. The duties of flying officers are, in the main, not related to the administration of the unit. Consequently, there is a society of combat officers separate from the enlisted personnel that is not found in the ground forces.

The adjustment of individuals to the squadron results in a social system in which status, leadership, clique participation, and value system are based upon criteria different from those found in civilian communities. Socioeconomic status, commonly a major determinant in the informal organization of civilian communities, has no effect on status within a fighter squadron. The squadron will be analyzed as a going concern, as it might be viewed by a new member entering the group and living in it for a year.

II

X Fighter Squadron consisted of about thirty flying officers, six ground officers, and one hundred and fifty enlisted men. The planes were single-seated, single-engine, fighter-type aircraft. The squadron had between twenty and thirty planes. The formal organization consisted of (1) a squadron

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 261-70.

² New York: Dryden Press, 1944.

commander, always a pilot and usually a major in rank; (2) a squadron adjutant, in charge of ground personnel; (3) an operations officer, a pilot in charge of flying (captain or first lieutenant); (4) two flight commanders (captains or first lieutenants), each in charge of half the flying officers. Five ground officers were in charge of the engineering, armament, communication, supply, and intelligence sections. The pilots not holding positions of authority varied in rank from flight officer to captain.

Replacements for the squadron are men selected and trained for one year and often longer. Flying schools and training fighter squadrons select those most fit and weed out the incompetent. Through this extensive selection and training those persons who would be least likely to fit into a combat unit are screened out. Thus the unit is assured of new men who will all have measured up to a certain minimum standard of ability and adaptability.

STATUS SYSTEM

The new pilot entering the squadron is coming into a group of strangers and is also entering a life which he knows will be fraught with danger. His reaction is one of apprehension and a general anxiety about the situation. The new man is made to feel at once that he is at the bottom of the status system both while he is on the ground and while he is in the air. First and foremost, new men are told that their continued existence is dependent upon following the advice and orders of the "old boys," the men with experience. The new men are assigned to fly as "wing men." In X Squadron this meant flying behind an "element leader." New men are told that while flying "wing man" they are to stay behind their leader and *under no circumstances to become separated from that leader.* The new man is told that if he sticks close to his leader he will be taken care of and will get through any fights in which the squadron may participate and that the squadron flies as a unit, not as individuals. Teamwork in flying and on the ground are stressed as of vital importance in

getting a maximum of victories and a minimum of losses. The old boys of X Squadron told the new men: "When you have plenty of experience and get to fly element leader instead of wing man, then you will have a chance for victories. But for right now just play it safe and stick behind the guys who know what to do."

The new man is also shown his place in the system by the fact that he is always assigned to fly the oldest aircraft. He usually gets the worst of the flying equipment if there is not enough to go around. If there are such items as sleeping bags, air mattresses, or cots he is the last to get them.

Last but not least, a special attitude is taken toward new men who "crack up" aircraft. It is a common saying among fighter pilots that if you fly fighter planes long enough you are bound to crack one up. This maxim is more or less accepted for the older pilots, but it does not apply to the new ones. New men may be punished in several ways for negligence resulting in accidents. Most frequently they are "grounded" (forbidden to fly) and consequently get behind in number of missions flown. In one case J—, an old boy, cracked up two different aircraft on successive days and received no punishment. The next day N—, a new boy, damaged an aircraft on landing and was grounded for three days. It can be seen that the new pilot is initiated into a rigidly controlled status system, where he is made to realize that his very life is dependent upon the knowledge of the older members of the squadron. The status system in the air consists of a clear-cut hierarchy, containing, in order of decreasing authority, squadron commander, flight leader, element leader, and wing man, who is at the bottom.

The status system "on the ground" is not so rigid or clear cut as in the air. The main distinction is that between "old boy" and "new boy." The status system both on the ground and in the air is largely determined by the amount of time which has been spent in the squadron and consequently how much combat flying has been done. As an individual moves from wing man to element leader

to flight leader, his status in the social system "on the ground" also changes. The flight leaders wield more authority over the new men in nonflying situations than do the element leaders, but the flight leaders and element leaders with the same combat experience tend to be equal in their relations with each other. There are usually about six to eight officers who lead flights, and the rest of the squadron is equally divided into element leaders and wing men.

The status system shifts according to the degree of rotation of flying personnel. A clique of old men with eighteen months' service in the squadron will regard men with six months' experience in the unit as still new boys. In another squadron men with six months' experience may be considered old boys if there has been a rapid turnover of personnel either because men have gone home or because men have been lost in action.

Status determines the privileges and favors distributed within the group. The use of jeeps, choice of aircraft and of going to rest camps, chances of being sent home and of being promoted, and exemption from disliked extra duties—all are regulated on the basis of amount of time spent within the group and consequent combat experience. The ground officers (nonflying) of the squadron are in a special category within the status system. They are not subject to the rotation policy applied to pilots, so remain for long periods within the unit. Pilots are sent home on the basis of number of missions or combat hours flown. Ground officers cannot fly missions and thus have no claim to status other than the fact that they have been in the group a long time. Their status is largely achieved by gaining admission to the clique of the squadron commander, if possible, and thus being included within the social system of the unit. The ground officers of X Squadron lived by themselves and maintained a separate clique. The favors and privileges which they received were won by length, rather than kind, of service.

The new member of the group has little choice about accepting this system of rank-

ing. Once in a great while a new man will attempt to get "victories"³ for himself by leaving his element leader and chasing enemy aircraft. Or the new man may insist on his right openly to criticize the flying judgment of the old boys. Such an individual is almost always disciplined immediately by the flight leaders or squadron commander. One new man of X squadron who was shot down while chasing enemy aircraft by himself was cited as a typical example of what happens to the inexperienced pilot when he leaves formation. This story was always told to the new men to impress them with the importance of listening to the old boys. It is obligatory for the new members to accept the status system if they wish to remain within the group, in the first place, and, in the second place, to enjoy the best chance to stay alive and eventually get home.

No army regulations state that flight leaders, element leaders, and wing men shall each obey the man one step above them and command the man one step below. Only the squadron commander has a truly formalized authority. Yet the status system functions to maintain control over the members to a high degree. The status system is most rigid and confining at the bottom. As individuals move up, they gain more freedom to act as they choose; and the leaders have semi-autonomy within the group, as they are the administrators of the system.

The infusion of other criteria of status into the squadron system is always resented and opposed by the members. This can be seen clearly in the case of higher-ranking officers assigned to the squadron who are given positions of authority after flying combat missions for only a short while. These officers are universally resented because their judgment is feared when they are leading a mission and because they take the important positions which other members can attain only by working up in the squad-

³ A "victory" is the confirmed destruction of an enemy aircraft. A "probable" and a "damaged" are other categories less highly prized when counting enemy losses.

ron. Therefore, we may say that formal rank is not a principle of the status system except when it is forced upon the group by the formal system of army authority.

The system is based upon combat experience and not upon other criteria, because use of this principle organizes the society around the squadron function, which is to destroy a maximum number of enemy planes while losing a minimum number of X Squadron pilots. The status system as described serves, by placing the new members in subordinate positions, to make them amenable to learning the technique of combat flying with maximum safety while still destroying the enemy. If other criteria of status enter into the system, the efficiency of the group in performing its function is impaired and the lives of pilots are unnecessarily jeopardized.

Adjustment to the status system is, then, the first specific change in the orientation of the individual to the relative unimportance of class differences in his daily living. It must be remembered that a squadron represents the total social, economic, political, and educational world for the individual member. Most, if not all, of his time is spent within the physical limits of the squadron "area." The squadron status system pervades everything he does, as there is no way to get away from it. All activities are carried on within the limits of one small organization, in contrast to civil life, in which any single individual may belong to many different organizations. Because of this all-enveloping nature of the group, the adjustment of the individual is not a partial one to only one aspect of the day's activities. Rather, adjustment must be made to a "total social situation."

LEADERSHIP SYSTEM

After having been in the squadron for several months, varying from three to six, the new man usually becomes an element leader. Sometime after that, depending upon losses and the number of old men sent home, the element leader may have a chance to become a flight leader. The positions of au-

thority which rank highest in the squadron are squadron commander, operations officer, and flight leaders. These positions are obtained through appointment by the squadron commander. What are the bases upon which these appointments are made?

First, they are not made on the basis of the official rank held, and, second, they are not related to the number of victories a pilot has. A pilot may have several victories and be a first lieutenant, but another pilot who has the qualities of leadership will be appointed to the job despite the fact that he is a second lieutenant and has no enemy aircraft to his credit. All leaders chosen within the squadron and not thrust upon the group by a higher headquarters must have at least a minimum of leadership ability. The qualities of the leader are dependability, stamina, quick judgment, a "cool head," aggressiveness in the air, and usually superior flying ability. The most important of all these qualities is the ability to make quick judgments and keep a cool head.

Two factors modify the principle of choosing leaders purely on the basis of ability. The first of these is the amount of time spent in the squadron. If two men of somewhat similar ability are considered for flight leader, the one who has the greatest length of squadron service is more likely to get the job. Second, clique connections may give an individual preference in the appointment to a job. In one change of leadership within X Squadron two clique-mates of the new squadron commander became flight leaders. In the acquiring of leadership positions much depends upon how long the members of the clique have been in the squadron. The greater the amount of time spent in a squadron, the greater the likelihood that clique influences will be strong. When rapid rotation of personnel occurs, clique connections are more tenuous and of less importance in influencing choice of leaders. However, all leaders chosen within the squadron, no matter by what method, must have a certain minimum standard of ability.

In order to understand the importance of leadership ability, one must realize how much

the lives of the pilots depend upon the person leading the squadron. The flight leader is in radio contact with all members of the flight. Members of the flight do not leave the flight without the permission of the flight leader. When encountering the enemy the flight leader decides what attack or defense shall be used, and he must make this decision quickly. No member of the flight tells the flight leader what decisions to make, unless the flight leader is a higher-ranking officer with little experience. Pilots act according to the orders of the flight commander until a general fight breaks up the squadron. A squadron in constant contact with the enemy will surely suffer heavy losses if the leaders are incompetent. This fact is fully realized by all pilots. Therefore, the decisions of flight leaders are one of the most frequently discussed topics within the unit. No flight commander could make mistakes costing the lives of pilots on his flight and expect to hold his position. One flight leader in X Squadron did lose his job because his decisions were considered unsound.

On the whole, then, appointments to leadership positions are made on the basis of *individual ability*. The positions are ones of achieved status. Leadership positions, once attained, usually result in promotions in rank. The leadership system is based upon individual ability and not upon other criteria, because it, like the status system, organizes the society around the squadron function. Good leaders are vital to the welfare of the unit. Adjustment to this system of leadership is the second specific change in the orientation of the individual to a new set of values which do not rest upon the class values of civilian society. Education, economic or social position, and feelings of class superiority are unimportant as bases for leadership. The special qualities of combat leadership have little or nothing to do with a position in a social class.

CLIQUE SYSTEM

The pilot's daily living is organized into a clique system. This clique system functions to maintain the status system through

a partial restriction of intimacy between new and old boys. But at the same time there are interclique relationships, which bring old and new members together, thus transmitting the group subculture and value system to the members.

The clique system of X Squadron was organized around the ecological pattern of tents or rooms which housed the unit. Cliques varied from five to seven in number, with four to seven members in a clique. Usually one or two cliques would be composed of the oldest members; two or three cliques, of men in the element-leader category; and two or three cliques of new men. The cliques were organized largely on the same principle as was the status system, namely, combat experience. There was a certain amount of mixing of old and new men, but the main outlines of cliques could be easily traced by knowing the combat experience of each pilot. Clique connections were based upon feelings of "belonging together," because the members of a clique had a common history of shared experiences. This aspect of the clique system restricts intimacy between old and new men and thus maintains status by defining the positions of members in the daily face-to-face experiences. Thus A—, a new man of two months' experience in the group, plays cards or poker with the squadron commander and his clique-mates but does not, by virtue of that fact, become a clique-mate of the squadron commander.

Within a given clique, individual friendships are formed on the basis of personality and interests, and these factors may definitely be considered as relating to civilian class position. To this extent differences of the civilian world are carried into the squadron social life. However, clique and friendship formation must be distinguished. Only one clique in X Squadron could be said to stand out from the others on the basis of the civilian status of its members. This clique was nicknamed the "Ivy League," because three of its four members were graduates of Yale or Princeton. Several factors partly explain this exception to the general pattern of

clique formation. First, two of the clique members were friends before entering the service; second, one member of the clique was not "Ivy League," as he grew up and was educated in Montana. Last, the clique was dissolved into a larger clique after the members had been in the squadron about nine months. The rest of the clique lines in the squadron were drawn without reference to differences of education or social position. As with the status system, new men must become a part of the clique system. Only two individuals attempted to live outside the clique arrangement, and they were both transferred out of the squadron.

The socialization of new members was furthered through interclique connections. Drinking, "dating," card-playing, hobbies, and "bull sessions"—all were social situations in which members of several cliques would participate. Thus the poker-playing crowd represented a special-interest group that crossed clique lines. Such special interests brought old and new members on an intimate level and gave the new man many opportunities to learn the group subculture and value system.

The clique system is organized to support the status system and thus is related to the squadron function and is consistent with the concept of new and old men. At the same time, it functions as the agency for giving the new member firm ties within the group so that he learns the proper attitudes and actions. What these attitudes are may be seen through analysis of the value system of the group.

VALUE SYSTEM

Most important of all the social devices for teaching the new members the values of the group is the "bull session." In the long and protracted discussions and arguments of the pilots one finds expressed all their prejudices and attitudes. First, the new member must learn the elaborate terminology of flying and combat. This language is piled on top of all the ordinary military terms, whose use distinguishes the soldier from the civilian. Without this vocabulary one is not a bona fide member of the group. The new

member learns that technical knowledge is considered more important than "book learning."

The values of the group are formed around combat experience and leadership qualities. All noncombat officers are looked down on, especially ground officers, who are called "paddle-feet" or "ground-hounds." Civilians are, of course, the lowest of the low. Group pride is another factor which strengthens the view that all members have a special status, while everyone else is an outsider. The qualities of the leader are held up as valuable attributes of personality. The man who can be cool and nonchalant in combat is admired and looked up to. Personal qualities of leadership, instead of affiliation with any organization, become the criteria for judging men.

The value system of the group is articulated in the various aspects of the social system that were described. As differences between college graduates and men with no more than high-school education are unimportant in carrying out the squadron mission and as the whole society is integrated around the squadron function, one would not expect a college education to be important in the scheme of squadron values. The fact is that college men get along better if they do not talk too much about their education. Any attempt by a pilot to show that he is superior to his squadron-mates because of advantages enjoyed in civilian life is strongly resented. The value system of the group is consistent with the social organization of the society and functions to maintain the solidarity of the unit.

Nothing has been said of competition and conflict as processes going on within the group. Pilots compete with one another in flying technique, victories, promotions, going home. Conflict may take place when leaders are badly chosen or when new men feel that they are being discriminated against unduly. Consequently, to view a fighter squadron as a constantly smooth-running organization in which individuals all get along in harmony is not correct. But competition and conflict were not dealt with

because the three aspects of organization analyzed were considered the most important in showing how adjustment was made to a new social system.

III

In summary, the squadron is a total social system organized around a set of values different from those values around which civil society is organized. The ideology and organization of the group stresses equality among members as regards the differences found in civil society. Education and economic and social position are "played down" because the differences in status, clique participation, and leadership in the squadron are formed around a value system different from that of civil life.

Explanation of the difference between the social organization of the squadron and that of civil life is found in the definition of the squadron function. In so far as status and leadership principles are formed within the group and not dictated by the formal

army hierarchy, combat experience and individual leadership ability are logical and sound principles of organization, by means of which the function may be carried out efficiently.

Caution must be used in generalizing as to the effects of all informal organization, because the function of noncombat troops is not the same as that of combat units. These generalizations hold true only for other combat fighter squadrons and possibly for combat infantry companies, though this is not known. Also, it is difficult to say how lasting are the effects of the de-emphasis of class attitudes. However, the impact of the informal group life tends to modify the effect which the *formal* military organization has on the individual. Formal army organization stresses respect for formal rank rather than for the individual who fills that rank. The informal organization described stresses respect for individual ability rather than formal authority.

CHICAGO

ALLOCATION OF GRADES IN THE ARMY AIR FORCES^{*}

SIDNEY B. WACHTEL AND LEO C. FAY

ABSTRACT

The premise is that (1) proper classification and (2) assignment of a grade appropriate to the job held are two of the primary elements in Army morale. Using data for an A.A.F. Base Unit, formulas are derived to attempt to justify the different grades actually existing for persons holding forty-two different military occupational specialties. In this process such background factors as the individual's education, his Army General Classification Test Score, and his length of Army service are evaluated in terms of their relation to the type of work to which the serviceman has been assigned.

A. INTRODUCTION

During the past few years much has been said and written on the elusive subject of Army morale. In this paper it is proposed to analyze and discuss two of the most important elements of Army morale. The first is proper classification, sometimes known as "putting the right man in the right job."¹ The second is allocation of grades—the methods used, and justification for, rating individuals from private through all grades to master sergeant. If we are willing to accept the premise that the type of work a serviceman is assigned to is the paramount factor in determining his grade,² it is evident that classification governs, to a considerable extent, the individual's progress up the Army ladder of success. It is necessary, therefore, to touch briefly upon the subject of classification before entering into any discussion of allocation of grades.⁴

¹ The authors wish to express thanks to Joseph A. Mayberry and Louis C. Ott, of the Army Air Forces, for their co-operation with technical aspects of this study. All opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official views either of the War Department or of the Army Air Forces.

² Walter V. Bingham, "Personnel Classification Testing in the Army," *Science*, C (September, 1944), 278.

³ Officially stated in *AAF Regulation 35-54* (Washington: Headquarters, A.A.F., October 30, 1944), Sec. II.

⁴ See also *AAF Regulation 150-1* (Washington: Headquarters, A.A.F., March 24, 1945), par. 4f.

B. IMPORTANCE OF PROPER CLASSIFICATION

Although the average civilian still envisions the typical GI soldier as an infantryman with a rifle, nothing could be further from the truth. Early in World War II it was officially stated that there were 610 jobs in the Army for which special training was needed.⁵ Of these, 296 have counterparts in civilian life, and 314 are strictly military in character. It also has been estimated that nine out of every ten men are assigned jobs requiring, in addition to basic military training, some degree of specialized training.⁶

The Army Air Forces shows a much higher degree of specialization. Writing early in 1945, General H. H. Arnold emphasized that, for each aircrew member in combat, the A.A.F. requires sixteen supporting individuals, only one of whom could be classified as a nonspecialist or "basic."⁷ It also has been officially stated that more than five hundred separate skills contribute to the success of any one routine bombing mission.⁸

The need for skilled personnel has been met partially through utilization of existing civilian talents and partially through Army specialized training.⁹ Proficiency tests have

⁵ *Education for Victory*, I (June, 1943), 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Second Report of the Commanding General of the Army Air Forces to the Secretary of War* (Washington, February 27, 1945), p. 81.

⁸ *Official Guide to the Armed Air Forces* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1944), p. 101.

⁹ Bingham, *op. cit.*

been developed for many common occupations, such as truck maintenance, cook, baker, clerk, carpenter, and painter, as well as for nearly fifty other specialties which occur less frequently but which are nevertheless vital to military operations.

Although little has been done by other nations in the modern methods of test analysis by statistical reasoning,¹⁰ simple aptitude examinations were numerous in war-time Germany.¹¹ After World War I, when the Versailles Treaty limited German armed forces to a hundred thousand men, a most intricate form of psychological selection and placement arose. The well-disciplined Nazi Army of specialists was a direct outgrowth of this meticulously organized program.¹²

Dr. Walter V. Bingham, official adviser to the Adjutant General on United States Army selection and classification, strikes the keynote of the relationship existing between Army morale and proper classification in stating that officers and men are proud to belong to an organization in which each one is called upon to do what he is most qualified to do.¹³

C. THE PROBLEM OF ALLOCATING GRADES

Closely related to classification is the difficult problem of allocation of grades. Some jobs are far more dangerous than others. Some require tremendous concentration; some, years of practical experience; some, highly technical skills; some, powerful physique; and some, nerves of steel. All enlisted personnel, regardless of what they do, must be carried in one of *only* seven grades—ranging from private to master sergeant.¹⁴

¹⁰ Harold Hotelling, "The Prediction of Personal Adjustment: A Symposium," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (1942), 62.

¹¹ Ladislav Farago, *German Psychological Warfare* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), pp. 171-77.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-64.

¹³ "The Army Personnel Classification System," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXX (1942), 18.

¹⁴ War Department, *Soldier's Handbook, FM 21-100* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 21.

As the scale is ascended, the individual receives not only greater remuneration but also added prestige as well as relief from numerous unpleasant "details." It is highly important, in the interests of morale *and* efficiency, that—after placement in a particular job—the grade is correlative to the type of work to which a man has been assigned.¹⁵ Not to follow such a policy would be to invite a general laxness on the part of those individuals given responsible positions and to do much to curtail individual initiative.¹⁶

This article is an attempt to show, statistically, how one segment of the Army Air Forces has fared in allocating enlisted personnel grades on the basis of *type of work performed*.

D. BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

During the month of November, 1944, a study of this problem was conducted at an A.A.F. Air Transport Command, Ferrying Division, domestic installation. While the results of this "sample" cannot be scientifically construed as wholly representative of even the entire Air Transport Command, it is believed that they could be applied to all A.T.C., as well as to the entire Army Air Forces. For reasons of military security, the exact number of persons included in the survey cannot be disclosed. However, it may be stated that the figure was "somewhere between" 1,500 and 3,000 and represented the total enlisted personnel strength of the Base unit at that time.

Although the primary purpose of this project was to determine whether enlisted personnel grades were "properly" distributed on the basis of type of work performed, additional data were compiled, for each person, on length of Army service, educational background, and Army General Classification Test Score. Since it is recognized that these three statistically measurable factors¹⁷ fre-

¹⁵ AAF Letter 35-84 (Washington: Headquarters, A.A.F., March 1, 1945), par. 1a.

¹⁶ AAF Regulation 35-54, Sec. II.

¹⁷ Other factors, such as individual initiative, ability to get along well with one's superior, and the status of the Table of Organization (i.e., whether

quently are of more importance in determining grade than type of work performed, they have been subjected to special analytical treatment.

E. METHOD

Although, in November, 1944, over a hundred different MOS's¹⁸ were assigned to enlisted personnel at the Base, it was believed mathematically expedient to analyze only those MOS's held by at least four people. Chart I shows the array of forty-two such MOS's by grade.

Table 1 should be analyzed in conjunction with Chart I. This table presents not

there is vacancy for upgrading by comparison of grades assigned versus grades authorized to be used but not exceeded) are also important. However, in the main, such items are extremely difficult to handle statistically; hence they have been considered outside the scope of this paper.

¹⁸ *Military Occupational Specialty*: a term used by the Army to describe and classify the various jobs performed by military personnel. An MOS consists of three parts: job title, job number, and job requirements. For example:

PERSONNEL CONSULTANT ASSISTANT (289)

"Assists in the adjustment of individual personnel matters of a psychological nature and in the specialized training and rehabilitation of the mentally or physically limited, illiterate, and non-English speaking enlisted men.

"Administers and evaluates psychological minimum literacy, and other individual and group tests. Interviews enlisted men concerning problems of a psychological nature and submits reports of findings and recommendations. Assists classification personnel on matters of a psychological nature involved in the classification work of a unit. May assist in the construction and evaluation of psychological tests.

"Civilian experience in educational, clinical, vocational, or industrial psychology or equivalent experience required" [*AAP Manual 35-1* (Washington: Headquarters, A.A.F., April 3, 1944) par. 606].

Enlisted personnel who meet a majority of the requirements of any MOS may be recommended with a "potential" rating. After actual military experience, a "semiskilled" or "skilled" rating may be earned, depending upon the on-the-job performance. Grades are allocated not only on the basis of MOS but also on the degree of skill. No person can be promoted above the grade of corporal unless he has a skilled rating.

only the array of MOS's by grade but also the position of each MOS when arrayed by education, arrayed by length of service, and arrayed by Army General Classification Test Score (AGCT). A study of these data shows that, in the main, MOS's reporting the higher grades seems to be those that warrant such favorable treatment. However, certain exceptions do exist: (1) Compared to forty-one other MOS's, mess sergeants are second in grade, yet are only fifteenth when arrayed by length of service, twenty-third by AGCT and twenty-eighth by education; (2) finance typist-clerks are only fourteenth in grade, stand second in education, fourth in AGCT, and seventeenth in length of service. Other interesting situations may be isolated; these are simply two of the more obvious.

F. JUSTIFICATION OF GRADE ARRAY (UNWEIGHTED METHOD)

During the last two decades a small group of highly specialized statisticians have been experimenting with the use of mathematical formulas for the "prediction" of psychological phenomena. One of them, Professor Harold Hotelling, sums up their method: "Prediction requires use of a formula for estimating the quantity to be predicted (the 'predictand' . . .), on the basis of observations . . . on one or more other variables, which we may call predictors."¹⁹

Since length of service, AGCT, and education are three of the chief determinants of grade, the array positions for all three might be combined conceivably in such a way as to justify (or otherwise) the existing position of any MOS in the array by grade. As this problem must be worked out mathematically, the following symbols seem advisable. Let

- A = Any given MOS;
- AE = Position of this MOS in the education array (a predictor);
- AL = Position of this MOS in the length-of-service array (a predictor); and
- AG = Position of this MOS in the AGCT array (a predictor).

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

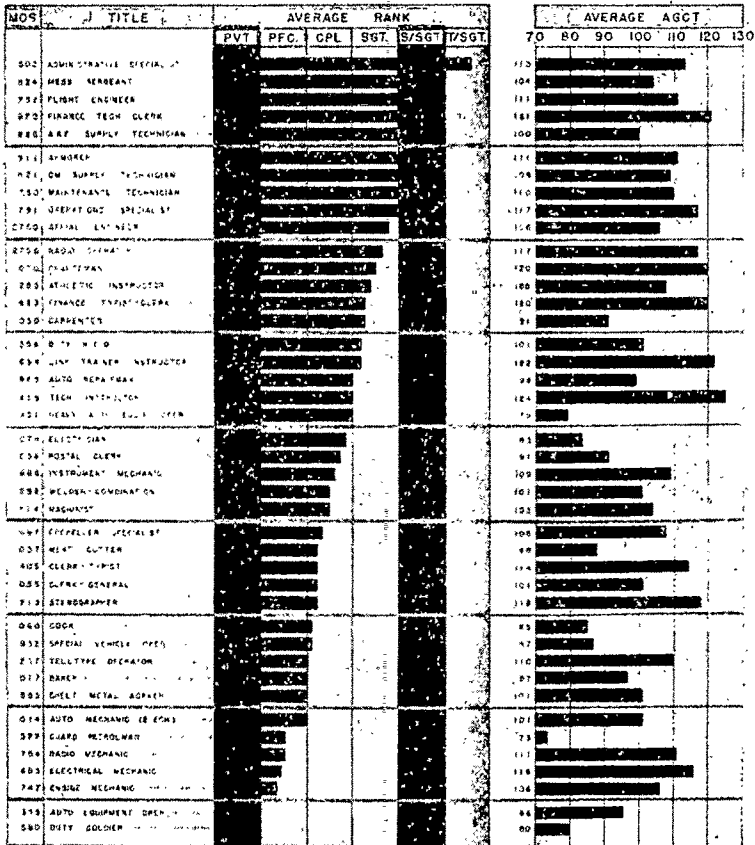
TABLE 1
MOS'S ARRAYED BY FOUR DIFFERENT FACTORS

MOS	TITLE	A	B	C	D	E
		Grade	Total of C, D, and E Arrayed	AGCT	Educa- tion	Length of Service
502	Administrative specialist.....	1	2	11	11	5
824	Mess sergeant.....	2	23	23	28	15
737	Flight engineer.....	3	8	13	18	11
622	Finance technical clerk.....	4	5	3	9	25
826	A.A.F. supply technician.....	5	18	30	27	3
911	Armorer.....	6	4	12	15	2
821	QM supply technician.....	7	14	17	26	9
750	Maintenance technician.....	8	10	16	21	6
791	Operations specialist.....	9	11	7	16	20
2750	Aerial engineer.....	10	16	22	24	10
2756	Radio operator.....	11	3	8	12	7
070	Draftsman.....	12	13	5	5	40
283	Athletic instructor.....	13	17	19	10	29
623	Finance typist-clerk.....	14	1	4	2	17
050	Carpenter.....	15	31	34	35	8
566	Duty NCO.....	16	22	27	34	4
658	Link-trainer instructor.....	17	6	2	3	32
965	Automobile repairman.....	18	33	31	33	23
659	Technical instructor.....	19	7	1	1	37
931	Heavy auto equipment operator..	20	34	41	36	13
078	Electrician.....	21	32	39	42	1
056	Postal clerk.....	22	40	35	30	35
686	Instrument mechanic.....	23	24	18	17	33
256	Welder-combination.....	24	19	29	20	14
114	Machinist.....	25	28	24	23	28
687	Propeller specialist.....	26	25	20	14	34
037	Meat-cutter.....	27	30	36	13	27
405	Clerk-typist.....	28	12	10	6	30
055	Clerk-general.....	29	29	25	19	31
213	Stenographer.....	30	15	6	4	42
060	Cook.....	31	37	38	39	19
932	Special vehicle operator.....	32	39	37	40	22
237	Teletype operator.....	33	20	15	8	41
017	Baker.....	34	35	32	37	24
555	Sheet-metal worker.....	35	36	28	29	39
014	Automobile mechanic (2 Echelon)	36	26	26	32	12
522	Guard patrolman.....	37	38	42	38	16
754	Radio mechanic.....	38	27	14	22	36
685	Electrical mechanic.....	39	9	9	7	26
747	Engine mechanic.....	40	21	21	25	18
345	Automobile equipment operator..	41	41	33	31	38
590	Duty soldier.....	42	42	40	41	21

CHART I

DISTRIBUTION OF M.O.S.^s BY RANK AND AGCT. SCORE

NOVEMBER 1944



*MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALTIES.

SOURCE: AG 470 FORM 20



Because of the marked skewness toward privates and PFC's, all summarizations have been made using medians rather than the traditional arithmetic mean.²⁰

Each MOS's array position for (1) education, (2) length of service, and (3) AGCT score may be added, and a new distribution made by arraying the sums. If the position of any given MOS in this new "composite" array be designated A_c ,

$$A_c \text{ (the predictand)} = \text{Array } [AE + AL + AG]. \quad (1)$$

This is the formula used in computing the array found in Table 1, column B. It assumes that education, length of service, and AGCT are of equal importance in determining grade for every MOS.

G. JUSTIFICATION OF GRADE ARRAY (VARIABLE WEIGHT METHOD)

Obviously, AGCT and education are more germane in determining the grade of a finance clerk than they are for a guard patrolman. In the latter case length of service would seem to be the most pertinent. Accordingly, a set of variable weights has been devised for each MOS to place the greatest emphasis upon that factor, or those factors, which seem to dominate any MOS, in de-

termining its relative position in the array of MOS's by grade. In the method of weighting, therefore, let

W_e = Weight assigned to any given MOS for education;

W_l = Weight assigned to any given MOS for length of service; and

W_g = Weight assigned to any given MOS for AGCT.

For each MOS the sum of the weights to be allocated among the three factors has been set arbitrarily at 20. Stated mathematically, this is:

$$AW_e + AW_l + AW_g = 20.$$

The actual distributing of the weights was accomplished at a meeting attended by, among others, the chief of military personnel, the classification officer, and the statistical control officer of the Base. Table 2 shows the weights ultimately selected for *representative* MOS's.

Formula (1) (in which any given MOS's education, length of service, and AGCT array positions are all given an *equal* weight) now may be revised to account for variances in weight. If the position of any given MOS in a new "weight-adjusted" array be designated A_{cw} ,

$$A_{cw} = \text{Array } [AE(AW_e) + AL(AW_l) + AG(AW_g)]. \quad (2)$$

An analysis of the length-of-service factor shows that, in the past, *every* MOS had length of service as a reasonably potent determinant of grade, for, under the bulk allotment plan, the Air Forces had tacitly accepted the theory that any enlisted person—regardless of MOS—was eligible for advancement within certain "fluid" limits.²¹ *AAF Regulation 35-54*, dated October 30, 1944, has tended to clarify this situation considerably by stipulating what grades are recommended for any given MOS and

²⁰ The median man, for each MOS, is located by simply adding 1 to the number of persons holding that MOS and by dividing the sum by 2:

$$M_e \text{ (Man)} = \frac{N + 1}{2}.$$

For each MOS the median man's grade is obtained through use of the formula

$$M_g = L + \frac{X}{N},$$

in which

L = Upper limit of the numerical value assigned to each grade (i.e., an upper limit of 1.5 for privates, 2.5 for PFC's, 3.5 for corporals, etc.);

N = Total number of men in the grade group containing the median man; and

X = Number of men falling between the lower limit and the median man in the grade-group containing the median man.

²¹ Providing, of course, that the individual's work had been satisfactory and that he had been in the service for a reasonably long period of time.

what percentage of all persons assigned to that MOS are to be in each grade.²²

H. JUSTIFICATION OF GRADE ARRAY (FIXED-WEIGHT METHOD)

Since length of service, in this sense, tended to affect all MOS's *about the same*, an additional array has been computed in which the length-of-service array position of each MOS is arbitrarily frozen at 21. This assumes that every one of the forty-two MOS's is twenty-first (or median average) in the length-of-service array. Although this method *assigns* every MOS a length-of-service array position of 21, it is important to note that each MOS retains a different length-of-service *weight*, i.e., relative to education and AGCT.

grades by MOS—and give education, length of service, and AGCT each the proper influence they held in actually determining grade in the past—it is necessary to combine the two arrays expressed by formulas (2) and (3).

This "combined" array may be interpreted as showing what array position *should be expected* for each MOS in the array by grade, based on that MOS's position in the arrays of education, length of service, and AGCT—recognizing that these factors are *not* of equal importance in determining grade for each MOS. In the "combined" array the location of any MOS, under the notation X_c , may be selected as follows:

$$X_c = \text{Array } [A_{cw} + A_{cw}'] \quad (4)$$

TABLE 2

MOS	Title	Total Weight	Educa-tion	Length of Service	AGCT
622	Finance technical clerk.....	20	7	5	8
658	Link-trainer instructor.....	20	5	9	6
502	Administration specialist.....	20	4	10	6
2756	Radio operator.....	20	4	11	5
566	Duty NCO.....	20	2	16	2
522	Guard patrolman.....	20	1	18	1

The formula for the weighted array (fixed-position length of service combined with variable positions for education and AGCT) is therefore very similar to that for formula (2), in which each MOS kept its *actual* length-of-service array position. If A_{cw}' equals the location of any given MOS in the array where length-of-service positions are fixed, then

$$A_{cw}' = \text{Array } [AE(AW_e) + 21(AW_s) + AG(AW_g)] \quad (3)$$

I. JUSTIFICATION OF GRADE ARRAY (COMBINED WEIGHTS)

To arrive at a final array of MOS's which will "justify" the present distribution of

This also may be stated as

$$X_c = \text{Array } \left\{ \begin{aligned} &[(\text{Array } [AE(AW_e) \\ &\quad + AL(AW_s) + AG(AW_g)]) \\ &+ (\text{Array } [AE(AW_e) + 21(AW_s) \\ &\quad + AG(AW_g)])] \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (5)$$

J. EXPECTED ARRAY POSITIONS

Computed values for X_c are to be found in the "expected" column of Table 3. From these data certain observations may be made:

1. Among the 42 MOS's, mess sergeants "should be" twentieth in grade, yet they are second.
2. A.A.F. supply technicians "should be" twenty-fourth, yet they are fifth.
3. Finance typist-clerks (largely because of their very high education and AGCT standing) "should be" first, but actually they are fourteenth.

²² E.g., 50 per cent of the total number of cooks at any given installation are supposed to be sergeants and the remaining 50 per cent, corporals.

TABLE 3

ACTUAL, SUGGESTED, AND EXPECTED ARRAY OF MOS'S, BY GRADE

MOS	Title	Actual	Sug- gested*	Ex- pected†
502	Administrative specialist.....	1	1	3
824	Mess sergeant.....	2	18	20
737	Flight engineer.....	3	3	9
622	Finance technical clerk.....	4	10	2
826	A.A.F. supply technician.....	5	12	24
911	Armorer.....	6	16	5
821	QM supply technician.....	7	24	12
750	Maintenance technician.....	8	2	8
791	Operations specialist.....	9	5	7
2750	Aerial engineer.....	10	4	16
2756	Radio operator.....	11	6	4
070	Draftsman.....	12	20	13
283	Athletic instructor.....	13	33	23
623	Finance typist-clerk.....	14	14	1
050	Carpenter.....	15	31	27
566	Duty NCO.....	16	34	14
658	Link-trainer instructor.....	17	11	6
965	Auto repairman.....	18	26	41
659	Technical instructor.....	19	15	10
931	Heavy automotive equipment operator	20	38	30
078	Electrician.....	21	28	25
056	Postal clerk.....	22	32	42
686	Instrument mechanic.....	23	7	22
256	Welder-combination.....	24	25	18
114	Machinist.....	25	21	31
687	Propeller specialist.....	26	8	29
037	Meat-cutter.....	27	39	36
405	Clerk-typist.....	28	22	15
055	Clerk-general.....	29	29	32
213	Stenographer.....	30	19	17
060	Cook.....	31	35	35
932	Special vehicle operator.....	32	37	38
237	Teletype operator.....	33	23	26
017	Baker.....	34	36	37
555	Sheet-metal worker.....	35	27	39
014	Automobile mechanic (2 Echelon)....	36	30	19
522	Guard patrolman.....	37	41	28
754	Radio mechanic.....	38	17	33
685	Electrical mechanic.....	39	9	11
747	Engine mechanic.....	40	13	21
345	Automobile equipment operator.....	41	40	40
590	Duty soldier.....	42	42	34

* A composite of the views of seven members of classification, personnel, and statistical control offices.

† Figures derived by taking into account each soldier's education, length of service, and AGCT score. These factors have been weighted, based on their relative importance within each MOS.

4. For the same reasons, link-trainer operators have an expected position of sixth but are actually only seventeenth.

K. SUGGESTED ARRAY POSITIONS FOR MOS'S

Against these "expected" positions, it is interesting to compare the array locations suggested for each MOS by seven members of the classification, personnel, and statistical control offices at the Base. Each of these men was asked the question: "If you were permitted to allocate grade in terms of MOS in any way you wish—taking everything into consideration—which MOS would you select as warranting the highest average grade? Which second? Which third? Etc." The "reply arrays" made up by each of the seven men were combined for the forty-two MOS's through simple addition. An array was then constructed of the resulting sums, to produce the figures in the "suggested" column of Table 3. Certain sharp variances appear between the three arrays in Table 3:

1. Mess sergeant, although the second highest MOS on the field by grade, has an expected position of eighteen and a suggested position of 20.
2. A.A.F. supply technician, with an actual position of 5, shows an expected one of 24 and a suggested position of 12.
3. Athletic instructor, thirteenth in actual position, has an expected one of 23 and a suggested one of 33.

These are just a few of the MOS's for which the actual array position (in terms of existing grade) seems clearly out of line. Others may be found through a study of Table 3.

L. CONCLUSIONS

The proper classification of men is an individual problem. Every factor—from personality to mental and physical characteristics—must be carefully weighed for the individual. Because of this intimate relationship between the classification process and the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the soldier with his Army work, proper classification has come to be recognized as a prime factor in each and every man's morale. Once

the soldier has a job that suits his capabilities and interests, morale can be maintained by recognition of the type of work being done and the manner in which that work is done. For the serviceman, recognition is indicated by the number of stripes he wears upon his sleeve.

Lest the authors be accused of using "hindsight" in the derivation of their prediction formulas, let it be stated here that hindsight *was used*—deliberately! Our aim was to *attempt* a justification and explanation of the present distribution of grades by MOS in the light of each soldier's education, AGCT, and length of service. The evidence indicates that, on the whole, grades assigned appear reasonable for most of the MOS's on the basis of the array positions for these three background factors.

Worthy of emphasis has been the influence of length of service on grade for such supervisory positions as administrative specialist, supply technician, maintenance technician, duty NCO, and mess sergeant. In these cases, length of service obviously is important as an *experience* factor—as can be seen by comparing administrative specialist (502) and clerk-typist (405). The educational and AGCT backgrounds of the personnel classified in these two MOS's are very similar, with the edge slightly to the clerk-typist, but the administrative specialist has his higher grade on the basis of his greater experience.

Also brought to light were some MOS's which seemed, to the authors at least, clearly out of place on the basis of the array positions of the background factors. Those MOS's appearing "too high" or "too low" in the grade array were subjected to a careful individualized analysis to determine why they did not "fit in" properly. In practice, this technique resulted in isolating a number of individuals who were obviously underrated or overrated in their respective MOS's. Accordingly, steps were taken not only to remedy such situations but also to prevent their further occurrence.

ARMY AIR FORCES

TEACHERS IN THE ARMY AIR FORCES

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

ABSTRACT

Teachers who taught in the A.A.F. at the preflight pilot training school at San Antonio, Texas, were accorded very low status. They believed that they had been recruited under false pretenses, that they were discriminated against as compared with other professional groups, and that they were intrusted with too little responsibility on matters within their professional competence. In many, the experience in the A.A.F. diminished their self-esteem and professional pride.

Late in 1942 the present writer attended a meeting at which members of his university faculty were told of the need for their services as experienced teachers in the training program of the Army Air Forces. The recruiting officers conveyed the impression that there was definite and pressing need for persons with academic background, that they would be fully employed, and that they would receive the usual rewards and recognitions, and certainly that they would not be discriminated against.

University and college teachers from various parts of the country applied for commissions in response to this recruiting drive. Some of them volunteered because they were within the draft age and did not wish to take the chance of being drafted as privates, and others because they believed what they had been told and thought that here was an opportunity to contribute in a direct and significant way to the war effort.

Those applicants who were accepted were given a six-week indoctrination and training course at Miami Beach, Florida. They were then assigned to duty at various training centers. The writer was among those who were assigned to the preflight pilot training school at San Antonio, Texas, which was one of three such schools in the country at that time. At this school, known as the San Antonio Aviation Cadet Center (S.A.A.C.C.), Air Corps cadets were given preliminary courses in subjects deemed vital to future pilots. For a time there were as many as twenty thousand cadets at this training center. This article is on the reactions of the three hundred or so teachers on this field—

they were known as "academic officers" or "ground-school instructors"—to the regime to which they were subjected. From conversations with persons who were in similar training centers in other parts of the country it is clear that conditions at S.A.A.C.C. were fairly typical.

The general reactions and attitudes of the teachers were strongly negative. It is true that there were certain positive satisfactions, the main one being that of teaching, but almost everything else was calculated to produce dissatisfaction and resentment. It is proverbial that there is "griping" among soldiers, but the complaints of the ground-school instructors were different in that the entire setup and the treatment of the teachers appeared to them as a calculated insult and degradation of the profession. The Cadet Center was presumably an educational institution, a pilot-training school, and much of the training was concerned with the acquisition of academic knowledge. Nevertheless, not only was the actual direction of policy not intrusted to anyone with experience as an educator but also pains were apparently taken to prevent teachers from working their way into any position where they might have exerted influence. They found their activities, including their teaching, minutely regulated by men who were generally unqualified and who frequently openly expressed their contempt for teachers in general and for those on the field in particular. Eventually, as the instructors learned how they were regarded, and when they discovered that, although a low value was placed upon their services, they were

not allowed to transfer elsewhere, they felt resentment and even hatred toward the Air Corps in general, toward the Army, and particularly toward their superior administrative officers on the field, whom they held responsible.

The reasons for the development of this attitude were numerous. One was that many of the men realized that they had been tricked into joining by false promises and false hopes, which the recruiting officers had manipulated in the usual manner of the high-pressure salesman. They were promised ranks one or two grades higher than they were actually given. They were led to believe that they would be kept busy. They were not. They were led to believe that they would be promoted as soon as anyone else. They were not. They were promoted, in fact, more slowly than any other group on the field. One instructor calculated that at the prevailing rate of promotions for second lieutenants he could expect to wait approximately twenty-five years before being advanced to the rank of first lieutenant. When instructors complained that they had been recruited under false pretenses and asked that the Air Corps consider itself bound by statements made by its recruiting officers, they were met with helplessness or stony indifference. They were often reminded how much better off they were than the boys in the foxholes.

It was true that the instructors were better off in a material way than the front-line soldiers in the Pacific and European theaters. In terms of self-respect, however, they were worse off. They soon discovered, too, that when they attempted to escape to more active duty, they were blocked by the persistent myth that there was a "shortage of ground-school instructors." The instructors did not compare themselves with the front-line soldiers. They compared themselves with the administrative staff, the various top-heavy headquarters units on the field. The officers in these units constituted the élite in terms of privileges and promotions. They were as far away from front lines as everyone else, but recognition, privileges,

and promotions came to them with regularity, as they did generally to headquarters units throughout the Army. The administrative officers rapidly built up their ranks and self-esteem even though they were unqualified in terms of training and experience for their positions as school administrators. In the meantime there were college and university professors and deans, and high-school superintendents, principals, and teachers among the so-called ground-school instructors, who were not allowed to break into the élite administrative groups. The élite group was headed by regular Army officers, who, it was rumored, were believed unfit for field commands and given positions where they would do a minimum of harm. There were also reserve officers who came from various civilian professions, mainly from business. Many appeared to have been former salesmen. The head of the school for a time was a former automobile salesman. The head of one academic department was said to have been a fertilizer salesman. A number of men who forged ahead rapidly were former small-town football coaches. Conspicuously absent in the administrative élite were schoolteachers and school administrators.

In contrast to this élite there was what we may call the proletariat. It consisted of instructors in physical education who were usually young men recently graduated from college with majors in physical education, of tactical officers who drilled the cadets, and, lowest in the hierarchy, the academic officers. Most of the latter were Texas high-school teachers, principals, and superintendents, but a substantial percentage were college and university teachers from all over the country, many of them holding Ph.D.'s and having more academic training and experience than any other group on the field. Paradoxically, the authorities on the field sometimes publicly boasted of the number of Ph.D.'s among their subordinate officers. The fact that the holder of the Ph.D. was usually teaching one or two fifty-minute periods per day, teaching an utterly routine subject which required scarcely even a high-school educa-

tion, and that he was acutely dissatisfied, never appeared to trouble them. They were unconcerned that many of the teachers longed for a chance fully to use their abilities and training and that many of them would have been satisfied simply to have been kept busy. The teachers were grimly amused when they read articles in the press or in magazines about the revolutionary and wonderful new things which the Army was supposed to have discovered about teaching methods!

During the early part of 1943 the instructors on the field were kept rather busy, but the number of cadets soon began to be cut because of the superabundance of pilots. Class loads were cut from three or four a day to one or two. Every nine weeks when a graduating class left and a new class was brought in, there was a period of about two weeks when there was nothing whatever to do. The idleness greatly increased the prevailing unrest and dissatisfaction. More and more persistent attempts were made by the officers to escape. The writer was among the few who managed to escape early in 1944. During the latter part of 1943 and early in 1944 the field was investigated at least once, and possibly more often, by manpower investigators looking for surplus manpower. They never found any because they never consulted anyone outside of headquarters and also because they probably did not want to make any trouble or cause any inconvenience. They were simply doing what they were told to and, like others, trying to get along. Before their visits, instructions were passed out to the teachers and other officers not to spend any more time than necessary outside of buildings, to appear busy, and to refrain from playing bridge, taking naps, or working cross-word puzzles in places where the investigators might see them. The conviction among the subordinate officers was well-nigh unanimous that they were kept on the field only so as to add glory to and justify the high ranks of their commanding officers.

To the newcomer the feature of the system that rankled most was the nature of

classroom inspections. The emphasis in these inspections was not on teaching but on what is known as "military discipline" and on the physical condition of the room. Some inspectors made it a practice to sight down the window shades to see whether they were drawn evenly. If they were slightly irregular, the unhappy instructor might be given a low rating. Great emphasis was also placed on whether or not the cadets stood rigidly at attention and sandwiched enough "sirs" into their recitations. There was almost no emphasis on the ability of the students to pass examinations or on any other phase of teaching. The instructors were judged, not as teachers, but as drill sergeants. Old timers adapted themselves to the situation when they learned that the inspections and the efficiency ratings based upon them made no difference. Individuals with high ratings were not transferred or promoted and neither were those with low ratings—so why worry! Most of the instructors gradually built up a philosophy of resignation and hopelessness, taking things as they came, complaining, and watching for the opportunity to escape. They learned to take afternoons off for golf or to take naps, play cards, or otherwise amuse themselves during working hours with minimum feelings of guilt but no doubt with some loss of self-respect. When they were taken to task for the violation of petty, meaningless regulations, they learned to click their heels, stand stiffly at attention, and say, "No excuse, sir!"

Members of the teaching profession had the opportunity to compare themselves with one other large group of professionals on the field—the members of the medical corp. All doctors came into the Army as first lieutenants or better. The teachers came in mainly as second lieutenants, and, unlike the doctors, they generally remained in grade for very long periods. The medical officers on the field also had many complaints. They were sometimes idle and sometimes they were "pushed around"; but at least their superior officers were other medical men. The field hospital was directed and con-

trolled by medical men. In contrast, the pilot-training school was not directed and controlled by educators. The writer finds difficulty in recalling the name of a single administrative officer of any importance who came from school or college administration or teaching. Since there were many officers on the field who were educators and teachers, the conclusion appears inescapable that their exclusion from responsibility was deliberate rather than accidental. Suppose that the administrative staff of the pilot-training school had been placed in charge of the hospital! What would the doctors have said and done? Unlike the doctors, the teachers were not backed by any well-organized and powerful body which would support them or fight for them. They began to wonder whether teaching really was a profession at all. Perhaps it was only a form of semi-skilled labor!

There are within the Army various regulations and various boards and offices which appear to be designed to improve Army organization and to promote the efficient use of personnel. Disillusionment with all of these devices and groups was complete. A board composed of high-ranking administrative officers on the field interviewed all officers periodically concerning their attitudes toward their work. Nothing ever happened. Many interviewees felt that the most important part of this particular ceremony was the manner in which the officer being interviewed executed the salute and about-face which terminated it. The officer personnel division, it was soon learned, was not concerned over the efficient use of manpower but merely with keeping records properly in duplicate, triplicate, or quadruplicate. An "air inspector," a shy, immature young major, visited the field to hear complaints. He heard many, but his function was not that of correcting abuses. He was only a shock-absorber. He gave the boys a chance to blow off steam. Even this small privilege was appreciated. The only channel for complaints which, as far as the writer

knows, was not much used was that provided by the chaplains. The chaplains, incidentally, like the medical men, fared better than the teachers and also had control of matters within their competence as professional men.

In the Army everything is supposed to go "through channels." The authorities were particularly anxious for complaints to go through channels, probably because so many things are lost and never heard of again when they start that perilous path.

It is difficult to assess the permanent effect which the experiences which have been described may have had upon the college and high-school teachers involved. For some of them the teaching profession lost in dignity and self-respect. There was some talk of getting out of the profession when the war was over. After all, why not become an automobile salesman or an insurance or real estate salesman and really amount to something! It is impossible to guess how much fundamental disillusionment of this kind was produced. Certainly, when the teachers in the A.A.F. return to civilian life, there are other unpleasant surprises for them. They find that meager pre-war salaries have responded very little to huge increases in taxes and in the cost of living. Some of them find that their jobs, theoretically guaranteed by law, have in fact vanished. They find that civilian authorities often attach little or no importance to Army experience and that they have consequently lost ground in comparison with those who stayed out of the Army. They feel frustrated because they have no effective organizations through which to voice their grievances. The returning teacher, who has acquired a different perspective on his profession through his experiences, and who has been able to make direct comparisons of his profession with others, may be expected to be disturbed and dissatisfied. This personal unrest is likely to affect the ideas and the new social forms that will emerge in the postwar period.

AGGRESSIVE AND EROTIC TENDENCIES IN ARMY LIFE¹

HENRY ELKIN

ABSTRACT

Military life required the soldier to alter his values and self-image and imposed new restraints and occasions for release. The soldier felt depreciated by the G.I. image and Army restraints and asserted himself by negativism, as in "griping," and by aggression against foreigners as scapegoats. Military life also stimulated the release of tensions repressed from childhood. Drinking, profanity, and concern with sex relieved the anxieties created by the ideal of virility. Undifferentiated and homosexual erotic tendencies revealed by speech and behavior must find socially approved release. Hence the soldier's egocentric disposition to women as means of gratifying self-respect and primitive sensual impulses.

A prolonged stay in the Army, coming a sharp break with civilian life, doubtless affected the personalities of several million American men. As soldiers, they entered a peculiar social organization which required them to alter radically the images they had of themselves and the values by which they lived and which imposed restraints, and offered occasions for the release of impulse and feeling, very different from any they had previously known. We wish to consider briefly and in relation to characteristic features of American culture the manner in which military life typically influenced values and self-images and provided new patterns of psychological repression and release.

A military organization, more than any other social structure, can be adequately defined by the concept of "bureaucracy," as the term is used by Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, and Karl Mannheim. The impersonality characteristic of bureaucratic organization is so pronounced in a modern army that the distinctive feature of the individual is not even his name but a serial number. This does not necessarily mean that the individual member loses a sense of the

value of his own self. In a society with a deeply rooted military tradition, where "soldier" is a *model-image* evoking respect and emulation, the individual typically gains self-respect and affirms the value of his personality by performing to his greatest ability the often-stereotyped tasks and routines of military life. Such is not the case in modern America, however, except among small circles with military-school backgrounds. American men in this war did not think of themselves as "doughboys," "Tommies," "Poilus," or even as "soldiers"—terms which imply individual human qualities and positive values—but as "G.I.'s"; i.e., "Government Issue," each with a "dog-tag" around his neck. The individual soldier thus saw himself as an item of mass-production along with G.I. clothing, rations, and other materiel.

On the one hand, the soldier liked being a G.I. It was comforting to feel, in this radically different kind of life which so often involved fear and danger, that his own self was submerged in the anonymity of the mass. The role of G.I. made no undue demands on individual virtue or responsibility. Even if he continually bungled and became a "sad sack," his fellows looked upon him with a kind of joking affection.

On the other hand, the soldier inwardly rebelled against this G.I. image of himself, the hierarchic and often arbitrary system of rank, and the slavelike performance of tasks that failed to satisfy his inner pride. Military regulations required him to perform his

¹ This article is based on about two years' experience as a private and corporal, and eight months' experience as a second lieutenant, in the United States Army in North Africa, Italy, France, and Germany. The writer was greatly aided by the criticisms and suggestions of Frederick Elkin, who, as a sergeant in the Army, spent over a year in the United States and more than two years in England, France, and Germany.

duties in accordance with the meticulously detailed prescriptions laid down in a field manual or, as he said, "by the numbers." Military discipline required him to carry out all orders given by superiors, whom he often neither liked nor respected, immediately and without question. However, the more personal phases of life, such as his relations with his fellows, remained uncontrolled. So, as soon as he found himself "off duty" or otherwise beyond the scope of rules and regulations, the soldier characteristically felt supremely "free" and sought to release his impulses and feelings. This release was especially marked in everyday speech and conversation, and its distinguishing feature was a general rebelliousness, expressed in various shades of negativism, from mildly cynical humor to scathing denunciation.

When positive, constructive force or capacities are lacking, a desire to express the self usually manifests itself in negativism and aggression.² In the Army "griping" was the most typical manifestation of this tendency; there was nothing either directly or indirectly related to the Army about which the G.I. did not gripe. Seldom, if ever, did such griping lead to suggestions, concerted action, or protest, even where these might have proved effective. It remained verbal, and its function was purely psychological. Griping and general negativism, in the first instance, were symbolic affirmations of independence and strength, showing that the G.I. did not want to be considered a mere cog in the Army machine. Then, as it became an almost universal mechanism to assuage and to hide an almost universal hurt,

² A commanding officer who sought to hide his weakness behind a mask of military gruffness and rigidity (he would have worn a monocle had he been a German) was pleased to place on his desk a picture of Donald Duck in stern, forbidding pose, superposed by a big, impressively drawn "NO!" Such a man, whose natural reaction would be to submit to everything, obviously regarded "No" as an affirmation of independence and strength. And unless the lower-ranking petitioner could gratify this officer's ego in some other way, his reply, irrespective of the objective value of the request, would be "No!" For the G.I., "griping" fulfilled a corresponding need.

griping came to be an earmark of social solidarity. A soldier who might have dared to question a griping remark became a living threat to his companions' self-respect and automatically, as a heretic or traitor, placed himself beyond the pale. Griping, moreover, became an egocentric and almost standard form of establishing social contact: when one G.I. met another, a griping remark served as a kind of introduction, like talk about the weather.³

One aspect of this negativism, whose ill-effect on international relations will remain incalculable, is that our immediate allies became the primary scapegoat for the G.I.'s need for self-assertion. Just as the Germans, servile and compliant in their own life, came to feel strong and important by venting their pent-up aggression on "inferior" Jews, Poles, and Russians, so the G.I. "took it out" on "damned Limeys" and "dirty Frogs," but *not*, interestingly enough, on the Germans and southern Italians who directly gratified his self-esteem by behaving toward him as a conqueror. A correspondent from China⁴ recently wrote that G.I. drivers go out of their way to splash mud on Chinese trudging along the side of the road!

Whereas certain negative and aggressive tendencies may be primarily regarded as reactions to the constraints imposed by military organization and discipline, other tendencies revealed in typical forms of Army speech and behavior show the release of impulses and feelings that are far more deeply rooted in the course of psychological development. The Army, by detaching the soldier from home, school, church, and neighborhood, and, more generally, from feminine influence and surroundings, loosed him from his previous social controls. And the characteristic military pattern that sanctions in the "off-duty" sphere, the re-

³ In the light of the impression these gripes, taken out of their living context, would have made on the relatives and congressmen at home, it is clear that the military censor performed a necessary duty. Had censorship not been lifted with victory, the return of overseas troops to the United States would surely not have been effected at so fast a pace.

⁴ Dixie Tighe, in the *New York Post*.

lease of rebellious feelings provoked while "on duty," serves to open the gates for the rebellious impulses and feelings that were repressed during the whole lifetime. (Hence the common judgment that rebellious youths who might otherwise turn to criminal ways, would be happy in, and adjusted to, the Army.)

In the purely masculine surroundings of the Army, the values associated with the ideal of virility play a determining role in molding the soldier's image of himself and in creating his inner tensions and the channels for their release. A peculiar feature of American culture is that the ideal of virility is derived from the values that often prevail in preadolescent gangs and play groups; e.g., lower-class "toughness" as against upper-class "sissy" effeteness; defensive irritability rather than self-assurance; aggressiveness rather than reserve; self-assertiveness rather than modesty; and impudence rather than politeness.⁵ These values reflect a characteristic source of anxiety in the lives of young American boys. Whereas their development in home and school is to a far greater degree molded by women, and is far less distinct from that of young girls, than in any other country (coeducation and women teachers are nowhere as predominant as in America), they must try to live up to social expectations which, far more than those found elsewhere, require that (as "red-blooded American boys") they behave differently from girls. Hence they are impelled to adopt an image of manhood which, like all compensations for inadequacy, exaggerates and distorts the dominant, aggressive quality that is a natural sign of virility. And, in reaction to the "sissy" qualities which they seek to eradicate or conceal in themselves, they throw over everything associated with femininity, especially the values which create disinterested activities⁶ and those which lend con-

siderateness and grace to social intercourse. The cultural pattern associated with the ideal of virility is modified when social expectations and the conditioning of erotic tendencies require a positive attitude toward women; but, whatever the course of its later development, this pattern remains rooted to the psychological conditions of preadolescence.⁷

Drinking in the Army, as in civilian life, was a symbol of virility and facilitated the forgetting of the self and the release of impulses to self-assertion and aggression. (Drunken conviviality also served to relieve the G.I.'s perennial boredom, even in places which for centuries have attracted tourists from all over the world.) Although only a small minority engaged in rowdiness and fighting with Allied soldiers or civilians, many a G.I. bragged of "breaking up the joint" or of "beating hell out of a Frog" (while "stewed to the gills")—exploits that happened only in his imagination. More often G.I.'s bragged of what they would do if attacked, robbed, etc., provocations whose likelihood they almost consciously exaggerated in order to appear "tough." In fact, the average G.I., though orderly himself, seemed to indulge vicariously in aggression by identifying himself with the unruly minority. (This may explain why the military police, still sensitive to the stigma attached to them after the last war, proceeded with hesitation and extreme tact against rowdiness. Thus their role of scapegoat, in part, passed to the "damned foreigner.")

The use of profanity, always an earmark of masculinity, was perhaps the most strik-

etc., is "sissy." This plays a tremendous role in American culture: the more vigorous and secure personalities tend to become businessmen, lawyers, and engineers; whereas the "sissies" become the actors, writers, clergymen, and professors, a fact which greatly determines the quality of intellectual and artistic production. The Boy Scout movement, which aims to combine virile practices and moral standards, often evokes a negative response: "Boy Scout," like "sissy," is frequently pronounced contemptuously.

⁵ Cf. *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (published in England as *The American Character*) (Pelican Books, 1944), by Margaret Mead, especially chap. ix, "The Chip on the Shoulder."

⁶ In preadolescence everything "impractical" like music, poetry, flowers, refined habits of reading,

⁷ Note the personalities of many model-images of Hollywood, Mickey Rooney, James Cagney, etc., and of innumerable comic-strip heroes.

ing feature of Army life: hardly a sentence was spoken, and no exclamation was uttered, without at least one profane term. Apart from expressing a general rebelliousness, profanity most perfectly suggests that the user is capable of asserting his will, using his fists, drinking inordinate quantities of alcohol, taking women in contemptuous, domineering stride, and engaging in such other pursuits as are becoming to the virile American male. (The young Frenchman proves his virility by the number of times he can make love in an evening.) And, further, by pronouncing those "dirty words" which he never dared to utter in the presence of "Mom" or his old-maid schoolteachers, the G.I. symbolically throws off the shackles of the matriarchy in which he grew up.

The profane term that most clearly expresses this swaggering masculinity and revengeful, contemptuous (and defensive) attitude toward women is doubtless the most commonly used word (as noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and expletive) in the United States and British armies. In Anglo-Saxon popular culture, molded by Puritanism, this term suggests that the sexual act can only be "dirty" and animalistic; and, in keeping with a more nearly universal conception, it suggests that, whereas these qualities do not reflect ill on the male by virtue of his dominant and casual role, they ineradicably contaminate and degrade the human female. Thus children in Anglo-Saxon cultures are invariably shocked when they are told that their own mothers did such "dirty things" and that they themselves, in a literal sense, were "conceived in sin." This abrupt confrontation with brutal reality is, doubtless, often a traumatic experience resulting in feelings of contempt for the self; hidden contempt for, or overt and undue sympathy and attachment to, the mother (who was "forced to submit"); and a general pessimism and cynicism toward a universe in which life itself is the outcome of brutality and sin—a psychological complex that can be shown to have had tremendous implications for the development of modern civilization. Hence, the use of the

profane term in question affirms that the G.I. now accepts biological reality, and his continual and exaggerated stress of this affirmation indicates that, when a child, this reality was a bitter one, almost too painful to accept.

Another common form of profanity implies that the G.I. loses his early social conditioning and again, as in early childhood, overtly experiences a rich expressiveness in the eliminatory functions. The release of intestinal gases, for example, is never inhibited or taken as matter of fact but is made to draw attention and invariably provokes joking comment. Amiable conversation is "shooting the s——." Bragging or lying is "throwing the s——." A G.I. who vents anger "p—— off his mouth." The practice of prolonging latrine functions (implied in the not uncommon admonition, "S—— or get off the pot" to mean "stop dawdling"), and making them into occasions for social conviviality, as well as common expressions such as "I just had a wonderful s——," suggest that the Army Medical Corps might profitably have investigated the role of psychological factors in the continual and epidemic occurrence of diarrhea (the "G.I. s——").⁸

Other profane expressions refer to the posterior, after the manner of "heart" or "brain," as symbolic of the person. Among the most common are, "Get your a—— over here" (come here); "to shag a——" (hurry); "a——chewing" (bawling-out); "It's my a——" (I'm held responsible); "My a—— will weep for you" (I'll be sorry for you); "to tangle a——holes" (argue or fight); and "a——hole buddies" (close pals). These expressions bring to mind such apparently dissimilar practices as "goosing" and the wearing of pants too tight for comfort and reflect a vital concern with the only major erogenous portion of the human anatomy that does not distinguish male from female. The fact that women as well as sexual inter-

⁸ The writer had the opportunity to note over a long period that diarrhea (like psychoneurosis) was relatively uncommon in the French army, despite the fact that, by the United States Army standards, sanitary conditions were shockingly bad.

course, both praiseworthy erotic references, are commonly termed "piece of a——" reveals the primary function of this profanity: "a——" is the most suitable term for expressing asocial and indeterminate erotic tendencies in a socially approved form.

By American standards of virility, homosexuality is repellent and was unconsciously repressed in Army life. Although there was continual joking about homosexual practices, there was an apparent total lack of awareness of homosexual attitudes and inclinations, such as were extremely widespread in a latent, and not uncommon in a practiced, but verbally unadmitted, state. This contrast between blindness to the reality and concern with the idea doubtless implies strong tendencies and equally strong repressions.⁹ Certain features of American eroticism throw light on the prevalence of these tendencies and the manner in which they are directed into socially approved channels. The pin-up girl, for example, is often distorted to maximize the proportions of the upper torso and lower extremities, suggestive of boyishness and activity, and to minimize those middle portions which are more distinctively feminine and expressive of a passive role.¹⁰ (If her breasts were removed, it would often be difficult to know whether she were a boy or girl.) Often her demeanor is vigorously active, and her facial expression suggests that she neither attaches great importance nor responds to intimacies with all-absorbing intensity and voluptuousness (characteristic of the more traditional eroticism which, in a feminine version, still seems to appeal to the women who read the perfume ads) but regards them as amusingly incidental bits of "fun"

⁹ The term "sissy," by reason of having acquired homosexual implications, was significantly absent from the soldiers' vocabulary. After inspecting his enlisted men's quarters, an officer praised an extremely effeminate G.I. who took delight in the meticulous arrangement of his belongings as "the best damned soldier in the outfit." The other soldiers disagreed with this verdict but saw nothing funny in it!

¹⁰ These portions are emphasized in the "bumps," popular in burlesque shows, but attribute to femininity a gesture that is expressive of masculinity!

between "pals."¹¹ This highly sanctioned eroticism suggests the direction for active release of the tensions provoked by the intimate masculine contact in Army life. "Women-chasing" thus became a distinguishing feature of the G.I.'s reputation wherever he went.

Prostitution overseas had a very unsettling influence on the typical G.I. Whereas at home the mere "going out" with girls often was enough to prove his virility, even to himself, he had now to reach the ultimate limit of physical intimacy, as was offered to him cheaply and at every hand. The G.I. thought that his avidity for such pleasures—in the simple physical terms in which he had been taught to regard such matters—was a result of "sex starvation." It could more rightly be claimed that separation from the opposite sex, as in normal ascetic practices, would abate desire by removing outer stimuli. A starving man, moreover, would not take delight in viewing exaggeratedly appetizing "pin-ups" of his favorite foods. Pin-up girls, in fact, probably served less for individual enjoyment than as occasions for the social affirmation of virility, by virtue of the public display and approval they were invariably accorded. Similarly, a connection with a woman, however shabby and perfunctory, was recounted in an adventurous spirit and in terms that never failed to do credit to the subject's virile capacities.¹²

¹¹ "In all neurotics we find without exception in the unconscious psychic life feelings of inversion and fixation of libido on persons of the same sex" (Sigmund Freud, *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* ["Modern Library"] p. 575). Many writers have set forth the view that modern culture breeds widespread neurosis. The manifestations of latent homosexuality in this culture, however, have scarcely been treated.

¹² The writer spent many months, in several countries, in intimate contact with French and North African Moslem troops. The French typically spoke far less about sex and stressed the personality of women far more than did the Americans. The Moslem's appreciation of sex, however, strikingly resembles the G.I.'s, except that the Moslem had fewer inhibitions. This similarity recalled to the observer his findings among the Arapaho Indians (cf. *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*,

Fundamentally, the G.I. did not like or desire women other than as means of gratifying his self-respect and his primitive sexual desire. He commonly referred to women by the profane term for vagina and treated them all, even when there could be no ground for confusion, with a degree of bluntness and indiscrimination that did not help to foster international good-will and understanding.¹³ To many a G.I., however, such behavior did not imply disrespect. He simply viewed all women in terms of youth, surface appearance, and willing aptitude; and frequently he regarded the prostitute with special affection, because, unlike other women who often were formal and reserved, she had the friendly smile and democratic ways which he had been accustomed to expect in social life. Since his own disposition to sexual matters was so thoroughly egocentric, he more readily, in fact, identified himself with the prostitute. Her approach

to sex was as direct and casual as his own. He believed that she engaged in her work mainly because she "liked it" and that her taking money only did credit to her practical sense. And, in view of his own uncertain inclinations, he did not tend to regard her intimacies with other men as especially degrading. On a number of occasions, G.I.'s were heard to remark that, had they been women, they, too, would have been prostitutes. In the light of this behavior it was not surprising that G.I.'s would show a marked preference for German girls, who typically combine free and easy habits with an uncritical appreciation of everything masculine.¹⁴

Despite the fact that Army life tends to bring out primitive aspects of personality and that speech difficulties in foreign lands hinder the development of more refined sentiments toward women, it may still be inferred from typical forms of Army speech and behavior that a very large proportion of American men have never developed beyond childhood stages of emotional experience and display strong anxieties and excessive reactions when they are expected to live by psychologically mature standards. More broadly, it may be inferred that the prevailing eroticism in American culture successfully directs male erotic impulse toward female objects but fails to cultivate this impulse to an appreciation of a mature feminine ideal, either directly, by reflecting a synthesis of physical and spiritual values, or indirectly, by reflecting a limited pornographic interest. On the contrary, this eroticism, by seeking to portray a feminine ideal in terms of pure materiality—an image of ideal femininity as portrayed in a bathing suit is a unique cultural phenomenon—directs the appreciation of femininity itself into the form of primitive erotic experience.

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ed. Ralph Linton [New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1940]) and has led him to conclude that the "natural" disposition toward sex can be reduced to a phallus seeking to enter a recipient object. Puritan and Islamic asceticism, by de-spiritualizing the erotic, succeeded in reducing its intensity and scope but caused it to revert to the "natural." If animals could talk, their conversation about sex would doubtless be quite similar to that of the Moslems, Arapahos, and G.I.'s. Note the comic strips widely circulated in Army publication, "The Wolf," in which the G.I., drawn with a literal wolf, or "dogface," is continually trying to "make" women, and "Male Call," in which the G.I.'s are reduced to blithering frenzy by the charms of feminine anatomy. Also note that the term "wolf" and its derivations, with pleasant and rather flattering connotations, have made their way into the national vocabulary!

¹³ The populations of North Africa and Europe quickly became familiar with the mercantile ways of their democratic liberators who went about offering specific quantities of cigarettes, chocolate, C-rations, etc., not only for money but "in trade." Such methods were particularly effective in famine-stricken areas, such as the Naples region in 1943-44, and invariably brought results to those hardheaded and enterprising G.I.'s who operated on the basis of statistical probability. Soldiers were made keenly resentful by reports that Negro troops, by virtue of belonging to the Quartermaster Corps, enjoyed an often prodigious advantage in such "trade."

¹⁴ This latter quality seems also to have characterized many English girls. The writer spent only a very brief period in England and bases his observations mainly on his North African and continental European experience.

THE SOLDIER'S LANGUAGE

FREDERICK ELKIN

ABSTRACT

Popular works by stressing uncommonly used "substitute expressions" and by omitting profanity give a false picture of the soldier's language. The language, assumed to be functional, is unconsciously learned and changes to befit new experiences and thus is valuable as source material for studying the soldier's adjustment. The language reflects (1) the soldier's self-image of solidarity, freedom from social restraint, and strength and (2) his attitude to authority. The expressions indicate that the soldier dislikes authority but accepts it with varying degrees of resignation, bitterness, and satire.

I

This paper discusses the soldier's language in so far as it relates to certain social-psychological aspects of his adjustment to Army life. It is hoped, further, to present a picture of distinctive expressions which a soldier employs when among his fellows.

Considered as "soldier expressions" are: (1) those expressions not known in civilian society and therefore distinctive of Army life and (2) those expressions, employed in small sections of civilian society and generally understood by civilians, which in the Army become much more frequently and openly expressed. Both these groups of expressions are understood in all Army society, and every soldier, at some time or another, employs some of them. They are spoken of as distinctive of the Army, although actually many are common to the Navy, Marines, and Air Forces as well. Not being familiar with these services and their distinctive languages, however, I do not attempt to discuss their unique expressions.

That soldiers among themselves tend to speak differently from civilians, in both the expressions employed and the manner of expression, is generally known; but the actual expressions used and their significance in understanding the soldier have received but little attention. The popular lists and numerous references to soldier language in newspapers and magazines give a false picture. The lists, first of all, are generally full of phrases, especially substitute names for objects, which are not only rarely, if ever, heard, but of which many soldiers do not even know the meaning. For example, com-

bing expressions from two such sources,¹ we find the following substitute expressions for "coffee": blackout, tar water, paint remover, solvent and boiler compound, battery acid, bootleg, black strap, blanko water. We find the following for "cook": belly robber, hashburner, slumburner, greasepot. There are few soldiers who could identify these. Coffee is generally called "coffee," and a cook is generally called a "cook." The substitute expressions are much less common in the Army than such references indicate.

Popular articles, furthermore, give a false picture in that they omit all obscene terms, a most significant proportion of the soldier's language. Such terms, used by themselves or in combination phrases, are in almost every sentence a soldier says, sometimes with their literal meaning but more often with a meaning of an altogether different nature.

To many a recruit the constant and crude use of obscenity by the older soldiers comes as a shock. The recruit was often not aware of the extent and the range of subjects to which this language was applicable. In time, however, with constant exposure to such language, the shock lessens; and eventually, to a greater or lesser degree, practically all soldiers adopt it.

It is assumed throughout this discussion that the language adopted by a soldier is functional. Had the new expressions not in some way satisfied a need or a disposition of

¹ Park Kendall, *Dictionary of Service Slang* (New York: M. S. Mill Co., Inc., 1941; reprinted 1944); Albert A. Ostrow, "Service Men's Slang" *American Mercury*, November, 1943.

the soldier, they would not have been adopted, and the soldier would have spoken as he did in civilian life. Obviously, there is no invariable relationship between an expression and a function. In any given attempt at understanding, the analysis will vary with the language and the unit under study. But there are certain more general patterns that seem applicable throughout the Army, and we shall employ a few of them as a framework for our language discussion.

II

Before we begin the discussion of the expressions of more social-psychological interest, it seems advisable to eliminate what we designate as "convenience expressions." These include abbreviations and designations which denote phenomena having no counterpart or which could be expressed only clumsily in civilian language. Their prime function being convenience, they tend to be of less interest to the social psychologist. Examples of "convenience designations" are:

sun-tans.....cotton, khaki uniforms
latrine... ..any toilet, and sometimes
 washing, facilities
burp gun.....a given type of German machine gun
short arm.....medical genital inspection
jeep.....a given type of $\frac{1}{4}$ -ton vehicle

Examples of "convenience abbreviations" are:

OP.....observation post
CQ.....charge of quarters
CO.....commanding officer
SP.....self-propelled
CDD.....certificate of disability for
 discharge

The adoption and diffusion of such designations generally does not require elaborate explanation. From our point of view the designations were adopted primarily because they were convenient and made for ease of expression. Some, such as "CDD," are authorized Army abbreviations; some, such as "SP," easily come to mind; some, such as "sun-tans," "latrine," and "jeep," are expressions of perhaps unknown origin,

which were convenient and appropriately designated the new phenomena.

The objects of reference for such "convenience expressions" are generally objects toward which, per se, a soldier is neither attracted nor repelled. They tend to be expected physical details of living, military objects, routinized Army jobs, or accepted Army phenomena.² Since the objects of reference are relatively neutral in tone, so, too, are the expressions. They do not designate unique types of persons to whom one must adjust, nor do they connote individual or group values. A CO is the given person, no matter what kind of person he may be, who commands the unit. A short arm becomes an expected physical examination.

To the sociologist the most significant feature of such expressions is that, once diffused, like all other soldier expressions, they give the soldier a unique universe of discourse which helps distinguish him, and thus they become a binding in-group force. This tends to give him a greater feeling of freedom among other soldiers, for he can speak the expressions which more easily come to his mind, many of which would not be understood or must consciously be avoided when he is among civilians.

Employing the language of soldiers for source material in the study of a given problem has the two following merits: (1) the language has, for the greater part, been unconsciously learned, and (2) the language is "dynamic."

A new recruit may rather deliberately say "what's for chow" or "look at that f---ing line" in order to reflect an image of himself which manifests his assimilation in the

² The soldier, in actuality, adjusts relatively easily to such new physical situations or to such routinized ways of doing things. It may be inconvenient and unpleasant at first, but, when necessary, a soldier soon takes for granted that he must have a CO, that he must use an outside latrine, that he must wait in pay line and salute, that he must set up pup tents or even live in foxholes. To have an unpredictable or favor-currying first sergeant, however, or to take orders from an immature and cocky lieutenant are adjustments never so readily or so satisfactorily made.

Army. But in most cases the learning is completely unconscious. A soldier hears an expression, unconsciously learns its meaning in context, and soon employs it himself. Even for the more deliberate recruit, the expressions soon become his unconscious normal way of speaking.³

As we have noted, we assume the expressions are functional; had they not met the requirements of the soldier, they would not have been adopted. That a soldier, therefore, so readily and unconsciously adopts these expressions bespeaks their appropriateness in his changed way of life. Further, since in the soldier's expressions we find implied attitudes and values, we can derive therefrom a spontaneous reflection of his reactions to Army life.

Another pertinent characteristic of soldier language is that it is "dynamic," it does not remain constant. As new situations are met, new adjustments are made: old expressions are discarded or used with new meanings, and new expressions become popular. Were there no changes in language, the adjustment would probably be unsatisfactory. In the same way that a sulking, maladjusting person does not tend to develop or adopt new slang expressions, neither would a sulking, maladjusting Army unit.

III

The distinctive language of the soldier may be roughly divided into two categories: (1) habitual expressions, those more deeply absorbed expressions that are learned by all soldiers and are heard constantly throughout their Army careers, and (2) fashion expressions, those found in local units or throughout the Army for relatively short periods of time.

Likewise, corresponding to certain styles which do not become popular with the public, so, too, there are expressions in the Army heard only a few times and then not at all.

The expressions discussed in this paper

³ A plausible explanation of how such learning comes about is given by Ellsworth Faris in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), wherein he speaks of "unconscious imitation."

are primarily the habitual expressions; but it seems pertinent to give a brief discussion of the fashion language of the soldier because this registers the adjustment of a given unit.

Many expressions are fashion among those who have only recently been inducted into the Army. Some of the expressions found in lists of soldier slang, such as "armored cow" for canned milk, "tin hat" for helmet, "topkick" for first sergeant, are among these. So, too, is "hit the deck" at reveille. These are often the expressions of the new soldier who wants to present an image of cleverness or of assimilation into the Army.

The most common "fashion expressions" are those which became popular in foreign countries. In England, many soldiers came to speak of "torches," "queues," and "Piccadilly Commandos." In France in their everyday language, they used *beaucoup*, *fini*, *combien*, *parti*, and *tout de suite*. In Italy, soldiers spoke of *vino*, *grazie*, and *come sta*. When the soldiers entered Germany, the French and Italian phrases, save for *beaucoup* and *vino*, tended to be forgotten, and soldiers soon learned to say *kaput*, *prima*, *was ist los?* *nichts gut*, *Fräulein*, and others.

Other fashion expressions were adopted from miscellaneous sources. From the comic strip "Dick Tracy," Gravel Gertie came to mean any very homely girl. From the issue of a style of jacket which Eisenhower wore, soldiers spoke of "Eisenhower jackets." Extending the meaning of Army-publicized designations, soldiers used "liberating" to mean any kind of appropriating and looting, and "fraternizing" to mean meeting civilians of any kind for social reasons.

Many expressions became fashionable in given groups, befitting their unique experiences. In one unit of former academic men, all doing details of various sorts, "Ph.D." came to mean "post-hole digger." German planes which always strafed at a given time at night were called, in certain groups, "Bed-check Charlie." In one unit, soldiers said to a person who interrupted a conversation, "Who pulled your chain?"

Many such fashion expressions refer to officers of men within the given unit. In a tank destroyer battalion, for example, a lieutenant who especially sought pillboxes to destroy became known as "Pillbox Mull-hall." A mess officer in one unit became the "Commissioned KP." Mimicking an officer who once told his men to "chop down those wooden trees," the men placed "wooden" before the name of any wooden object they had occasion to mention. A soldier who always "angles" to buy and sell at a profit may be called "shady Robbins" or "BTO" for "big time operator."

These expressions manifest an adjustment to new phenomena and new situations. Likewise, through creating a common universe of discourse to refer to their common experiences, the fashions create a greater solidarity among the men. Often the expressions evidence a cryptic humor in accepting uncomfortable situations, or a certain satisfaction in characterizing superiors, e.g., "Commissioned KP." In all cases they build up new interests which help prevent the men of the unit from psychologically "getting into a rut."

We have noted, then, two characteristics of the soldier's language: it is unconsciously learned, and it is "dynamic." However, since the language on which we shall focus comprises the more permanent soldier expressions, the latter characteristic will be less relevant.

IV

We shall discuss the soldier's language from two perspectives: (1) in so far as it reflects his image of himself and the image of himself he wishes to portray to others and (2) in so far as it reflects his attitude toward the authoritative situation.

The image he has of himself and the image he wishes to present to others—primarily other soldiers—tend to be the same, and unless we state otherwise, we shall so assume.⁴ For certain features of personality

⁴ For a study of a given person or group in which this distinction might be relevant, the different images may be partly weighted by acute observa-

this soldier image is no different from that of civilian life—for example, in the recognition of success and cleverness. In part, however, the soldier has developed new images to which he responds and by which he judges his own actions and the actions of others. Of the new emphases in his total self-image, we select the following for further discussion: (1) the image of solidarity with other men in the Army, (2) the image of freedom from certain restraints of civilian society, and (3) the image of strength and virility.

The image of solidarity.—The soldier from the very beginning of his Army life feels there is a bond between himself and those whom Fate has placed in a similar situation.

As already observed, many a recruit, in order to picture himself as an assimilated member of the Army, deliberately adopts Army expressions. In time, however, as he becomes more accustomed to feeling that he is a soldier, he does not deliberately have to present this role of himself, and the language mirrors a more unconsciously adopted image.

The soldier feels that he belongs to groups at various Army levels and cross-sections. It may be a squad, a division, a branch, a training camp, a battle area, a zone occupied, or the entire Army itself. On all these levels and cross-sections, expressions may develop, but generally these are what we have called "fashion expressions." The expressions, besides manifesting the unique experiences of each group, both mirror and reinforce the sense of solidarity. For the study of a given group, these "fashion expressions" are most important. Our emphasis, however, is on those more habitual expressions which have become diffused throughout the Army and which manifest the image of one's self in solidarity with all other soldiers.

Most common of these expressions is

tion of "expressive behavior." Whether a given expression, for example, is said with confidence, with caution, or with "daringness" betrays in the speaker something of the function it is serving for him.

"GI," when it designates the American enlisted man.⁵ Stemming from "government issue," "GI" has become the soldier's term for himself and his fellow-soldier and, despite the implications of its derivation, is said with a sense of pride. "GI" links the men together and distinguishes them from officers, civilians, British soldiers, or any other group in question. The use of "GI" indicates that a soldier is expected to feel the bond, and claims for help are made on this basis. The driver who does not pick up a hitchhiking soldier or the cook who refuses to give a visiting soldier a meal are condemned in that it is a "dirty trick" not to help out a GI.

Another such expression, used more personally, is "Joe" or sometimes "Mac." One asks a strange soldier, for example, "What time ya got, Joe?" It is an expression with a friendly connotation, evidencing a solidarity among all soldiers. Until shown otherwise, it is expected that a fellow-soldier is one like you, with whom you can be friendly.

Also common is the term "buddy." Sometimes "buddy" refers to a close friend, sometimes just to any fellow-soldier. A soldier may speak of a buddy from his home town in the Eighty-third Division or a buddy with him in a foxhole, meaning any member of his company. "Buddy" does not necessarily refer to someone in the Army, but its use in the Army and in reference to fellow-soldiers is most common. It is ordinarily with a sense of pride that one uses the term "buddy." All these expressions indicate the soldier's self-image of belonging to an Army consisting of men like himself, who undergo experiences like himself. They indicate that he has absorbed feelings of solidarity with other American soldiers, no matter who they are or where they may be. The soldier likes this image of himself and feels a certain security within it.

Freedom from social restraint.—Soldiers have the reputation of assuming less responsibility toward society's ideals and values.

⁵ See p. 422 on the relevance of "GI" as an expression of adjustment to authority.

In the American Army the soldier often comes not only to realize this reputation but to accept it as a prerogative. Depending on a combination of numerous factors, this feeling of prerogative becomes, to a greater or lesser degree, imbedded in his mind. The expression of this self-image manifests itself in his thoughts, his behavior, and his language.

In his image of himself, then, the soldier tends to feel a freedom from civilian society's taboos and controls. This image would, in most cases, never exist in an isolated individual; it is a feature of the crowd. In a group of similarly minded men these expressions are no longer taboo; on the contrary, they are often the conventional way of speaking. In his own mind, however, the soldier is aware that he is expressing what was formerly a taboo and is thus freer from social restraint. The expression of this soldier self-image is primarily in profanity.

The expression of obscenity obviously gives the soldier certain indulgences. Violating the taboos of language gives feelings of courage and freedom; it is in itself satisfying. It seems, however, that more can be derived from the given expressions than the mere fact that the soldier obtains indulgences, for each expression manifests something of a repressed sphere. In most respects, however, this is a field of study for the psychoanalyst.

Strength and virility.—This is the most obvious image of much of his slang. In great part this language is no different in either vocabulary or principle from the language of construction crews, poolroom crowds, dock workers, and other units of men where virility is a value. Its significance in the Army derives from its quantitative increase; so many more men, of varied upbringings, constantly employ this language.

The self-image of strength is evidenced in both the manner of expression and the expressions used. That the expressions may be more clever, more picturesque, or more obscene than civilian equivalents is not relevant here; it is only relevant that to the soldier they are stronger ways of saying things and so manifest the image of a stronger self.

Most of such expressions are obscene, but some are not. Some examples of the latter are:

to be on the ball . . . to be alert, prompt, or "sharp"
 to blow one's top . . . to become angry
 to sweat out to wait anxiously for something over which one has no control
 to bitch to gripe or strongly complain
 to take off to leave
 to hit the sack to go to bed
 to be snowed under . . . to be overwhelmed with work, advice, etc.
 to shack up to spend a night, or longer period of time, with a girl

A common group of obscene expressions are carry-overs from civilian conversation. In the Army, however, they are more frequently expressed. Under this classification come the literal meanings of the tabooed four letter words. Soldiers tend to use the crude, less euphemistic terms rather than more polite substitutes.

In the Army, as in other male societies, e.g., the work gang, the sporting and gambling worlds, the college fraternity, these vulgar words for physiological functions and the sex act enjoy a greatly extended and exaggerated role. They are applied to situations and experiences of crucial importance to the person but which are apparently devoid of sexual connotation. They are merely expressive of the conception of virility, masculinity, and freedom from social restraint characteristic of an exclusively male world. As obscene terms come into such universal and seemingly indiscriminate usage, they tend to lose their original sexual significance. As casually spoken by soldiers, obscene expressions do not mean that the users actually are thinking on the sexual level; they are merely speaking the language of their social group.

Other soldier profane expressions are in part "convenience expressions" in that there are no adequate substitutes and a soldier finds it almost necessary to adopt them to explain given situations. Such, for example,

is the common obscene expression which has the meaning in some way or another to bungle a job or to make a bad choice. There are numerous occasions in the Army when such an expression is pertinent. There are a few acceptable substitutes such as "screw up" or "mess up," but these do not have the emphasis value of the obscene equivalent. Interestingly, the expression "snafu," derived from this, "Situation normal, all f—ed up," is coming into general civilian use.

The interchangeability of vulgar terms is such that they have no distinct meanings of their own. Generally the reference is negative, but it may be positive or with no emotional overtone.

V

The language of the soldier, besides being studied in its own right, may also be studied for the light it throws on other problems of sociological interest. More specifically, we shall select for discussion some of the expressions which reflect the soldier's attitude toward, and his adjustment to, authority.

The principles underlying military authority, although they are rarely explicitly expressed to the soldier, come to be vaguely apprehended and understood. The new soldier learns that, theoretically for the sake of efficiency, there is rule by impersonal hierarchy in which problems are resolved and decisions made according to rank. He learns that rank is all pervading in the Army and that even for men of equal grade there are criteria for deciding which is the superior and which the subordinate. He learns by innumerable instances his own low position in the hierarchy. The regulations of authority, he further learns, regard him impersonally and have little respect for his individuality. This is impressed upon him from the very beginning of his Army career—if not in the speeches, then in the experiences he undergoes. He is crowded into trucks with hundreds of other men. He stands in seemingly endless lines to take a physical examination, to sign his service record, to receive immunization shots, and for dozens of other

such details. He is further made to feel the impersonality and lowliness of his position when he moves into a barracks with fifty beds and finds a complete lack of privacy in the latrine. He further feels it when he is commanded to pick up cigarette butts and matches in the street. The Army's image of him does not correspond to his own image of himself. He sees himself as a person with preferences, dislikes, pride, and sensitivities; not so the Army. The soldier vaguely understands that some theory of efficiency underlies this.

There may be indulgences for the soldier in the adventure, anonymity, and irresponsibility of his new Army life, but mostly there are deprivations; and if he is to adjust, he must develop a new conception of himself which allows for his subordinate position.

That many would not be able to or cannot adjust to military service of which this authority is such an important factor is manifested in the number of men rejected and discharged for psychological reasons. The others do generally tend to develop satisfactory and more or less common conceptions of themselves which better enable them to adjust. And to characterize aspects of the authority and their relations to it, they develop and adopt new language expressions. This language reflects what he expects of the authority; it reflects an attitude toward those who do not adjust well, toward those who sacrifice their individuality to adjust, and the like. For our purpose it is not relevant how a given expression originated or in what manner it diffused; it is only relevant that it is pertinent, commonly used, and has a generally accepted significance among Army men.

We shall discuss the soldier expressions concerning authority under two headings: (1) attitude toward authority and (2) adjustment to authority.

First, the attitude toward authority. No matter what the soldier's feelings toward the Army may be, in accordance with his hazily comprehended principles of military authority, he expects to find certain rules and regu-

lations to govern his behavior. Representing these expectations, the soldier employs the adjective "GI." Having, depending on its context, numerous meanings, it signifies in this usage an expected degree of personal control. It tends to be a neutral expression signifying the adherence to the rules. An officer who is "GI" is, per se, not abusive of his position. To the authority-disliking soldier, the officer may be "too Goddamned GI"; to another soldier, he may be "GI, but a good egg."

The standard of what is GI does not remain constant. Strong discipline, acceptable in a training camp, would not be so in combat or after the end of the war when soldiers believe that discipline serves less purpose. As the situation varies, so do the expectations of the soldier and the connotations of "GI."

However, the expected authority is often exceeded. The authority perhaps demands excessively polished buttons, is unduly strict on saluting, demands clean areas in the midst of shelling, punishes too strictly for minor offenses, or in other ways attempts under the given circumstances to regulate with too much discipline or in too great detail. In this case the authority exceeds being GI, it becomes "chicken s—," sometimes abbreviated to "CS" or "chicken."

In the soldier's language, however, we find no common expression implying that the regulations of authority are good. This does not indicate that soldiers see no necessity of authority or do not find indulgences in being subordinate; it does indicate, however, that authority is not a direct positive value. In public one can only deprecate the need for the authority.

We may more indirectly learn of soldiers' attitudes to authority by observing how they view one another in relation to it. We may note, for example, how soldiers conceive of (1) those who fight authority, (2) those who readily accept authority, and (3) those who do not adjust well to the authority.

In reference to those who fight authority, we note that there is little stigma to the ex-

pression "f—— off" applied to their acts, such as when a man gets away with something against the Army by evading a detail of hauling beds or a talk on military courtesy, or in some other way avoids an Army requirement. Such action is considered legitimate and is generally spoken of with pride.

In reference to those soldiers who readily accept authority, we note a strong stigma. It is considered that such a soldier is disloyal to his friends and is sacrificing his individuality and self-dignity. We find these attitudes implied in "asslicker" or, with a more limited meaning, "bucker." The term "asslicker" is applied to a man who readily adopts and acts the role of the subordinate, in order that he may be more highly thought of by his superiors and be given special consideration, or else through mere weakness of character. "Bucking" always connotes trying to get ahead.

That these terms sometimes imply individual weakness is seen in their application to the superior who too obviously carries the good will of subordinates. Even though there are numerous "asslickers" and "buckers" in the Army and even though they be unconsciously envied for those characteristics which enable many to be successful, it is still of pertinence that this is not an ideal. To be a buckler is a condemnation. One is hurt and annoyed to be considered such by his fellow-soldiers.

Thirdly, we learn of soldier attitudes to authority by noting the sympathy for those who are not successful in adjusting but are "f——ed up." A soldier is often not proud of being so labeled, for it may connote inability or inefficiency. But he is not stigmatized, rather he is viewed sympathetically.

Expressions implying such sympathy are "8-ball" and "sad sack," the latter being more common. A "sad sack," derived originally from "sad sack of s——," and popularized as the cartoon character in *Yank*, is the lowest soldier in the Army hierarchy. He symbolizes the civilian who is completely lost in the Army, gets bad breaks, and makes only pathetic adjustments. He is only a cartoon, but there are often unique personal-

ities in the Army, perhaps very fat or with other distinctive physical features, who do approach the ideal. Such people are viewed sympathetically. In part this may be due to feelings of superiority when a sad sack is present, but in part also it seems a sympathy for the person who cannot make the grade in his struggle with authority.

As expressed in the language, then, the attitude toward authority is negative. It is accepted but considered as something of a necessary evil. But most soldiers, no matter how they feel toward the authority, accept it and adjust more or less satisfactorily to it. What can we learn of his adjustment from his expressions?

We have already noted in the adjective "GI" that there is a certain acceptance of authority and of the soldier's position within it. We find acceptance also in the expression "sweating it out." "Sweating it out," like "GI," connotes nothing positive or negative; it again indicates the acceptance of an overhead control toward which the soldier himself is powerless.

There are certain obscene expressions which manifest an acceptance of one's position in the hierarchy with more negative connotations. Such, for example, are the obscene expressions, "to be s—— on," or to "take s—— from someone." They often imply an injustice against which the soldier, because of his subordinate position, can do nothing; they express a rather bitter acceptance.

Under this general heading also are the expressions "to have one's ass chewed" or "to have one's ass reamed," referring to reprimands by superiors. These, however, do not per se have such a bitter connotation, and the soldier often feels that he deserves the reprimand.

Some obscene expressions indicate adjustment with serious, reluctant acceptance of one's subordinate role. There are other expressions, however, which indicate a realization of one's position and a smiling resignation toward it. The soldier views his position in the hierarchy, accepts, and even laughs at it.

One such expression is "TS" or "tough s——." For example, a soldier is told that he deserves a promotion but that his officer is not authorized to recommend him; or he is on temporary duty and cannot or will not thereby be placed on a furlough list. There are innumerable such occasions in the Army when the soldier is told that nothing can be done to help him in his given situation. This in the Army is "TS," resigned acceptance, said with a bitter smile. It is an accepted resignation to an unhappy situation in which the soldier is powerless but at which nevertheless he may smile.

There are other expressions which better illustrate this conception in which one recognizes one's position and smiles or jokes at it. Examples, such as "GI," and "snafu," are actually caricatures of the Army's authority and of one's own position within the authority.

A soldier is a "GI," a "government issue," a standardized Army article like a pair of socks, a cake of soap, or a vehicle. As an adjective in this context, "GI" refers to the Army method of doing things, such as learning to fire or setting up tents—a method standardized and routinized. Obviously, the soldier does not see himself in this image; he has merely caricatured this image of how the Army authority views him. That he takes a certain pride in this characterization of himself, however, implies that he tends to accept readily the role of the "government issue," and he assumes with it some of the anonymity and irresponsibility which the term connotes.

Another such caricature expression is "dog tags," used to indicate the identification tags a soldier wears around his neck. This, too, caricatures the Army's conception

of him—he is the animal who does not think and has need of a tender.

When a soldier has to urinate at night or when a convoy stops for a "break" on the road, the soldier designation is "piss call." The new soldier is very soon made aware of the Army routine. He learns not only of reveille, retreat, and taps, but also of mess call, church call, drill call, pay call, school call, and sick call. So the soldier extends this Army routine over his personal life a little further and speaks of "piss call."

"Snafu" is a caricature of Army direction. The soldier resignedly accepts his own less responsible position and expresses his cynicism at the inefficiency of Army authority.

The caricaturing of both the Army and himself evidences an adjustment in which the soldier accepts his subordinate position in his own mind but does not completely adopt the subordinate role. It bespeaks a satisfactory adjustment; a completely subjugated or a sensitive, brooding group of soldiers would hardly adopt such caricatures.

From this discussion of expressions manifesting attitudes and adjustment to Army authority, we can derive no profound conclusions. We can only generalize that (1) authority is accepted as essential, (2) authority, per se, has a negative value, (3) the soldier adjusts to authority with varying degrees of bitterness, resignation, and caricaturing acceptance.

These are not of themselves very illuminating; but from the unique expressions we do obtain a certain understanding of the types and variations of the soldier's adjustments.

ATLANTIC CITY

AGGRESSIVENESS AND MILITARY TRAINING

ROBERT A. CLARK, M.D.

ABSTRACT

The conflict over the expression of aggressiveness in wartime America is described. Five ex-soldiers are presented as examples of men who adjusted poorly in training camps for that reason. Although their psychiatric histories and the results of psychological studies show great variability in apparent aggressiveness, nevertheless, all the examples had strong evidence of inhibitions, frustration, and conflict both in regard to aggressiveness itself and psychosexual adjustment. They demonstrate the need for conscious cultural direction with the co-operative advice of sociologists, anthropologists, and psychiatrists.

"Cultures have patterned aggression in many different ways. The degree to which one individual will fight, attempt to dominate or destroy persons or objects which interfere with his attainment of a goal, is of very great concern in human societies." So says a leading American anthropologist.¹ Individual differences in aggressiveness are presumably largely due to environmental influences arising both from the general culture of the civilization in which the person lives and from personal experiences peculiar to his family or neighborhood. These influences select and develop the capacities for aggressiveness and submissiveness which are latent.²

In time of peace, great latitude in aggressiveness is permitted. In times of war, among those men taken into the armed forces this latitude becomes much less. Some men who are aware that they are less aggressive than others or who have a conscious conflict in their personalities concerning aggression and submission may try to get into noncombat service or to obtain recognition as conscientious objectors. Others, unaware of their own emotional contradictions, and spurred on by identification with ideals of patriotism and conventional stereotypes of masculine behavior,

may enlist for combat duty and precipitate themselves into situations causing serious inner conflict. They may realize their dilemma too late and find their only escape in psychosis or psychoneurosis. Their families and friends, and the officers of the armed services themselves, may have little sympathy with their difficulties, since they customarily hold to the conventional view that it is the duty of all young men in wartime to be "heroes" and not hesitate to kill or risk being killed when called upon.

This is a field of thought and investigation which has received very little attention, in spite of the fact that thousands of young men have undoubtedly been involved in just such problems during these wartime years. This neglect is perhaps an index of, or even a professional lack of, insight into the situation. The case histories described in the present paper and the comments upon them are intended primarily to call attention to the problem. Each of these ex-soldiers may be considered as a type of a much larger group of men with similar difficulties concerning aggressiveness and with similar maladjustments developing during military training.

One or two related studies have previously appeared. Elizabeth Rosenberg comments that "it would be surprising if the inevitable release of aggressive impulses in active warfare failed to produce more or less pathological reactions of anxiety and guilt."³

¹ Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York: Wm. Morrow, 1943), p. 139.

² Constitutional factors may also be important. See H. M. Halverson, "Infant Sucking and Tensional Behavior," *Journal of General Psychology*, LIII (1938), 365; Dorothy P. Marquis, "A Study of Frustration in New Born Infants," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XXXII (1943), 123.

³ "A Clinical Contribution to the Psychopathology of the War Neuroses," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XXIV (1943), 32.

She describes a twenty-six-year-old sergeant in the British Army who found bayonet and rifle fighting during the retreat to Dunkirk to be enjoyable. Later proneness to fatigue, loss of self-confidence, and diarrhea developed, accompanied by guilt over enjoying fighting and conscious dislike of war. Rosenberg believes that the sergeant's earlier career as a professional soldier gave gratification to unconscious homosexual impulses, his breakdown coming only after battle experience had revealed to him the sadism and aggression underlying his previous adjustment. This interpretation points to a possible theoretical relationship between sexual impulses and the expression of aggression. In a paper concerning a group of paratroopers who developed psychoneuroses Joseph C. Kepecs⁴ also correlates their reactions with their psychosexual development, in relation to the expression of aggression. That these men elected to serve in the parachute troops he supposes may be because falling gratified suicidal impulses or "passive masochistic desires." Thematic Apperception Tests suggested the frequent occurrence of hostility toward parents or the environment generally, demonstrating resentment against a world which had ceased to be friendly.

CASE STUDIES

From the fifty-three ex-soldiers who have been patients at the Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the last two years, five have been selected who illustrate especially well the problems of the soldier in training in relation to the expression of aggression. They have been studied both psychiatrically and psychologically in a special collaborative program on ex-military patients after the manner described by S. Rosenzweig and R. A. Clark.⁵ In intelligence the patients ranged from average to

superior on the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale. For the purposes of the present inquiry the psychiatric approval has been supplemented by results from the Picture-Frustration Study (P-F Study), the Rorschach Test, and the Thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.).⁶

EXAMPLE I

Psychiatric history.—This man was a thirty-three-year-old single laborer, of Irish Catholic descent, born in a small town in northwestern Pennsylvania. His father, a machinist, was inclined toward pacifism. His mother died in 1918, and the patient and his four brothers and sisters were brought up by a paternal aunt. There has been no mental or nervous illness among the near relatives.

The patient's birth was normal; but at the age of five he had an illness of unknown origin, causing a paralysis of one arm and one leg.

⁶ These tests were carried out by the psychology department of the Institute, under the direction of Saul Rosenzweig. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Rosenzweig and his staff.

The Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study is a limited projective technique for assessing the individual's characteristic modes of reaction in everyday situations of stress. The test material consists of twenty-four cartoon-like drawings each of which represents an everyday situation of frustration. Two individuals are always involved, one of them usually frustrating the other. Facial expressions and features are purposely not sketched. The frustrating person is shown saying certain words which either help to describe the frustrating situation in which the other person finds himself or which of themselves actually frustrate him. The subject is asked to look at the pictures one at a time, read the statement given for the articulate character, and then write down the very first reply which comes to his mind as appropriate for the other character. The responses given by the subject are scored as to the manner in which aggression is handled: turned outward on the frustrating person or some other aspect of the situation (extrapunitive); turned upon the subject himself in the form of guilt or remorse (intropunitive); or evaded altogether by attempts to gloss over the situation without blaming anyone or anything (impunitive). The aggression scores are totaled. Identification of the subject with the frustrated character in each pictorial situation is assumed to have occurred. Percentages of total intropunitive, extrapunitive, and impunitive responses are construed to indicate the degree to which the subject employs these modes of reaction in his everyday behavior.

⁴ "Neurotic Reactions in Parachutists," *Psychoanalytical Quarterly*, XIII (1944), 273.

⁵ "The Personality of a Psychotic Ex-soldier," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XL (1945), 195.

These extremities gradually recovered, his entrance to school being delayed only one year. Although a good student, he left school at sixteen, only two weeks before graduating from high school, because, it is said, he thought a biology drawing was not good enough to hand in to his teacher.

During the economic depression he worked sporadically at odd laboring jobs, displaying little ambition. Although he had friends of both sexes and liked to dance, he was considered reserved and quiet. He spent much of his time reading Kant, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche and described himself as an atheist. Joining the Socialist Labor party, he became a pacifist. In 1939 he fell out with his friends in the Socialist Labor party because he had helped another friend organize a labor union. For a few months in 1942 he held a job in a war plant.

In April, 1942, after appeals to be classified as a conscientious objector had been rejected, he was inducted into the U.S. Army. At first he tried to adapt himself, hoping to get into a non-combatant unit, but he was quite unhappy. In July he wrote home asserting he would rather kill himself than be sent overseas. Shortly thereafter he was admitted to an army station hospital and in October was sent home, following medical discharge. On arriving home, he was restless and preoccupied. In a few weeks he began to express the delusions that the whole family was surrounded by a ring of Irish people fighting each other, that they were doomed and could be saved only by his committing suicide. He believed himself a carrier of typhoid fever and meningitis, who had infected the whole community.

On December 2, 1942, he was admitted to the Warren State Hospital. There he spoke of being torn between the Catholic church and materialism or nazism. He was quiet, oriented, but circumstantial, and at times smiled inappropriately. A diagnosis of dementia praecox, paranoid type, was made. On June 5, 1944, he was transferred to the Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic much improved but still evasive and smiling inappropriately. His only statement indicating delusions was that he was under magnetic influence. Once he attempted to escape by running to a near-by armory, "to ask the commanding officer about getting back into the army." He was discharged to a Veteran's Facility on September 19, 1944.

Psychological tests.—A man with at least bright normal intelligence, he was far more in-

clined than the average, according to the P-F Study, to respond extrapunitive. Agreement with group patterns of aggressive behavior was extremely low. There was evidence of a good deal of conflict over the expression of aggression and of a marked tendency toward ego-defense. The aggressive trends were strong and impulsive, with difficulty in controlling his emotions (as indicated in the Rorschach Test), which may have resulted in feelings of inferiority and compensatory fantasy life. The T.A.T. indicated immature psychosexual development with a passive attitude toward women and concern regarding impotence. These patterns may be correlated with his sense of inferiority and underlying insecurity and with recurring thoughts of punishment. Unfulfilled aspirations seemed to have accentuated the inferiority feelings and further to have fed his fantasy. He appeared fearful of expressing his true feelings and was not using his intelligence to its capacity. He was excessively concerned about his health, perhaps as a cloak for his inferiority feelings.

Interpretation.—This man consciously avoided all association with war, perhaps through unrealized fear of his inability to control his impulsiveness. Although an avowed conscientious objector, he belonged to a minority political group rebellious against anything remotely approaching majority opinion. His pacificism, though encouraged by his father, was not a trait of his religious cultural milieu, as it would have been if he had belonged, for example, to the Quakers or Mennonites. In his psychosis it is therefore not surprising that he felt the Irish families in his home town to be against his family. For many years he had felt himself relatively isolated from his fellow-men. In the army this isolation must have been nearly complete, until he finally could bear up under it no longer. Obviously, he should never have been inducted.

EXAMPLE 2

Psychiatric history.—This salesman and ex-soldier was born in a small city in Pennsylvania in 1911. Both parents were very religious Methodists. The father, an insurance salesman, died in 1934. The mother, still living, was very dependent on the father and had suffered for many years from numerous functional complaints. He

had a brother, two years older, who was a patient at Warren State Hospital on three occasions, beginning in 1940, and who finally died there on June 27, 1943, while in a catatonic excitement.

The early development of this patient was not unusual, except in so far as his mother dominated him and he became dependent upon her. As a boy, he wanted to be a doctor and began to read whatever medical books he could obtain. Later he wanted to be a minister, having heard an "inner voice" so advise him at sixteen. After finishing the third year of high school, he first went to work for his father, then entered a fundamentalist theological seminary. Meanwhile he had promiscuous relations with women and contracted syphilis. He received treatment before and during his seminary career and was pronounced cured. He left the seminary in 1934 because of lack of money after his father's death. There was no overt conflict between his promiscuity and his ambitions to be a minister, because he looked upon the ministry as a business and because he had found he could have religious "experience" or "feeling" without continence. Married in 1935, he first sold paint and polish and later worked in a steel mill, but he was often absent because of hypochondriacal complaints. His wife left him in 1938 because of nonsupport and conflicts with the patient's mother. A son was born in December, 1938. Since the patient contributed little or nothing to their support, the wife notified his draft board, and he was classified 1-A. In December, 1942, he was consequently inducted, so that his wife and child received an allotment. He has had sex relations with other women since the separation.

In the army he frequently reported to sick call with minor complaints. He did not get on well with the other soldiers, accusing them of stealing from him and boasting of his large income before induction. He asked for noncombatant service because, he said, his "whole nature is against killing people." He was given a medical discharge on June 10, 1943, with a diagnosis of dementia praecox, simple type, and transferred to Warren State Hospital. There his blood serology was negative. He was not unduly disturbed by his brother's death.

On October 6, 1943, he was transferred to the Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic. While here he had no hallucinations or delusions but frequently complained of headaches and tiredness. The spinal fluid was normal. When

not incapacitated by his complaints, he worked in the kitchen.

He was released, on indefinite visit, to the care of his mother on June 15, 1944. The prognosis was not considered good in view of his dependent, poorly organized personality; but it was felt that he might adapt himself in a passable manner under his mother's supervision.

Psychological tests.—This patient's intelligence was average, but he appeared to be capable of more if unhindered by emotional interference. According to the P-F Study, he turned his aggressive tendencies against himself, i.e., the introjective score was elevated. It appeared from the T.A.T. that he had many feelings of inadequacy and inferiority, was submissive to older people, and felt dependent on dominant women. There was repression of heterosexual material, as indicated by the T.A.T. and unusually frank mention of homosexuality. Religion was portrayed as a means of help, although he was uncertain of the future. The Rorschach suggested hypochondriacal trends and clearly indicated that the intellectual capacities were constricted and that personality organization was poor.

Interpretation.—In contrast to the first example, this patient was fundamentally passive and dependent, taking refuge in complete egotism rather than struggling to identify with small minority groups. Dependent upon his mother, herself a dependent person, he took over her hypochondriacal attitude. Though verbally following her religious teaching, with characteristically poor psychological integration he indulged his crude sexual impulses without shame, offering only the most superficial rationalization in return. This pattern remained consistent in his married life and during his army service. Getting into the army through his wife's action, he passively accepted his induction. Just as passively he slid out of his responsibilities, first using his old hypochondriacal pattern and then bringing relatively insincere conscientious scruples against killing. At no time did he have an acute psychotic reaction.

EXAMPLE 3

Somewhat better adjusted before enlistment, the third patient did not mention his

objection to fighting (so far as is known) until after his psychosis began.

Psychiatric history.—A thirty-four-year-old single male, of mixed English and Irish descent and a Roman Catholic, this man was born in 1910 in a small town in Ohio. The father, a pottery worker, was a reliable, sociable, and sober man, who died in 1934. His mother, a housekeeper, was living and well but was inclined to drink too much. There were two older sisters and three older brothers, all married and well. No other examples of nervous or mental diseases were reported in the family.

His early development was not remarkable. He completed the ninth grade, but, not caring for school, he was often truant. He went to work in a printing shop and continued this work intermittently until his enlistment. He was not ambitious, in his spare time being content to sit talking and drinking wine with his friends or to read newspapers and magazines. Always quiet, he preferred reading to company. He had little interest in moving pictures, was not athletic, never traveled, and had no hobbies. Although he enjoyed dancing, he had no steady girl friend. According to his mother, one girl who liked him called him up and wrote to him but he paid little attention to her. He claims that the sex relations he had, mostly with prostitutes, did not give him much "kick." He had neither homosexual contacts nor venereal diseases.

On December 16, 1940, the patient volunteered for service in the U.S. Army. He did not wait to be inducted, because he wished to choose his own branch of "defensive" service. At first there was no complaint from his instructors in the Engineer School Provisional Battalion, where he was working in the printing shop. However, on January 28, 1941, he came to the orderly room demanding to see the major. He said he was a conscientious objector and wanted to transfer to the infantry. He thought spies had been posted to watch him when on K.P. over the week-end. After a few days in the station hospital, he seemed quieter and was returned to duty. On February 17 he was again admitted to the station hospital, stating that, since discontinuing sex relations three years before from fear of syphilis, he had striven toward "intellectual intercourse." He expressed the fear that his friends would think him a pervert because after paying a prostitute he did not have intercourse with her. He wanted to be a man, but he wished to avoid hurting his mother, to whom he felt himself very close. He was afraid

that when he had spoken in one of his letters of being a "tower of strength" he would be misunderstood. His mail, he thought, was being read. He believed he had a mission to obtain for Negroes the right not to have to do menial work. On June 14 he was given a medical discharge and sent home.

There he stayed in most of the time and frequently laughed to himself and slapped his knee with his right hand. Although untidy about his appearance, he took showers so often that the water had to be shut off. Gradually, as he became more and more preoccupied, he talked to himself and was suspicious of everyone.

On February 17, 1942, he was admitted to the Torrance State Hospital, where he was quiet and co-operative, but asocial and preoccupied. He claimed to have been commissioned by the Virgin Mary to travel throughout the world and report conditions to her. He conversed continually with the Virgin by means of a generator ray, which, he believed, made him irritable and weak. He said he was able to have sexual intercourse by air or telephoto. Realizing he had been mentally sick, he attributed his illness to poisoning. Not liking army life, he said he could not adapt himself to it. He now thought himself to be well. Electroshock treatment produced no improvement. A diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia was made.

He was transferred to the Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic on September 3, 1943. Here he continually sat with his arms and legs folded as if trying to take the smallest possible space, and he walked close to the walls of the corridors. He replied to questions politely, in a pompous, vaguely evasive manner. His florid delusions were no longer evident. He admitted only that he felt a warm ray continually playing on his back, which he believed was put there by the doctors in order to help him. He ate poorly. He was indifferent to his present condition and to his future.

Psychological tests.—Of at least average intelligence, this patient, like the preceding one, was functioning inefficiently, though on a different basis. The Rorschach showed his thinking to be disorganized and affectivity repressed. Contact with reality was impaired, but there were indications that a complete schizophrenic breakdown was being resisted. From the T.A.T. stories he appeared to be ambitious but thwarted by self-consciousness and self-criticism. Anxiety, discouragement, and submission were frequently expressed; and he reacted to

trouble by withdrawal, guilt, self-blame, or possibly threats of suicide. His mother was referred to as domineering; his father and himself, as weak. Sexual problems were evident. Insight was good. On the P-F Study he gave a remarkably normal picture.

Interpretation.—Before his illness the patient was a quiet small-town youth, having, on the surface, little ambition, being content with his male friends, his drinking, and reading. His work habits and sexual adjustment were poor. An apparent eagerness for military service perhaps masked a desire to avoid difficulty and new responsibilities. At the very onset of his illness a claim of conscientious objection was coupled with thoughts of sexual inadequacy and preoccupation with his relationship to his mother. Later his delusions were fantastically compensatory for his previous feelings of inadequacy and poorly expressed ambitiousness.

EXAMPLE 4

Lack of aggressiveness remained largely repressed in the following patient but appeared in the form of psychoneurotic symptoms.

Psychiatric history.—This twenty-eight-year-old patient is a high-school graduate. He was inducted in January, 1943. Soon after basic training he was assigned to a tank-destroyer division. All experiences with guns, from the smallest to the largest, frightened him increasingly. The noise and the shaking of the ground at the detonation were more than he could stand. When, one day during maneuvers, he fell into a hole in the ground and arose with a pain in his side, he paid close attention to his injury, though it did not immediately disable him. On observing his urine he found what he thought were specks of blood. After various unsuccessful treatments the patient was discharged from the armed forces.

Since his separation from military service it has become plain that the psychological factors are more important than the physical ones in the understanding of his problem. The most obvious symptoms he has are headaches, insomnia, dizziness, and general feelings of confusion and restlessness. Probing deeper, one quickly discovers that his alleged kidney trouble has stimulated endless thoughts about sexual impo-

tence. Taking his cue from a chance remark made by one of the physicians who examined him at the Veteran's Facility, the patient is concerned as to whether he may be sterile. He requested medical advice at the Mental Hygiene Clinic of the Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic as to a possible operation to correct his low-hanging testicles. He is more than usually aware of the homosexual activities he reports having observed in the army and the effeminate men masquerading as women that he now encounters on the street. He says of such experiences that they turn his stomach. Moreover, since discharge from the army he has taken precautions, not on any medical recommendation but on his own advice, to refrain from heterosexual intercourse. Previously, he did not have such extreme scruples. He feels that sexual activity now may interfere unfavorably with his alleged kidney disease.

Closely related to these emotional implications of the physical injury that occasioned discharge from the army is his attitude toward his present civilian status. He is not sorry to be out of the army. In fact, he explains that, if it were necessary, he would cut off one of his toes to avoid reinduction. Nevertheless, as he meets the young wives in his neighborhood who have lost their husbands to the army he feels guilty. They seem to him to be thinking that if he had remained in the army—and other men like him—their husbands would not have had to go.

An examination of the patient's family background and pre-military history suggests some of the factors that could have prepared the way for his present reaction. He is one of eight brothers—next to the youngest. He has never had any sisters. The brother older than himself, on whom he might well have leaned in adolescence (especially after the death of the father), is himself emotionally unstable and was rejected at induction for this reason. On the other hand, the brother younger than the patient is serving overseas in the Army Air Corps and is, therefore, apparently well adjusted. This fact could serve the more to accentuate the patient's own inadequacy. The father died ten years ago of a kidney illness.

Psychological tests.—This patient tested at the level of dull normal intelligence, distinctly below his optimal efficiency. Rigidity and inflexibility were suggested in the Rorschach, with strong anxieties and compulsive elements and with deep personality disorganization. In the P-F Study, he showed marked intro-puni-

tiveness. From the T.A.T. he appeared to be indecisive and insecure about major life problems and extremely lacking in self-confidence. He expressed helplessness and dependence, expecting others to make decisions for him. Toward women he adopted a passive role. He expressed fear of being accused of some crime, and he accepted punishment meekly but with mingled perplexity and feelings of guilt.

Interpretation.—This young man felt himself to be patriotic but, half-realizing his unsuitability for a tank-destroyer unit, unconsciously exploited his neurotic trends to secure his discharge. His conscience would not let him rest, however, so that conversion symptoms and anxiety continued after his release, together with conscious desires to do his bit in a war factory. His failure in the army, like that of the second patient, was one incident in a deeper and longer-lasting personality disturbance.

EXAMPLE 5

The last patient belongs to those with "overly positive" motivation, as described by Rosenzweig.⁷

Psychiatric history.—This patient is a twenty-four-year-old single man, born in a coal-mining town in Pennsylvania. He had an older sister and four younger brothers, one of the latter being in the marines, another in the navy. When he was ten years old, his father became mentally ill and was admitted to a hospital. His mother, from worry about her husband, the children, and money, also developed mental symptoms and was shortly afterward admitted to the same institution. The father died there a few months later, while the mother recovered and was soon released. During this period and afterward the family had little money. The patient hitch-hiked to Florida when he was eleven, to look for work, but soon returned. During boyhood he fractured his right forearm three times.

At sixteen, while staying with his sister and brother-in-law, he had a "nervous breakdown" which lasted two weeks, during which he was depressed and slept poorly. The attack was said to have been preceded by a period of frequent

staying up late in order to read and by a feeling of shame due to his poor clothes and ridicule by the mother of a girl friend. He went to the Greek Catholic church and sang in the choir. He was a good student and finished three years of high school at seventeen. The same year he went to a C.C.C. camp, but left after three weeks because the other boys teased him. The following year he tried unsuccessfully to enlist in the navy. Soon after he was accepted into the army. He hoped the services would be "mind-builders" for him, because he worried so much and had trouble concentrating. Sent to Hawaii in June, 1937, he developed mental symptoms through worry over his new responsibilities when about to be promoted to sergeant. When he was admitted to an army hospital in September, he heard voices calling him a homosexual, and he was preoccupied with alleged sexual relations both with his mother and, when he was six years old, with a girl the same age as himself. He was often stuporous and once attempted suicide by hanging. In 1938 he was transferred to the Torrance State Hospital in Pennsylvania, where he responded well to insulin and metrazol treatments and was released in October.

He studied journalism at Pennsylvania State College in 1939, and during 1940 he had various odd jobs with the N.Y.A. and in restaurants and hotels. He liked to dance, played musical instruments, painted landscapes, and went to moving pictures. He had high ethical and religious standards, prayed morning and night, and abstained from sex relations.

In July, 1941, he was rejected by the Air Corps; so he enlisted in the regular army, applying at once for service in the parachute troops. In December he was noted to be quieter and seemed worried. Later in the month he sprained an ankle in a parachute jump. The next time he tried he could not jump. After three days of drinking, he was admitted to the station hospital with mental symptoms. He was self-deprecatory, afraid of dying, fearful that the water was poisoned, and had homosexual ideas of reference. Later, while at the Torrance State hospital, he became stuporous and incontinent. Transferred to the Western State Psychiatric Institute and Clinic in June, 1943, he responded well to electroshock treatments and was released in December. He went to work in a large factory, and in the course of his duties his right leg was fractured by a piece of steel falling on it. In September he returned to work and has been doing well. He is greatly concerned about the

⁷ "Emotional Implications of Military Rejection and Discharge," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, Suppl. XIX (1945), 1.

possibility of passing his mental instability on to his children.

Psychological tests.—The tests were given shortly after completion of electroshock treatments. His intelligence was average, with some loss of efficiency. On the P-F Study he had a high extrapunitive score, though not so high as that of the first patient. He was, however, in good agreement with group patterns of aggressive behavior. On the Rorschach he was introverted, intellectual control tending to dominate affectivity. He was in good contact with reality and fairly well integrated, if somewhat immature in his reliance on fantasy. The T.A.T., however, revealed feelings of inferiority and need for approval from the mother-figure in her comparison of him with his brothers. Preoccupation with suicide on the basis of guilt appeared. Injury to the legs seemed to represent an expression of sexual anxiety. General confusion regarding heterosexual adjustment was indicated, particularly in his confusion of the mother-figure with those of accessible sexual partners. A drive toward heroism may be correlated with a need to prove his manhood. Aggression is a problem: on the one hand, a need for self-punishment is expressed in suicidal fantasies; on the other hand, the threat of self-punishment obtains attention and affection for him from the mother and others.

Interpretation.—This man could be called a "negative malingerer," inasmuch as he concealed his past history of mental illness in order to get back into the army. Uncertain of his own masculine adequacy, as compared to the standards of his cultural milieu, he twice overreached himself, each time with disastrous results. As in the third case, his delusions were crudely compensatory and religious in tone. At no time, however, did he deny his capacity for aggression. Instead he projected his inadequacy as aggression directed toward him by others. Sexual preoccupations were also evident in terms of homosexual aggression. He was also self-depreciatory, illustrating typical ambivalence. Hereditary instability is strong, but psychodynamic factors are also important. The remarks of Kepecs⁸ concerning other paratroopers may very well suit this man.

COMMENT

In this illustrative group there is a progression from the first patient, a conscious pacifist, anxious to evade military service, to the fifth patient, an ardent patriot who volunteered for the most risky type of military service. When these two men are studied closely, it is found that, far from being extremes in their personalities, they are much alike. The group could therefore be better represented as distributed about a circle than in a straight line. The responses to the Picture-Frustration Study show this most clearly, the first and fifth patients displaying excessive externalized aggression, while, of the remaining ones, two tend to blame themselves (the fourth much more than the second). The responses of the third compare well with those of normals.

Their psychiatric histories and the results of the other projection tests, despite the variability of the psychiatric disorders, agree in the demonstration of strong evidences of inhibition, frustration, and conflict, not only in the expression of aggressiveness but also in the sexual sphere. Certainly agreement can be expressed with Margaret Mead's impression of conflicting American traditions regarding aggressiveness.⁹ We find one influenced by a pacifist father; another by a dependent hypochondriacal mother; a third who never fired a gun before induction. Complete acceptance of the American mode of individual competitive enterprise did not occur in all the subjects, two being notably lacking in ambition, another vaguely ambitious but sadly failing in accomplishment. The paratrooper was ambitious enough—in fact, too much so for his own capacities, and consequently much frustrated. The avowed conscientious objector was, as a member of the Socialist Labor party, in revolt against the prevailing economic system. One of the consciously unambitious, by displaying grandiose delusions in his psychosis, he perhaps revealed that he had unconscious ambitions of which his delusions were compensatory expressions. His

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

volunteering for defensive service before his illness and his statement at its onset that he was a conscientious objector may represent evidence of reluctance toward overt expression of aggressiveness.

The Rorschach and Thematic Apperception studies revealed in these five men many trends confirmatory of their histories and going beyond them. Problems in emotional control are brought out again and again: unfulfilled aspirations, feelings of inferiority, compensatory fantasy, submission to and dependence on the opinions and approval of older, often domineering, people; feelings of guilt; and, on occasion, suicidal trends. The quiet and co-operative hebephrenic, whose Picture-Frustration Study is normal, shows deeply thwarted ambition, anxiety and discouragement, and identification with a weak father-figure.

In general accord with Rosenberg and Kepecs, many signs of sexual maladjustment are found in these patients. Their histories show lack of overt sexual interests; or promiscuity, with subsequent marital maladjustment; or recourse to prostitutes; or exaggerated fear of venereal infection. Only one was married, and this marriage was unsuccessful. The patriotic paratrooper, in accordance with his devout religious faith, had high conscious sexual ideals, while in his psychosis homosexual ideas of reference appeared. In the personality tests a passive attitude toward dominant women is usual, despite the varied histories previous to the onset of their illness. However, hostility toward the parent-figures, which Kepecs found, was not observed in this group.

The question arises whether it is possible to modify the prevailing attitudes of American culture toward the expression of aggressiveness in such a way that adaptation to a narrow range of molds will not be expected and so that severe conflicts and consequent breakdowns will be minimized. Nazi Germany tried to shape all its men in a mold of militaristic aggressiveness by killing, driving out, or intimidating its peaceful citizens and training its youth to aggressiveness in-

hibited only by obedience to the state, with numerous opportunities for its display against minorities within and enemies without. America, with her avowed ideals of individual liberty, tolerance, and international peacefulness, must choose a different course. Recognition should be given to individual variability, whether constitutional or cultural in origin. In the war just ended, official recognition was made of the claims of religious conscientious objectors; but no provision was legally made for those who suspected their own incapacity (on other grounds) for aggressiveness, nor was any concerted attempt made to discover those who seemed on the surface to be aggressive but actually suffered severe conflicts underneath. Of the last two groups, attempts by the authorities to force the former into the military mold and efforts among the latter to force themselves into it resulted only in maladjustment and mental disease. Allowing those branches of the services with greater danger and opportunities for fighting to be open to volunteers gave some leeway for those consciously more aggressive but only offered temptation to those denying their conflicts and wishing to prove themselves.

Too often, military and selective service regulations seem to be drawn up on the presupposition that the young man's main interest is to avoid service. The prevalence of negative malingering would argue against such a premise. Unless a call to arms be for an extremely unpopular cause, no great reluctance for service can be expected. Consequently, rules may be relaxed and exceptions made without loss of morale. In fact, better morale may be encouraged, because the gap between peacetime and wartime customs will be lessened and faith in the good will of official authorities increased. Claims by conscientious objectors on other than religious grounds may therefore be allowed, with only the usual alertness for sincerity and honesty of those claims.

In the armed forces, opportunities for noncombatant service (which may still be dangerous) in the medical or supply corps or elsewhere should be made open to volunteers

as well, or deliberate assignment made where, in the estimation of officers in charge of basic training, reluctance for the expression of aggressiveness is evident. Since neither psychiatric histories nor projective psychological studies on every soldier are practicable, general policies will have to be made on the basis of selected series, and results—favorable or unfavorable—watched for. Rule-of-thumb methods may therefore be, to some extent, replaced by more predictable ones. A watch might be especially kept among those volunteering for more dangerous service—perhaps by a more searching interview before acceptance—for men overreaching themselves in compensation. Rapid or group Rorschach tests might be of value here.

Since the war has now come to an end, we may hope that the suggestions just made for the armed forces will still be of academic value. Yet, in peacetime there will continue to be conflicts in the minds of men about their approach to the stereotypes of masculine aggressiveness. Most of our patients were maladjusted before the war, army service merely bringing to a crisis personality disorganization already present for years. A well-rounded mental-hygiene program should have as one of its aims the enlightening of physicians, social workers, teachers, and others with an educative role, in the variability of individual capacities for aggressiveness. Through them individuals might gain more insight into their own attitudes of dominance and submissiveness, into their tendencies to express and repress aggressiveness, into their compensatory trends, and into their limitations with regard to ambitious competition. They may also be

helped to free themselves from dependence and to choose goals more adapted to their capabilities and needs and companions more suited to their temperaments.

In this country—or, for that matter, in any country—the culture pattern is taken for granted by those in authority who might be in a position to change it. Changes do take place (it seems, with increasing rapidity), but only unconsciously and haphazardly. The conception of the deliberate direction of individual development is one which psychologists and educators are gradually transmitting to the rest of our society. Awareness of the possibility of directing cultural change is just dawning. Since the problem of cultural values is a knotty one, especially in a civilization of such varied origins as ours, the first aim should presumably be enlightenment. Individuals and groups will then be better able to work out their differences in a democratic way. A future problem for sociologists, cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and psychiatrists will be the devising in a co-operative manner of techniques for directing or predicting cultural change, which will reduce to a minimum the overt expression of violence and at the same time allow latitude for individual expression. Both information and techniques may be made available for study to legislators, administrators, executives, and others who may be interested. Conscious cultural development with respect to our attitudes toward, and expressions of, aggressiveness may then parallel the development of individual insight.

WESTERN STATE PSYCHIATRIC
INSTITUTE AND CLINIC
PITTSBURGH

THE SENTIMENTS OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS ABROAD TOWARD EUROPEANS

DANIEL GLASER

ABSTRACT

The American soldier's sentiments to the cultures he meets with in Europe are colored by his own background and the type of contact he has with individual foreigners. His introduction to the new folkways and mores is always affected by the abnormal living conditions and mentality occasioned by war. Because the relations between American, French, and British occupation troops are competitive, they are often less amicable than the soldier's relations with the enemy.

During World War II and the subsequent military occupation, American soldiers were dispersed to every corner of the globe. Perhaps eight million men were at one time or another engaged in foreign service. No continent, few countries, and few islands failed to receive at least some military or naval representatives of the United States. The impress of cultural and social contacts will remain, to a greater or lesser extent, after these individuals return to civilian life in their home communities.

The effects of this overseas experience can be understood only if one knows how the soldier actually reacted to foreign cultures as he observed them and if one recognizes the social processes involved in his interaction with individual foreigners. There are here offered a few observations based on the author's experience during two years' service in England, France, and Germany, most of which was spent as an enlisted man near large cities and large concentrations of American troops and in close association with units of other Allied armies. It is not suggested that this report is authoritative or conclusive; the experiences of individual soldiers in this war have been too complex and diverse to permit any single simple description. This paper will deal with the sentiments which the American abroad develops towards foreign societies.

The American soldier was confronted abroad with foreign cultural and social elements. The cultural elements are seen as pre-existing circumstances affecting the pattern of social interaction and hence a neces-

sary object of study as a background to understanding the latter; but the impress of one group upon the other is mainly created in the interaction between the two. This social aspect may, in turn, be dichotomized into (1) intergroup relation and (2) interpersonal association across group lines. These divisions and subdivisions are purely arbitrary; their separate treatment should not obscure the fact that all were simultaneously involved in daily life.

THE CULTURAL ASPECT

It is commonly asserted that the dispatch of so many Americans to so many foreign points for such long periods must necessarily have created an enduring body of internationalist sentiment. Just as education, of any quality, was long regarded as the panacea for all social ills, so travel and residence abroad has been assumed to be a sure cure for anything from mild ethnocentrism to downright chauvinism and jingoism. This confidence is exemplified in the remarks of the congressman, interviewed while on a European tour, that his most rabid isolationist colleagues ought to be required to make the same tour. It is contradicted, of course, by a number of highly derogatory reports on foreign countries which have received much publicity from time to time in the American isolationist press. In the experience of the American soldier abroad, some things promoted internationalistic, others nationalistic, attitudes.

By his own standards, as well as by those of the people whose countries he visited,

the United States soldier in this war saw Europe at its worst. The long conflict had left its mark directly in shattered buildings; rubble-littered streets; damaged means of transportation; dismal fortifications and air-raid shelters; inadequate public food supplies; poor sanitation; shabbily clothed civilians; lack of soap (in France); expanded vice enterprises; and an often cynical, too long disappointed populace. In France, inflation, coupled with an unfavorable rate of exchange designed to combat inflation, made prices high for Americans, especially for the strong drink and the gifts they wanted to buy. Due allowance was not always given to the role of the war in determining these conditions. Coming from a country in which an appreciably higher material standard of living existed even in peacetime, it is not surprising that the Americans were often dissatisfied, even disgusted, with what they found.

A great many cultural differences existed before the war which would at any time have aroused ethnocentric disdain in most Americans. The French sidewalk urinals (*pissoirs*), which sometimes hid their male occupants by nothing more than a 4-foot wall, offended American mores. The sight of a sophisticated-looking Englishwoman walking nonchalantly along the street with a cigarette hanging from her mouth shocked the many Americans whose standards on this particular point happen to be somewhat more pronounced. The absence of a color line in Europe—in particular, the American Negro soldier's freedom to associate with white civilian girls—stirred most southern whites and many northerners to extreme anger.

Small differences in folkways made the foreigner seem different, and therefore, to ethnocentrics, inferior. Variations in food and modes of eating are illustrative of this. Strongly flavored foods often rendered a Frenchman's breath offensive to those who had different menus. Americans were often critical of the frequency with which the British interrupted their work to have tea. Thus a moral element could enter into what

might at first appear to be only a variation in nonmorally evaluated folkways. The lack of central heating and the relatively primitive plumbing continually inspired statements that these countries were "fifty years behind the times." These features of the new country might have been only curiosities to an American who remained at home and read about them in books. But it was inevitable that they should lead to many critical reactions in those who stayed abroad for long.

One further source of unfavorable sentiment is what has been called "the idealization of the absent."¹ A soldier nurses nostalgic longings for his family, his community, and a vast number of other familiar things. In brooding over these losses he is likely to idealize what is absent, regardless of its actual merits. Everything in the new environment seems worse by comparison. This phenomenon was even noticeable in soldiers away from their native regions within the United States.

There were various features of the foreign situation which were attractive, from the American soldier's point of view. In Europe the density of population made wider opportunities to escape from Army life and to enjoy civilian facilities and company than there were around most Army camps in the United States. In England, the excellent public transportation facilities greatly augmented these opportunities. The sex ratio was likewise favorable, more or less satisfying the various interests of soldiers in feminine companionship. The British "pub" was extremely hospitable and therefore popular, and the French *bistro*, though poorly stocked, was also welcome. Added to these were beaches, parks, public theaters, and cinemas whose standards of physical construction and management were at least equal, if not actually superior, to those generally found in the United States. Sight-seeing opportunities and extensive additional recreational facilities were provided by

¹ W. Edgar Gregory, "The Idealization of the Absent," *American Journal of Sociology*, L, No. 1 (July, 1944), 53-54.

the American Red Cross in almost every place in Europe where American troops were concentrated. Indeed, despite cultural conflicts, on which they might express themselves vociferously, the American soldiers, most of whom may safely be said to have disliked the Army, generally seemed more content with Army life per se in Europe than they had been when in the large, isolated Army camps in the United States. This was particularly true wherever food and living conditions in Europe were fairly satisfactory.

These circumstances, which made for an unusually pleasant soldier's life, may be regarded as geographical and historical fortuities rather than social forces; but they were, in the writer's opinion, the main condition predisposing the soldier to favorable sentiments toward the foreign cultures which he encountered. Moreover, the Army's "orientation" program of lecturing and pamphleteering, as well as the more extensive news and opinion agencies, such as press and radio, preached tolerance, union in a common struggle, and sympathy for the victims of Axis attack. Naturally, some individuals were more susceptible than others to this ideological campaign, but the American soldiers came from a country which, despite much racism, has always instilled its new generations with an exceptional degree of tolerance of nationality differences. In the writer's opinion the American soldier was generally aware of and devoted to the abstract ideals of international amity for which he would assert himself to be fighting. Yet, despite all these more rational (i.e., verbal) influences, cultural and social factors operating on a non-verbal level determined his reaction to foreign cultures.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The distinction between intergroup and interpersonal interaction follows roughly that made by Cooley between secondary and primary group relationships. Intergroup relations tend to be categorical and impersonal; interpersonal relations tend to

be informal, spontaneous, personal, and on the basis of feelings of a common human nature.

The initial contacts between American soldiers and Europeans tended to be on an intergroup level. This was only natural, by virtue of the fact that they were foreign to each other, and each automatically categorized the other as out-groupers. In the case of the French and the Germans, language differences served to emphasize this. It was perhaps unfortunate that language similarities led Americans to expect the British to be like themselves and the British to expect Americans to be like Britishers: both were bound to be disappointed.

The intergroup relations shifted to interpersonal relations whenever there was an opportunity for informal intermingling. But cultural difference repeatedly caused annoyances, and nationalistic rivalry and associated disputes over real or assumed grievances often intervened.

Rivalry between Americans and foreigners developed in every field in which the two groups sought identical objects: there was always, for example, a certain amount of rivalry with the local male population for women. Generally, the Americans, with their tobacco, candy, and money, held the advantage; moreover, the American practice of "petting" made the Americans less reserved in romantic overtures, even where no serious attachment existed. Other occasions of competition included even so minor a point as consumption of the limited supply of beverages in local establishments. The habit of categorizing all one's real or potential competitors by the convenient label of nationality converted every minor difficulty into nationalistically conceived rivalry or even serious conflict.

The type of rivalry which was most persistent and which led to most trouble was over credit for winning the war. Americans tend to look upon this as an all-or-none phenomenon. If America as a whole contributed more than any other single country toward winning the war, then, by their logic, America won the war for the other

countries and all Americans should receive special deference. By the same type of reasoning, New York could claim to have won the war for Rhode Island, and New Yorkers could demand deference from Rhode Islanders on this account. This does not happen, however, because nationalistic sentiments in the United States are strong and because all the forty-eight states prosecuted the war as a nation. Despite a high degree of integration in military command, the various Allied countries do not share such strong common loyalties and do not think of their war effort as integrated. That is why rivalry over claims to winning the war could reach so intense a level.

Verbal recognition of the magnitude of the American war effort was rendered by her foreign Allies. This varied from straightforward statements of the immensity and crucial value of American men and matériel to the enthusiastic welcomes and expressions of gratitude in newly liberated French towns. However, no amount of this was enough to satisfy a great many Americans; at least they were reluctant to share the glory with others and resented the fact that each of the allied countries expressed special appreciation of its own troops. The Americans generally expressed anything from mild annoyance to extreme anger at French and British glorification of their own forces, even begrudging them their victory parades and the praise of Montgomery, De Gaulle, and members of the French resistance.

These sentiments facilitated the crediting, by Americans, of rumors and exaggerated reports of small, isolated, and even imaginary incidents. For example, throughout the fighting in 1944 one heard stories everywhere of French sniping against Americans and statements that most of the Frenchmen in "this area" (whatever place it happened to be) were "pro-German." Because the French army was hastily recruited, the French were said by the Americans to be donning pieces of American uniform, wear-

ing whatever French insignia of rank they desired, and sporting any number of medals, though actually remaining civilians. The British had been assigned the section of the front most favorable to German defense and hence usually moved less rapidly than those American units operating against more extended enemy defenses, and this gave rise to innumerable stories implying British cowardice, incapacity, and indifference in battle. Americans also voiced frequent objection to Lend-Lease as they met it in the guise of Frenchmen in American uniforms, British and French in jeeps, and British and French troops sharing the already overcrowded Allied recreational facilities. Exaggerated notions of the extent to which these nations had depended on Lend-Lease were prevalent, despite great efforts of *Stars and Stripes*, *Yank*, and *Army Talks* to give the troops a complete picture of Allied efforts. As a result of this, many Americans formed the habit of calling all British "god-damn Limies" and all French "dirty Frogs." Profanity is so common in the Army that these labels lack the significance they might have in civilian life. However, the derogatory nicknames indicate a categorical attitude to all foreigners.

In England and France and even in Germany the sentiments which the American soldier developed toward the foreign culture were a function of the relations which he had with members of that society. If this interaction was primarily on an intergroup level, his sentiments toward the adjacent society were likely to be determined entirely by his experience with the living conditions which the country offered him, the degree of annoyance which he developed over differences in culture (including disgust with nazism), and the extent to which he became involved in intergroup competition and conflict. If, however, he made extensive intimate associations with individual Europeans, he supplemented the group-derived reactions with a great many ties on a personal basis. As far as this occurred, a different body of sentiment developed, and the bond was more strongly knit.

INTERPERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS ACROSS
GROUP LINES

It is in many ways unfortunate, from the standpoint of Allied unity, that the duties of occupation promote a more thorough intermingling of soldiers and civilians than does the fighting of a war or the moving and supplying of an army. The following statement is typical of the sentiments of American troops in Germany today:

The German women are so much like the American women that it is hard to pass one without talking to her when she speaks to you in English. As far as the other countries go, the Germans are a hell of a lot better. One main reason: they are clean. I have been in five countries and the Germans are still the cleanest. And the Germans have respect for the Americans. The other countries have tried to hand us a snow job [Army slang for "flattery"] and on the other hand take our money.²

The soldiers in Germany generally operate in small units scattered over a large territory. A division may provide guards, road blocks, and security patrols for an area of several thousand square miles. A few dozen officers and men may constitute the military government detachment for a town, or a hundred or so may rule a county or city. The life of the occupation soldier is generally leisurely. He will have much time off duty for mingling with the local people; his job may be one of personally supervising or checking them. The Germans have an extremely high proportion of females of the middle age ranges, and these are usually healthier than women in the former occupied countries. For obvious reasons, they have much better clothes and, in general, are used to a higher material standard of living. In addition, organized vice was not extensive within Germany before its surrender and now would have difficulty in competing with that which is unorganized. The populace is entirely subservient to the military government; success

and failure depend on not antagonizing the occupying units; there is little hope or confidence in any effort unless it is made with the approval of the military government, which may always be withdrawn; the regulating forces of the family, church, and community are weak; and the people are used to the despotic "rule of man," rather than of "law."

Contrast this situation with that existing in France and England. Here a few soldiers are permanently stationed in small units within fairly large cities, but the bulk are assembled in huge aggregations at a few key bases along the principal lines of supply. The latter generally work long hours; when any are free, almost all are free; and when they enter the civilian areas they far outnumber the available civilians and overcrowd all possible public meeting places. The public is charged with its own civic reconstruction, but this is most difficult in those areas where United States Army requisitioning has been heaviest, and in France, these areas are often the ones which have suffered most, having been in the path of battle. Church, family, and community are strong and may have to compete with the soldiers in control of the youth, particularly of its female element. The populace is frustrated and disappointed that, following their liberation, the long-expected rapid improvement in living never materialized. Organized vice already existed and now is given every inducement to flourish. It is small wonder that the American soldier's personal life with the Germans is the more gratifying.

An exception is the American soldiers who have had the good fortune to associate personally with civilians in France and England. This group, though a minority, is not inconsiderable. The common language in Great Britain and the genuine welcome given individual Americans in French and British homes led to numerous ties of the highest friendship and mutual respect. For obvious reasons, in a male army the principal civilian contact of the soldier was with the opposite sex. The strong Catholic family

² From a soldier's letter on the failure of the nonfraternization policy, in "Mail Call," *Yank* (Continental ed.), Vol. II, No. 8 (September 16, 1945).

in France was a major agency in discouraging the easy formation of such contacts except with women of the professional and "demi-professionale" type. Since the German women still had to be "won" rather than "bought," yet were easily "won" and may be more physically attractive than those women as readily available elsewhere, it is not surprising that the nonfraternization order was difficult to enforce there.

All the foregoing experiences support the thesis that a common human nature characterizes the members of all human societies and that this will operate wherever close association permits interaction on a personal level. In such circumstances all the human roles and associated feelings common to primary groups everywhere, such as sympathy, friendliness, and affection, are bound to assert themselves. Ideological conflicts and cultural clashes may be counteractive, but where the situation is such as to promote intermingling and informal communication between two groups, these cannot be effective for long. On the other hand, where there is a desire and a willingness to intermingle, but circumstances prevent it, any cultural clashes will readily come to the fore.

As has already been indicated, friendly interpersonal relations and hostile inter-

group relations may coexist, as well as the opposite combination. One may be sympathetic with the ideals of the French state but still be bitter toward its nationals, and one may be revolted by statements of the Nazi Germans but still like them as individuals. However, such opposing sentiments tend to vitiate each other. The result of the representative experience which has been described in Britain, France, and Germany would therefore be to make the American soldier returning from abroad less favorably inclined toward his allies and possibly more favorably inclined toward his former enemies than those who have remained in the United States might expect. This circumstance, of course, will vary somewhat from one individual to another, according to his peculiar experiences abroad and his own mental perspective. Those who left Germany before the occupation was long under way are certainly not likely to be too favorably inclined toward the Germans. It is hoped, however, that this report will make the distinctive sentiments toward foreign cultures with which the veteran will return from abroad more understandable, whatever these sentiments may be.

BERLIN

ADJUSTMENT TO MILITARY LIFE

AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

ABSTRACT

Cultural and institutional factors impinge on the personality to bring about both adjustment and maladjustment to the military situation. The adjustment process in relation to the military situation has three phases: the premilitary, the military, and the postmilitary. Some of the social and cultural conditions which aid, as well as hinder, the adjustment process in each of its phases are discussed.

Adjustment to the military situation,¹ viewed as a social process in the life of the person, has three principal phases and several subphases. The three main phases may be delimited as the premilitary, the military, and the postmilitary. The premilitary is nascent in the life of every boy in our culture and takes the form of preconditioning for possible participation in a potential war. If war comes, millions of young men become subject to the military phase. Its principal subphases include induction into the army, basic training, specialized training, technical training, precombat maneuvers, combat, and, finally, the postcombat period, and demobilization. The final, or postmilitary, phase is indeterminate in length and character. Its one criterion is that the person who has survived the first two phases is accorded the legal and social status of "veteran."

I

Adjustment to the military situation begins in early childhood, when preconditioning factors, both direct and indirect, inherent in war and in the personality-forming process establish a frame of reference for the person's reactions to a war.

The war complex in American culture is composed of several antithetical patterns. On the one hand, knowledge about certain aspects is universal. These include the myths, legends, traditions, and sentiments about wars the American people have

fought. On the other, explicit knowledge about military life is limited to the comparatively small proportion of the population who have actually served in the army, navy, marine corps, or coast guard. Particularly this latter type of knowledge is concerned with things "military," in contrast to "war" as a national experience. These two aspects of the war complex have been separated in our culture to such an extent that "war" is glorified as a quasi-holy endeavor in the life of the nation, while things "military" are abhorred.

This antithesis in the complex may be brought to a focus by sketching briefly the myth of the invincibility of the citizen-soldier in war. This myth may have grown out of the fact that in Colonial times the settler was a householder, farmer, carpenter, blacksmith, doctor, teacher, or soldier, as the occasion demanded. In the tests of arms with the Indians the settler came off best on most occasions. This gave him confidence, self-reliance, and a sublime faith in his ability to take up arms when necessary and defeat the common foe. The experiences of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish American War, and World War I did not change to any appreciable degree the American's faith in his ability to seize arms in a national crisis and go forth to vanquish the enemy, whoever or wheresoever he might be. The tradition of the citizen-soldier and his success at arms has been handed down from generation to generation, and experience has reinforced it in almost every generation by a new war and a new success.

¹ The "military situation" is considered to be a particular type of social situation. It is here used in the sense recently delimited by Mapheus Smith, "Social Situation, Social Behavior, Social Group," *Psychological Review*, LII (July, 1945), 224-29.

Belief in the power of the citizen-soldier, coupled with the personification of the struggle in the name of the leader and the derogation of the military as an institution—all this has created an effective barrier against the transference of systematic knowledge about the military institution to the society as a whole. Thus, in our culture the emphasis has been on an emergency army. This army should be raised only after hostilities have started. After it has achieved its victory, it should be demobilized, as rapidly as possible. This has resulted in the maintenance of a very small professional standing army and navy. Furthermore, our disapproval of war and things military prevents our teaching the young anything about military institutions per se. The war aspect of our culture is thus organized in such a way that there is incongruity between its symbolic and traditional aspects and its effective aspects as embodied in the structure and function of the armed services.

The traditions, legends, and symbols of the war complex conditions the child to accept war as an inevitable process in the life of the nation; and if a war crisis develops, the person is preconditioned to act in his role as a citizen-soldier. However, this preconditioning does not prepare him for the role he will play. Consequently, when war comes, the potential soldier is preconditioned in an ambivalent manner. On the one hand, he has been taught to revere the hero who gained his immortal fame in the glory that is synonymous with war. On the other, he has learned to fear the institution that trained the hero in the ways of killing. Reverence for bravery and glory are linked with fear and distrust of military institutions.

The net effect of this conditioning was an awareness on the part of the male adolescent and the young adult in 1940 that he might be called upon to contribute his life to the maintenance of the American culture just as his ancestors had. How each person reacted subjectively when he became aware of the grim possibility of wounds or death in

battle is not known, but it might well become the subject of research. Long before this point was ever reached in the development of the person, the war complex in our culture had conditioned him either to meet the test when it came, along with his fellows, or to seek some escape.

II

The adjustment of the civilian to the active phase of the military situation is preconditioned by his conceptions of war and the military service, as well as by the intrapsychic structure of his personality. Normally, a series of personal adjustments occur in the life of the person before he enters the service. A sense of "going away" from a familiar way of life to a strange one usually takes possession of the potential soldier as the time approaches for his departure from his home, family, friends, and community. He may look forward eagerly to the new adventure, or he may dread it; but at some time a sense of foreboding and the sentiments associated with war and the army seize his consciousness. This may be only a fleeting daydream, or it may persist and pervade his every activity. A counterconditioning factor is the self-image of a heroic soldier who has committed a valorous deed. In this role the self is projecting itself into the culturally defined role of the citizen-soldier in war.²

In the induction center the inductee is transformed quickly from a civilian into a recruit. This phase of the process is difficult to describe, because so much happens to the person in such a short time that his reactions tend to be confused and he does not comprehend the changed circumstances and events. Briefly, the man is sworn into the service, issued a serial number, which is more important to the War Department

² In talking with army air forces personnel in all phases of the military situation from basic training through the postcombat period, the writer has been convinced that these psychic states are present in all men to a greater or lesser degree when they enter the service. The foregoing idea was based on informal discussion. The information came from soldiers adjusted to the military situation.

than his name, since two or more soldiers may have the same name. Thus, the change from a name to a name and a number is one step in the militarization of the person. The civilian clothes are disposed of when the uniform and toilet articles are issued. The new soldier is assigned to a unit, that is, a formal group designated by a letter or a number. This unit is a segment of a still larger unit. He is assigned to a barracks or a tent with the rest of his unit. Within the tent or barracks he is assigned to a bed. He is issued everything he needs in this phase of his training according to a definite schedule of allowances, and he signs for all items that are nonexpendable and has the expendable issue items checked against him.

During the few days the recruit remains at the induction center he becomes aware of the rudiments of military life by actual participation. The use of his time is scheduled for him by the staff of the induction center. The first thing he must learn is that there is a time for everything. When this time is, and how much is allowed, is determined by the institution and not by the recruit. The second thing he must learn is that how this time is to be used is defined by the institution, except the rare "free time." Third, the institution defines how the task allotted to a given time is to be accomplished. Fourth, the recruit learns that he does everything in formation; that is, with his group. In short, the recruit is no longer an individual with the right of personal choices, alternatives, and decisions. Instead, he is, in informal army usage, "a body." This "body" must be trained to react without question or hesitation to institutional stimuli. The loss of choice and initiative develops in him a sense of dependency on the institution for decisions. This principle is summarized in the rule that a soldier does his duty. What is meant is that the good soldier follows directions laid down for him in the institutional situation.

Each arm of the military service has developed an exact behavior system into which the recruit is not only expected to fit as a

part into a machine but is made to fit into the specific part of the behavior system as it is defined for him by the institutional situation.³ The adjustment process, from the viewpoint of the person, consists in re-orienting his behavior from the civilian frame of reference to the military standard. From the viewpoint of the military situation, the adjustment process is viewed as a training problem. The institutional functionaries work on the assumption that any normal man or woman has the ability to learn the routine behavior patterns associated with every phase of the military process. Thus, the recruit, from the first day of his military life to its culmination in battle, is continually learning the routines connected with some phase of military activity.

The military service has reduced every phase of the training process to its simplest elements and then standardized them. The assumption is that every phase of a given military action must be explained so carefully, simply, and clearly that the soldier will be able to grasp the principles involved, learn the routine rapidly, and then act in concert with others in its application. This principle applies to every action—at least in the army air forces—from saluting to ditching procedures in very heavy bombers. If the slowest learner cannot keep up with the group in the training process, he is soon eliminated as being inapt, incapable, or maladjusted.

The perfectly trained soldier is one who has had his civilian initiative reduced to zero. In the process the self becomes identified with the institution and dependent upon it for direction and stimulation. The ideally adjusted soldier would be a military dependent who looked to the institution for all his personal, social, and emotional satisfactions. Unlike the dependent child, who normally matures and strives to break the bonds of dependency that tie him to his

³ For an exposition of the concept "behavior system" see August B. Hollingshead, "Behavior Systems as a Field for Research," *American Sociological Review*, IV (December, 1939), 816-26.

parents, the adjusted soldier is encouraged to be a dependent of the institution. In psychiatric terms, the military institution becomes a substitute parent for an adult who has been reduced to infancy by the training it has given him. Moreover, the aim of the institution is to keep him in this infantile state by the use of psychological and institutional devices. Thus, every effort is made by the institution to organize the soldier's life both overtly and covertly.

From the viewpoint of the institution, the ideal soldier would be one who had so identified himself with the military situation that all his personal, psychic, and emotional needs would be satisfied by instrumentalities provided by the institution. In this ideal case the soldier could devote all his energies, interests, and his inner self to the demands and expectancies of the institution. The distractions of civilian life would not then disturb the soldier. He would not worry about his parents, his wife, girl friend, his future after the army, his lost dignity, his possible death. In short, the military situation is designed to produce soldiers—men conditioned to institutional requirements, defined situations, and explicit expectancies who will neither think for themselves nor make demands on the institution for needs that are not identified with institutional ends.

Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the institution, the recruit comes to it with a well-developed personality, a civilian frame of reference, and a set of cultural values and expectancies that are not compatible with its objectives or organization. For these reasons the recruit must be remade; as any old sergeant knows, "a recruit is not worth a damn until he has been broken." This means the re-education of the person to military ways and values. In this process the initiative of the civilian must be inhibited, if not destroyed. The recruit must learn that the institution makes his decisions for him; that he is dependent upon it for all needs relevant to its objectives; that he has few, if any, responsibilities to the civilian world. Henceforth his responsibility is to the serv-

ice, his unit, his "buddy," and himself, in descending order. The recruit must also be made to realize—firmly, definitely, and always—that he is only a small part of the unit, and the unit of the army, and the army of "the service." The soldier is expendable, as is the unit and army, but not this mystical symbol, the service. The service symbol is not to be identified with the nation, but it is in the nation's service. It is the *sine qua non* of the nation's existence.

The recruit's experience in life usually has been limited to his family, church, school, job, and community. When he enters the military service, he is generally unaware that the world he has known will be set apart from his new area of experience as being "civilian," whereas he is "military," in contrast to those others who are civilians. The acquirement of the military status comes suddenly, but its meaning does not grow clear for some time. When the significance of the phrase "You're in the army now, soldier" impinges on the recruit's consciousness for the first time, the active adjustment process between the self and the reality of the military situation has reached a critical point, for now, probably for the first time, the recruit realizes that his old civilian life is behind him. He has burned his bridges, or has had them burned for him by society. He is in the service, and he can't go back to civilian life, since he is no longer a civilian but is a man who has a special legal status and is subject to a special kind of law, military law, which he probably never knew existed until the punitive sections of the Articles of War were read and explained to him shortly after he was sworn into the service. When this point is reached, the self will begin to appraise itself in its relation to the new situation, and to adjust to, or start to figure out ways to evade, the situation. He will eventually adjust as a normal soldier or develop into a psychoneurotic. This proposition is posited on the assumption that the recruit does not comprehend the significance the objective military situation has for him until it has subjective meaning to him. When this hap-

pens, the self suddenly realizes it must adjust to the situation or escape, and escape at first seems impossible. At this point his pre-existing personality traits will begin to influence actively the new social life.⁴ From this point on until the end of his military career the recruit tends either to adjust to the military situation as a normal soldier or to seek escape through the use of the psychological and social devices he learns as he becomes better oriented to the life around him.

From studies made during and subsequent to World War I of soldiers' reactions to the conditions imposed in the military situation, investigators concluded there are two classes of personality, in so far as adjustment to the requirements of military service are concerned: the normal, who will in all probability adjust successfully, and the pretraumatic, who in most cases will be unable to adjust.⁵ Men in the latter category develop war neuroses—referred to in the popular press of World War I as "shell shock" but now known as "psychoneurosis."

Investigations of the reactions to the stresses imposed upon these men, as well as to those who did not develop a neurosis, gave rise to the observation that, although all men in a given military situation were subject to the same external conditions, they did not react in a similar manner. A small percentage reacted in an abnormal way, thereby revealing their maladjustment. The question then arose as to why some men failed to adjust to a situation that appeared normal in its military context to most of the men subjected to it.

By studying the special types of reactions exhibited by soldiers in a given situation, investigators observed that the well-adjusted soldier acted in the manner expected

of him as defined by the situation but that the maladjusted one acted in a deviant manner, for some, then unaccountable, reason. Investigators believed that the reasons for this erratic behavior existed in the personality of the maladjusted soldier. This led to an interest in the study of life-histories as a key to unlock the mystery. It was soon apparent that precipitating factors in the development of the neurosis were inherent in the military situation, but before they would be elicited they had to be combined with predisposing conditions. The study of life-histories revealed significant differences between the premilitary experiences of the normal and those of the neurotic soldier. In short, the neurotic soldier carried into the military service the predisposing conditions which might be stimulated by precipitating factors. The probable result would be a neurotic soldier of no value to his unit or the service. A second conclusion, reached from the study of life-histories, was that the predisposing conditions had developed in the personality of the potentially neurotic soldier during his childhood and youth.

On the basis of the experience and knowledge gained in World War I with maladjusted soldiers the decision was made by the director of Selective Service, when this system was established by Congress in 1940, to eliminate, in so far as possible, the pretraumatic personality from the armed services. With this end in view, a screening test was devised on the basis of the best psychological and psychiatric experience available that would separate the normal from the pretraumatic personality. On the basis of this test the pretraumatics were to be rejected for military service and placed in Class IV-F, and the normals were to be inducted. This was the policy followed previous to the outbreak of war.

Subsequent to Pearl Harbor the policy was changed, with a consequent lowering of the requirements for induction. This change in policy altered the plans of the Selective Service System to reject all types of pretraumatic personalities. The demands

⁴ For a psychiatric interpretation of this point see Nathan W. Ackerman, "Psychiatric Disorders in Servicemen and Veterans," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XV (April, 1945), 352-60.

⁵ Sádor Lorand, "Psychoanalytic Investigation of Reaction to the War Crisis of Candidates for Induction," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 25-32.

for manpower by the armed services were too urgent to tolerate the rejection rate of more than 50 per cent that prevailed before hostilities began. By lowering the requirements for induction on the psychiatric screening examination thousands of men with pretraumatic personality traits were inducted. The picture as a whole shows that, of between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 physical examinations given under the Selective Service System to February, 1944, there were over 4,000,000 rejections for all causes before men entered service and more than 500,000 discharges. More than one-third of the rejections and more than 40 per cent of the discharges were on neuropsychiatric grounds.⁶

From these figures it is clear that some 30 per cent of the potential soldiers who were called before Selective Service boards for examination or examined in induction centers were unfit for service. However, most of these men probably went to the examination believing they would be soldiers in a short time. These four million might be studied with respect to how they readjusted to their release from the prospect of possible military service.

That the pretraumatic personality types among them were making psychic adjustments subsequent to Pearl Harbor and before they were called for induction is revealed by a study made by National Headquarters, Selective Service System, in late 1943 and early 1944 to determine the incidence of selected psychosomatic disorders among registrants as of November and December, 1943; a sample of 70,000 white and Negro registrants was used. The diseases selected were: asthma, peptic ulcer, history of peptic ulcer, gastro-intestinal syndromes, neurocirculatory asthenia, and functional disorders of expressive movements. The incidence of the defects selected, as of

November and December, 1943, were then compared with the incidence of the same diseases in registrants examined for induction previous to Pearl Harbor. It was found that incidence and rejection rates for asthma nearly doubled for both total incidence and rejection rates, with an increase of two and one-half times the peacetime rate for Negroes; history of peptic ulcer increased more than three times the peacetime rate, particularly among the whites; gastro-intestinal syndromes also increased two and one-half times the peacetime rate; neurocirculatory asthenia more than doubled for the whites and increased five times for the Negroes.⁷

There are abundant evidences in the studies made under the direction of Colonel Rowntree that psychosomatic diseases showed a marked increase under the stress of war. This was particularly true of the Negro, who in peacetime was relatively immune from psychosomatic disorders. These data are cited to indicate that maladjustments develop in the potential soldier during what may be called an "active sub-phase" of the premilitary phase of the military situation. Obviously, the preconditioning these men had received, as measured against the reality of the war, had something to do with the development of psychosomatic disorders even before they were examined for induction.⁸

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Grabill's recent study on the effect of the war on the birth rate reveals another type of adjustment many young men were making subsequent to 1939. Grabill showed that the birth rates per 1,000 women, fifteen to forty-four years old, for the United States, began to experience a series of remarkable increases in early 1940, which continued through 1943. These increases, when charted, showed that the first large peak came "10 months after the Selective Service bill was introduced into Congress. The second peak occurred 10 months after the passing of the Selective Service Act. . . ."

"The birth rate reached another plateau at the beginning of 1942, or 10 months after the passing of the Lend-Lease Act. The center of the plateau corresponds to a period 10 months after Germany declared war on Russia. The plateau ends in May, 1942, 10 months after the Atlantic Charter was

⁶ Leonard G. Rowntree, "Psychosomatic Disorders as Revealed by Thirteen Million Examinations of Selective Service Registrants," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VII (January, 1945), 27-30. The interested reader will find detailed statistics in this article bearing on this question.

Students of maladjustments in the military service generally agree that personality distortions which have persisted from childhood predispose soldiers to fail to adjust to the military life.⁹ Chief among

signed. . . . A huge peak is shown for the birth rate in October, 1942, 10 months after Pearl Harbor. Another large peak is shown toward the end of 1943, or 10-11 months after a series of Allied victories. . . . and after the minimum draft age was lowered from twenty to eighteen years" (Wilson H. Grabill, "Effect of the War on the Birth Rate and Postwar Fertility Prospects," *American Journal of Sociology*, L [September, 1944], 107-11).

A second significant fact recorded by Grabill is that the births which made these ascending plateaus and peaks came from women who were bearing their first or second child.

The 10 months' lag between a war crisis and a spate of births is believed to be the result of the familial adjustments that many young men and women made to their lives as a result of the war. The policy of deferring married men from induction previous to Pearl Harbor induced many young men to marry. This action was a possible escape from military service. Then, as the war deepened, the policy of deferring men with children stimulated parenthood. This was followed by deferments for a time of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers. Although this inference from the data presented by Grabill may be unwarranted, again it may be sound in the light of what is known about the way different individuals reacted to the possibility of military service. These birth figures may be a manifestation of an attempt on the part of many young men to escape military obligations.

⁹ Nathan W. Ackerman, "Psychiatric Disorders in Servicemen and Veterans," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XV (April, 1945), 352-60; Leslie H. Farber and Leonard Micon, "Gastric Neurosis in a Military Service," *Psychiatry*, VIII (August, 1945), 343-61; Manfred S. Guttmacher and Frank A. Stewart, "Psychiatric Study of Absence without Leave," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CII (July, 1945), 74-81; "Eighth Service Command Post-graduate Medical Education Neuro-psychiatric Case Report, Case No. 12—July, 1944," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VII (September, 1945), 310-12; Lewis H. Loesser, "The Sexual Psychopath in the Military Service," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CII (July, 1945), 92-101; Leon J. Saul, "Psychological Factors in Combat Fatigue," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VII (September, 1945), 253-73; Alexander, J. N. Schneider, and Cyrus W. LaGrone, Jr., "Delinquents in the Army, a Statistical Study of 500 Rehabilitation Center Prisoners," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CII (July, 1945), 82-91.

them are: "somatic complaints, poor application at school, poor family and social background, and unsatisfactory employment records."¹⁰ It has been found that the pretraumatic personality may adjust fairly well in civilian life, where his neurotic symptoms are accepted as a part of his personality and where his weaknesses are protected by compensations in himself and his family and associates. They may even be catered to by others as a technique of adjustment in the interpersonal relations of a stable situation. However, when the pretraumatic personality is suddenly taken from this social environment and placed in a wholly strange and generally feared situation, where he does not know what is expected or required, anxieties come to the fore. They tend to be integrated into a defense of the self (ego) against the military situation rather than a defense against unconscious anxieties experienced in the civilian situation. In the military situation the self is placed in danger, in the view of the neurotic soldier; and the drive for self-protection creates a covert struggle within the personality against the threatening situation (the army, war, battles, death).

III¹¹

The men and women who have served in the military services have changed in many ways. They have grown older; most of them have traveled widely, seen new lands and peoples, and gained a new viewpoint on life and the world. They have learned new ways of doing things and frequently have forgotten much that was once familiar and routine. Most have become adjusted to military life. The transition from military

¹⁰ Lorand, *op. cit.*

¹¹ This phase of the military situation has received some attention from sociologists. See Willard Waller, *The Veteran Comes Home* (New York: Dryden Press, 1944); Eli Ginsberg, "The Occupational Adjustment of 1,000 Selectees," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (June, 1943), 256-63; Wilbur B. Brookover, "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life," *American Sociological Review*, X (October, 1945), 579-86.

to civilian ways will be difficult for many, particularly in a rapidly changing economic structure, where each will be dependent on a job and the earnings from that job to maintain himself and his family. In the military situation his physical needs and many of his personal desires were cared for by the government because the person was "in service." The status assured him shelter, food, clothes, transportation, entertainment, and free medical, legal, and religious advice, as well as the regularity of payday! The person in service did not need to do anything but serve to have these things assured to him. To be sure, he did what was required of him when necessary, but in many instances all that was necessary to achieve honorable service was to be present. If the man was married, he had an allotment that was regularly sent to his wife, once the authorization reached the proper office. The man's insurance, laundry, and haircuts were paid for out of his pay. He did not have to worry about income taxes unless he had a private business, since the fifteen-hundred-dollar military exemption covered all but the higher ranking officers. Legal-aid or personal-affairs officers helped those who needed legal or personal advice, without obligation or fee.

With the transition from a military to a civilian life this institutional protection will be withdrawn in large part. Certain protective aspects of the military situation will be maintained through the mechanism of veterans' benefits, but these are only a small portion of the safeguards around the person in the military situation.

Some proportion of the men and women in service have gained definite skills of value in civilian life. These persons will have little trouble, in all probability, in capitalizing on them in civilian employment. However, the preponderant majority have been in the services for years. During this time all their training and efforts have been directed to the perfection of skills, techniques, and activities focused on battle. What must not be forgotten is that an army, navy, or air force exists for one purpose—namely, bat-

tle. This is its one justification. The men and women who give this machinery substance are trained to achieve the end for which it was created. Since there are few places in peacetime society for most of the skills and techniques these men have learned, they must recognize that they are bringing back to civilian life nothing that has economic value. Those who wish to argue that any experience has value may maintain their point, but industry is not going to pay for the rich personal pride a veteran carries because he helped storm the beaches on D-Day or for the skill a turret gunner on a multi-engined bomber gained in combat with the *Luftwaffe* four miles up in the sky over Europe. What these men will bring back are rich memories—personal assets in all probability—but of little value in making a living in our society. Persons in this category may find the readjustment to civilian life difficult because the skill they learned in the army has no civilian counterpart, and a large number of these combat troops had no vocational skills before entering the army, since they were taken directly from school into the military service. Most of these men have become adjusted to the military way of life; they have come to the point where they took personal pride in their accomplishments; they are masters in the craft of warfare. The gulf of experience between themselves and the noncombat soldier is unbridgeable. It will be impossible for them to communicate their inner sense of accomplishment in the fine art of killing to civilians.

The adjustment from military to civilian life may be more difficult than the adjustment to the military situation was in the first instance for millions of men. In the active military service the recruit was in a new situation, and almost all his fellows were likewise adjusting to a new and strange set of expectancies and requirements. Interpersonal relations (intercommunication) were possible. Definite social and psychological adjustment techniques were learned in the group and resorted to by almost all the members, which enabled them to emo-

tionally, psychologically, and socially adjust the self to the new social milieu.¹² Although the adjustment process was personal on the part of the individual soldier, he was aided in it by his comrades. Thus, in many ways it was a group process. Then, too, the readjustments from civilian life to military life were specific and definite. The military situation defined for the soldier each obligation, duty, and technique necessary to accomplish the obligation and duty in a minute way. All the soldier had to learn was how the particular action was supposed to be performed, then adjust to it. No initiative was required on his part—in fact, in training situations it was repressed.

The civilian must forage for himself. He must provide his own shelter, food, clothing, entertainment, health, and other services which were furnished by the military institution. The recognition of this fact and the readjustment to its implications may be the crucial element in the readjustment process. In civilian life the person is responsible for his own maintenance and behavior. In the military service he is responsible only for his behavior in relation to the requirements of the situation.

Many veterans will be faced with the problem of developing a sense of social responsibility, for social responsibility is definitely negated, if not destroyed, in the military situation. The only responsibility is personal—for personal security, property you have signed for, for health and sanitation. Responsibility to the unit and the service, as symbolized by the uniform, is constantly emphasized; but the soldier's responsibility to society, to property, and to civilian institutions is ignored. His responsibility to his country and his comrades

in arms is symbolized by his service. This concept of service is cultivated and glorified by the military leadership. It becomes in psychiatric terms a superego, a group substitute for the self (ego) of the person who is contributing his most precious possession, his being, to the service of his country. By the creation of this superego—military service—the person's sense of social responsibility is largely neutralized. The military man forgets he is a citizen as he becomes a soldier. In this process of substitution of a "service self" for a "personal self," certain aggressive attitudes for civilians develop which will have to be sublimated as the soldier readjusts from military to civilian life. However, there will be a strong tendency for the superego construct of service to remain. It is believed it is manifested in the notion often encountered in the veteran that society owes him something more tangible than he is receiving for his "sacrifice"; by this he means his military service. The very existence of this attitude acts as a barrier to the veteran's acceptance of his just obligation as a citizen.

This superego ideal of service is fostered as a trait in the war complex. It has been given official recognition in the differential treatment accorded veterans by Congress and state legislatures since the creation of this nation. It has variously taken the form of land grants, pensions, bonuses, exemption from taxes, and special legal status. The latest manifestation is the so-called "G.I. Bill of Rights." Every veterans' organization aggressively pursues the policy of gaining for the veteran his just "rights."

This paper has concerned itself with a few exploratory observations on each of the three phases of adjustment to the military situation. The writer believes this subject might well be made the subject of extensive and thorough research by sociologists interested in personality development, behavioral adjustment problems, and the sociology of war.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

¹² See Irving L. Janis, "Psychodynamic Aspects of Adjustment to Army Life," *Psychiatry*, VIII (May, 1945), 159-76, for a discussion of some of the psychological techniques used by soldiers in adjusting to military life.

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY

MILDRED MCAFFEE HORTON

ABSTRACT

In military service, women become representative of their sex and are judged categorically. Unlike the men, they are expected to respond to claims put upon them by relatives, which interfere with their military careers. Discharged women may become problems as individuals but probably not so as a group.

This is an impressionistic account of the effect on American women of becoming military personnel. The schools, camps, stations, and posts of the various services were tempting laboratories for the social scientists. Several individuals or groups wanted to make factual, rather than impressionistic, studies; but even the most sociologically inclined officers had to admit that military organization is not conducive to civilian research. The military conducts research for its own purposes but cannot defer winning a war in order to permit analysis of what it is doing to its personnel. Hence this account places reliance on "hunches" rather than on accumulated case histories at this stage of war experience.

The "hunches" expressed here are personal ones, based on observation of women in action primarily in the navy. My contacts as director of the Women's Reserve of the Navy were superficial except with a small group of women in certain strategic positions. Inspectional duties took me all across the country and to Hawaii to all kinds of stations, but the visits were always too short and too official to enable me to confirm the accuracy of my impressions.

Enlistment by women in the army, navy, coast guard, and marine corps was not new for this war; but it occurred on a larger scale than ever before. Moreover, this time the admission of women to the military services was specifically approved by Congress and established under special legislative provisions.

The most distinctive features of non-combat military experience are the facts of regimentation and the loss of individual in-

dependence of action. These were dreaded by American girls. Some girls never did grow reconciled to being cogs in a machine, but to others the experience was positively rewarding.

Americans do not relish regimentation, which they consider a threat to individuality. It is my impression that nothing prevented the emergence of individuality within regimented units; and, indeed, some individuals emerged from institutionally defined categories to blossom as more distinctive human beings than they had ever been before.

Throw hundreds of young women into a recruit school. Put them into identical clothing; assign identical tasks; provide identical stowage space, with instructions as to identical methods of stowage; march them together into a mess hall, where they eat what is provided for everyone; submit them to the same tests. Nothing could be more conducive to the emergence of the individual girl, for the first time separated from the setting with which she is normally identified. Wealth, social position, ancestry, professional experience—all vanished upon entrance into the service; and everyone started again to become identified as a person in this new relationship.

Commissioned women were, by and large, junior officers. There were a handful who were "brass hats" without the brass, but they were exceptions which prove the rule. A fairly high percentage of women who first joined the services came from positions of considerable responsibility and established reputation. It was interesting to watch a process of rejuvenation as these

women found themselves entirely dissociated from "their public." Schoolteachers, deans of women, business executives, who had assumed the manners of examples, suddenly found themselves the junior officers on a station, newcomers, women, unimportant but conspicuous. This experience was even more pronounced when professional women enlisted without qualifying for a commission. According to their individual tendencies, they emerged from their civilian categories and took their places on their own merits.

This led to some frustration. To be nothing, or less, after having been an important member of a community, was hard to take. The difficulty was accentuated by the fact that women were urged so publicly to join the services to save the nation. Under urgent pressure from procurement offices women sacrificially left civilian jobs and gave their all, frequently finding that nobody heard of them or their position after they left home. Unappreciated sacrifice is a bit disillusioning to the sacrificer. Some people responded by becoming "stripe happy"—taking out their resentment on anyone under their authority, and toadying to senior officers. More took it in their stride, readjusting their own ideas of themselves and their importance and adjusting with a healthy sense of humor.

As a matter of fact, this loss of civilian reputation gave opportunity for release from limitations to many women. They welcomed the breaking of old ties and the opportunity to test themselves in new surroundings. Many discovered new skills and learned new techniques.

If military service individualized women, it also made them more consciously women than they had been before. The military services are so conspicuously a man's world that the appearance of women therein was startling. Women who joined to do a job found themselves objects of great curiosity. Suddenly they were representatives of "womanhood." The early WAVES, WACS, SPARS, Marine women were; willy-nilly, considered as samples of the oncoming

groups. Their judgment was asked about the way to treat women, as though being a woman identified each one with all the rest.

Some women resented this subjection to a category. Most concurred in the official attitude. Women "ask no favors," but they achieve comparable results by different means from those used by men. Their obligations are different, and regulations which are wise for men who are the traditional sailors are not equally effective with women volunteers. For instance, parents make claims on their daughters which are not normally made on sons. Permission to resign "to be at home with sick parents" was rarely granted; but it was oftener granted women than men, not as a favor to the woman but in response to social pressure, which gave family obligations for a woman volunteer priority over military demands.

The fact of being a woman was of great significance in determining what the woman could do in the man's world. As in civilian life, the representative of women often found herself in a much more influential position than her experience or even abilities warranted. The woman not officially responsible for women as women competed at a disadvantage with men. The girl in a job equally open to men had to be better than the ordinary man to prove her capacity. When she had done so, she was often commended as though she had performed a miracle. Ultimately, many women showed themselves equally or more competent than men on the same job, and their success redounded to the glory of all the rest. The surprise of men at the accomplishment of women was not flattering, but it was fun.

Losing the opportunity to determine one's own destiny goes along with yielding to military command. It was hard for individualistic-minded young Americans. The right to speak back to the boss and to quit if you want to are so ingrained that it took real adaptability to accept authority. I think it was unusually hard for girls, who have been more accustomed to special favors than is generally true of boys. A good many assumed that their personal interests su-

perseded military demands, but there were always more who rose to deny this claim. The compensating reward for conformity was the satisfaction in belonging to a winning navy whose demands were so much bigger than any one individual that we could all lose ourselves within its inclusive program.

The military organization went to great lengths to place qualified people in appropriate positions, but efficiency in the use of personnel is not the major concern of a nation in wartime. The job has to be done by anybody within reach. That makes fearful and wonderful claims on military men and women. It is discouraging to those who are not asked to use their full capacities and terrifying to those required to stretch themselves beyond their abilities. It is likely to generate self-assurance and to precipitate the fairly current remark: "I'll be willing to tackle anything after this experience." There were moments when the chief satisfaction derived from the ego-satisfaction was knowing that each of us knew better than the people in charge how the show should be run. Since we never had the opportunity to disprove this, we could be sure of our superiority indefinitely. Another attitude to be expected after the war is boredom in any job which fails to make use of the war-discovered ability.

It is my impression that women are not likely to demand rights for themselves as veterans on the score of meriting a nation's gratitude. By and large, they know they risked relatively little, compared to their combatant brothers. Their changed estimate of themselves may make problems for themselves and their communities, but I prophesy that they will be problems of individuals rather than of women veterans as a group.

The women did not want to be a women's unit, and there is not much evidence of any desire to maintain a women-veterans' group. The trend seems to be toward wanting to take their individual places in veter-

ans' groups rather than being a women's auxiliary.

Women did not join the military services in order to carve out careers for themselves. They knew they were meeting a war need, and they took great satisfaction in doing that. They liked belonging to a great branch of the service. Whichever it was, its members knew it was the greatest branch and were proud to be identified with the power and might of the United States. Some of them would like to stay in the service, partly for security to themselves (Uncle Sam is a good provider) and partly to continue to contribute to national defense. But they are not militarists. They do not like war, with its waste, its worry, its woe.

My concluding "hunch" is that women veterans will be interested citizens as peace comes, more conscious of national problems and their relationship to them than they have ever been before. They will be as likely as other women to make marriage their profession, and they will bring to their homes a wealth of friendship with the men and women they came to know while they were in uniform. They will want civilian jobs for which their military experience qualifies them, and they will not be enthusiastic about losing jobs to less qualified men. They will have a tolerance for variation in religion, social custom, and methods of organization, which was forced upon them by exposure to differences from which they could not withdraw and with which they had to work. They will revert to most of their prejudices, but there will be left a somewhat enlarged area of enlightened tolerance.

Whatever their future, they face it with the conviction that, having shared military service with the men of their generation, they face the problems of the future with a special understanding of how those problems look to male contemporaries who have been in service. With their femininity accented, they thus emerge from the war as more experienced and interesting people.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

THE DISCHARGED SERVICEMAN AND HIS FAMILY

EDWARD C. McDONAGH¹

ABSTRACT

The chief areas of problems of family adjustment of separatees are: (1) the desire for marriage and the need for a financial basis to support the family; (2) the assimilation of foreign wives into the American ethos; and (3) changes in attitudes, personalities, and status of separatees.

It is only natural that the problems of separatees, both single and married, should be focused largely on the family. A good share of the family problems appears a short time after separation. Any marked differences in the personalities of the members composing the family will be readily discovered, and measures, successful or unsuccessful, will be initiated to restore the family to its former character. In many ways the family will face the first challenges of separation adjustment.

That single soldiers have familial problems may seem strange. Yet the army has been composed largely of single soldiers, and, for the most part, they have seen the longest period of service. The single soldier often presents a distinct *pattern of problems*. Perhaps the following case will indicate in some measure what is implied:

T Sgt. — is twenty-two years of age, a high-school graduate, of superior intellectual capacity, and a soldier being separated under the adjusted service rating system. He has fought in some of the major campaigns of the Asiatic Theater of Operations. His old job of gasoline station attendant is waiting for him, but he has no intention of accepting this position. Since entering the Army, his father has died and his mother and younger brother, aged eleven, are partly dependent on him for support. He has an intense desire to attend Cornell University under the G.I. Bill of Rights and to major in industrial relations. But while in Australia he became engaged to a "perfectly charming girl" and promised to bring her to America. He

realizes that if she comes to the United States there will be numerous problems, but he feels that he has done a good job of preparing her for America. He does not know what to do. The administrative red tape involved in getting transportation and a visa has contributed to his unsettled mind. "I believe I shall try to solve all three problems by bringing her here, going to college, and working on the side and sending my folks enough money to live on. I wonder if my health can stand such an ambitious program?"

Admittedly, this case is more complex and serious than usual. However, long military service has upset the normal sequence of preparation for earning a living, securing employment, and, after that, marriage and a family. The separatee is often chronologically ready for marriage but socially and economically unprepared for it. In trying to compensate for lost time, the separatee may catapult himself into more problems than he can safely handle.

Soldiers who marry "foreign" women know that there will be added difficulties; but in such cases, where the emotions control, postwar familial problems often do not seem very important. As a consequence we find soldiers marrying English, Australian, French, Italian, and, as the occupation continues, perhaps German women. German women are considered by many separatees as "just like American girls." The soldier who wants to marry a foreign woman will face almost any obstacle.

M Sgt. — was stationed two years in England with the A.A.F. and, while there, met and married a Welsh girl. His wife's parents refused to acknowledge the marriage and finally disowned their daughter. The wife moved to

¹ The author served as an occupational counselor in the Separation Center, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The opinions expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of the War Department.

Dublin, where she awaits transportation to Canada, and from Canada she will come to the United States. His wife is three months pregnant, and she must obtain transportation prior to the fourth month of pregnancy according to regulations. If she cannot, she and the child may have to stay in Europe indefinitely. The sergeant is convinced of the importance of having his child born in America. He has had to send numerous documents to the various agencies concerned, testifying that his wife will not become a burden to the United States. This latter causes him considerable unrest, too, as his wife became accustomed to an income in excess of \$200 per month while he was overseas, and he knows that his prospects of earning a comparable income now are remote. As an alternative, if his child cannot be born in America, he is prepared to renounce his American citizenship to live abroad with his family.

Some separatees who were married before joining the Army are realizing that both they and their wives have changed as a result of military service and separation. The inductee has had to adjust to the life of a soldier—a life in which the values of the family have somewhat limited recognition and in which the mores of the single soldier prevail. If he adjusts to the Army, he must become part of the prevailing group.² He may find himself "going out with the boys" whenever he is given a pass. Most wives who have been home a greater part of the day do not desire a husband who prefers to be "with the boys" when evening comes. But to be kept at home by family responsibilities may not be the dream he indulged in when overseas. In spite of all the regimentation of the Army, when the soldier is given a pass it means that he can use the time in almost any way that conditions permit. But when he comes home he must think in terms of others. In many cases, responsibility for the family is hardest on the soldier who married while in the Army, for most of the obligations of a husband and father are unknown to him.

² Richard Brooks in his little volume, *The Brick Foxhole*, has thrown some light on the attitude of married soldiers separated from their wives.

Private ———, of the Combat Engineers, who returned to this country after thirty-one months in the South Pacific, married a few months before shipment overseas. He had spent a month at home on furlough and found himself adjusting to his wife in the new and unfamiliar role of mother to a child he had never seen, and to a mother-in-law whom he had not expected to see in his home. Since his wife had been working in a near-by defense plant her mother had assumed the rearing of the child. He seemed unable to comprehend that his home would be larger and more complicated than the home he had left. Overseas he dreamed of the carefree times his wife and he would have on his return, but now family responsibilities stood in the way.

It is probable that many of the marriages contracted under the exigencies of wartime are dominated more by sexual desires than by enduring affection. These are often marriages without the mellowing and sobering influence of a reasonably long courtship.

Those who work with the familial problems of soldiers find that most of the serious adjustments are merely the accentuations of previous problems. Rose Rabinoff, of the American Red Cross, says in this connection:

Long-existing tensions are now simply seen in a different light because the husband is absent. Habit, if nothing else, had tended to hold husband and wife together when both were at home. Army life, particularly at distant posts, offers a present means of escape for many husbands. This threatens women who are already insecure in their relationships. The reverse is true for many servicemen, who are concerned lest their wives find escape from an unsatisfactory marriage during their absence.³

However, the following case is cited to show that some relatively successful marriages do disintegrate under the stresses of military separation:

Sgt. ———, a squad leader in the Infantry, who participated in the battle of the Ardennes, had a good education and a splendid record at work. He had two children, a boy fifteen and a daughter twelve. He had been married over

³ "While Their Men Are Away," *Survey Monthly*, April, 1945, p. 110.

sixteen years, and he claimed there never had been any serious marital problems. They had always laughed at other couples who had problems and were happy to know how well they got along. His wife had written two and three times a week. Two weeks before he sailed for America and was separated from the service, he received a letter from his wife, stating that she did not desire to see him and wanted a divorce. He believed that she had managed better without him than with him.

Wives who have become the dominant member in the family circle during the interim of war have on occasion shown marked reluctance to give up their authority and freedom when the family is to be united again.

Cpl. ———, of the Quartermaster Corps, a successful lawyer in civilian life, left to his wife the management of fifteen rentals, which were an important source of family income. She not only learned how to collect the monthly rent but discovered some loopholes in his method. She put the rentals on a more efficient basis and itemized all costs per house so as to give an accurate report of the financial return. The separatee hesitated to reassume the business, since he dreaded his wife's judgment of his work. He felt he was not needed.

A number of wives have become accustomed to making all family decisions without consulting anyone. Naturally, soldiers who have used their spare time as they desired and women who made decisions without consulting their mates find the sharing of authority a bit of a problem. Thus separation of married couples often means that mutualism is lost, at least temporarily, and regained perhaps with difficulty, or not at all.

Unfaithfulness has been a major problem to contend with, though some newspapers and periodicals have painted it more dramatically than realistically. Some women have adopted an attitude that "an occasional date with a male companion is good for morale." Such morale tonics are almost certain to cause trouble, as in the case of a soldier who contracted gonorrhea from his wife a few weeks prior to final separation from the army. Her infidelity shocked him,

and his sole reaction was to seek divorce.⁴ Even "innocent dates" may be related by friends of the couple to the husband overseas, and he may interpret the situation beyond its true proportion. He returns with suspicion and misgivings about his wife.

No doubt the anonymity which the uniform gives the soldier may contribute to his freedom overseas or even at a distant post in this country. A few married soldiers who have taken advantage of the uniform are worried now lest there be permanent marks of extra-marital behavior. Thus a soldier who has contracted a venereal disease and has been treated may fear that he is not completely cured and afraid lest he infect his wife, as the following case suggests:

Private ——— had contracted syphilis while in France and at the time of army separation was still undergoing medical treatment, though the disease was no longer contagious. He wondered whether he should tell his wife of the infection and future treatments, risking disillusioning and possibly repelling her or whether he should keep the secret, on the chance that she might never learn of it. A third possibility was to discontinue treatments in the hope that the cure was complete enough. Obviously, all of his alternatives were fraught with danger to the family.

This problem of unfaithfulness is by no means restricted to the American Army. In England a bishop suggested that all such offenses be condoned and that at the end of the war the separated pairs forgive all war-time lapses of morality, go through another marriage ceremony, and start all over again.⁵

Both separatees and their wives face the cold reality of the *second appraisal*.⁶ The

⁴ For a good statement of this problem on the home front see J. O. Reinemann, "Extra-marital Relations with Fellow Employees in War Industry as a Factor in Disruption of Family Life," *American Sociological Review*, X, No. 3 (June, 1945), 399.

⁵ Willard Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back* (New York: Dryden Press, 1944), p. 83.

⁶ In this connection see Edward C. McDonagh and Louise McDonagh, "War Anxieties of Soldiers and Their Wives," in the December issue of *Social Forces*, pp. 195-200.

soldier overseas, in thinking back over the years, may remember his wife as a beautiful dream girl and an able competitor for pin-up honors. Some are rudely disillusioned when they meet their wives at the depot. The separatee's wife may be several years older; she may have a few more wrinkles, and perhaps some sign of gray hair or of efforts to camouflage it. And many a wife greets not a prince charming, but an older, tired man, with a most unusual vocabulary and strange attitudes toward some of life's values. Naturally, where there is a shift in values, the problem of adjustment may be permanent.

Another aspect of the second appraisal appears in the case of a disabled veteran. In many cases it means that the veteran must be partially or wholly dependent on his wife for support until he has learned to accommodate to his handicap. Vocational rehabilitation is often a long and tedious process and calls for the utmost in understanding and affection.

Again, the veteran's personality may have changed radically. Periods of prolonged regimentation or excessive military authority probably leave recognizable marks. There is a difference between the meek and humble private and a first sergeant, and their acquired characteristics are carried home with them.⁷ How will the Army "sad sack" adjust to the responsibilities of directing a family? A first sergeant and an independent wife may clash violently. Travel and normal changes in values during separation will cause changes that call for common sense and affection.

The married soldier, accorded special status and prestige, is a little shocked when the civilian suit brings an end to official deference. If he has been accustomed to giving orders, he may be ill at ease when he finds himself a follower and not a leader in civilian life. Robert Goodwin, War Manpower Commission executive director, stated in a recent directive:

Many of these young officers have married since they were called into service. They and

their families are accustomed to living on an officer's income, and understandably they do not want to alter their standard of living. It is the recognized responsibility of each local office of the United States Employment Service to assist these young officers to the greatest degree possible to find suitable employment.⁸ Again, a high place in the Army may serve to drive him onward so that he can occupy a comparable place in a world at peace. This seems to operate in some instances in which the soldier has married into a social group based not on civilian status but on military status. A recent issue of *Fortune* in discussing the plight of flight officers commented:

The jobs that many have to come back to, especially the officers, are thus relatively unalluring. One captain covered a rural route of newsdealers and general stores for a tobacco wholesaler. A lieutenant formerly stacked and checked empty gas cylinders for a chemical company. Another captain was assistant foreman in the packing room of a glass factory. It is not so much that these jobs are dull after the exhilaration of being a hero, for the airmen show few signs of being beglamoured by themselves. It is rather that these jobs simply do not hold out sufficient promise of pay to men who have been doing much better, and who have, in the meanwhile, acquired wives.⁹

War marriages will demand the greatest number and degree of adjustment. Dr. William Ogburn has estimated that there are approximately one hundred and fifty thousand such marriages, and the actual figure may be slightly higher than his estimate.¹⁰ These marriages often occasioned by the wives' determination to "get your man while you can" and the men's to get "something to come home to." Such premises may probably not be strong enough to maintain the family during crises and prolonged association.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY
CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS

⁸ *Army Times*, August 11, 1945, p. 10.

⁹ "The Next Business Generation," *Fortune*, XXXII, No. 2 (August, 1945), 187-88.

¹⁰ "Marriages, Births, and Divorces," in *The American Family in World War II* (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1943), p. 23.

⁷ George K. Pratt, *Soldier to Civilian* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1944), p. 182.

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY OF MILITARY OFFENDERS

JOSEPH ABRAHAMS, M.D., AND LLOYD W. MCCORKLE

ABSTRACT

Group psychotherapy is an attempt at mass therapy of the delinquent and inadequate former soldiers being processed at an Army rehabilitation center, where restoration to duty or transfer to a disciplinary barracks is determined. Group and individual integration is fostered in an atmosphere of neutral give-and-take through the mechanisms of identification, catharsis, and abreaction. The psychopathic, immature, and mentally deficient are drawn into the social experience and mature along with the group. Mental hygiene concepts are presented in a therapeutic atmosphere through the medium of visual aids in large heterogeneous and small homogeneous groups.

"Group psychotherapy" in this article refers to a technique employed in the processing of general military offenders in a service command rehabilitation center. In the rehabilitation center restoration to duty or transfer to a disciplinary barracks is determined. Former soldiers are received at the centers, following conviction by a general courts-martial for such offenses as A.W.O.L., desertion, theft, assault, forgery or a combination of these, and sentenced to a dishonorable discharge (suspended) and a stated number of years at hard labor. These men are incarcerated from six months to one year. The restoration rate is high (approximately 40 per cent), and the recidivism rate low (6-10 per cent). Complete evaluation is impossible, since most of the restored men are in combat areas where adequate follow-up is extremely difficult.

The center's population (650-1,100; turnover of 110 per month) is divided into honor and pre-honor company men. The pre-honor company, or basic group, engages in training (calisthenics, military drill, vocation schools, and group psychotherapy) half the day and in hard labor (ammunition detail, road work, forestry, housekeeping) half the day. The honor company is given a course in basic training comparable to that of an infantry replacement training center, plus vocational training, and does not perform hard labor. Both companies receive an hour of group therapy daily, six times per week.

Restoration is predicated on adjustment to the center's dynamic and changing en-

vironment plus evidence of a change in personality sufficient to meet the stringent demands of military life. The environment of the center is one calculated, within the limits of a wartime military unit, to give the rehabilitee a "total push" toward maturation and reorientation.¹ All contacts are designed to prepare him for future adjustment to the Army, and group therapy is one element of the "total push." There is also individual psychotherapy in conjunction with the investigation and analysis of the rehabilitees and correlated with group therapy. Individual therapy both helps the rehabilitee toward deeper insight and prepares him for more effective group participation.

The group therapy program is conducted at this center by a psychiatrist and five trained assistants. Two types of group sessions are utilized, large and small. The large groups, of which there are three, contain from 125 to 175 men, in approximately the same stages of processing and segregated within a particular area in the center. The small groups, of which there are 12, each contain from 15 to 35 men. Each group meets with a therapist daily for a fifty-minute session. Rehabilitees attend three sessions in the large, and three in the small, groups weekly. The large sessions are held in a converted barn that serves as the center's chapel. The small sessions are conducted in two specially equipped barracks.

¹ Knapp and Weitzen, "A Total Psychotherapeutic Push Method as Practiced in the 5th Service Command Rehabilitation Center, Ft. Knox, Kentucky." (Unpublished MS.)

At staff conferences, group and individual progress is discussed, and, if indicated, rehabilitees are moved from group to group so that they will have an opportunity to relate themselves to different personalities in a therapeutic situation and not develop emotional dependence on any one therapist.

The four main groups are: (1) aggressive; (2) depressed and withdrawn; (3) the "normal"; and (4) the introductory. No attempt is made to differentiate between the specific manifestation of the basic disorders; for example, excessive drinking and A.W.O.L. are handled similarly. Special effort is made to give the rehabilitees insight into the similarity of their psychopathological traits. Selection for the groups is made on the basis of reaction to group life rather than on categories such as psychopath, psychoneurotic, etc. It is a valuable experience for all to learn the essential similarity of their various ways of meeting problems.

The therapy program runs on a weekly schedule for twenty-six weeks. Material on mental hygiene and sociological principles in relation to individual, social, and military adjustment is presented in simple, understandable form through visual aids. The latter include an extensive series of color slides, film strips, baloptican plates, and posters. Music is therapeutically used to prepare the way for, and augment, the emotional reaction to the visual aids. A fortnightly Rehabilitation Center newspaper, the *Rehab Roundup*, is published by the rehabilitees through the group therapy department. A broadcasting system, run by the rehabilitees under the direction of the group therapy department, presents programs of special interest and psychotherapeutic value to the rehabilitees.

The basic therapeutic problems of the Center are behavior disorders arising from psychopathy, mental deficiency, and emotional immaturity, or a combination of these. In the group treatment of these persons the group takes the initiative, and there is great freedom of expression, the discussion being kept on the personal level. The

emotional cohesiveness of the group is exploited.

A typical session shows the interaction around a psychopath:

P, twenty-five years old, a tall rehabilitee of medium build with dark hair, coarse face, had a history of childhood and adult delinquency and petty criminal activity. His behavior was impulsive, loud, disruptive from the first; he walked with a swagger and wasted no time in the sessions gaining recognition as an antisocial leader. He began by springing out of his seat and shouting that "Sarge A is picking on me!" I asked him what he meant, and he replied, "He goes around this center telling all the officers and NCO's I'm no damn good!" I asked T, a friend of P's, what he thought of that. T vehemently supported P. P's face flushed as he enlarged on his complaints against the center, the Army, and society as a whole. He shouted and waved to other rehabilitees for support of his dramatic accusations and waited belligerently for their replies. The aggressive antisocial elements in the group came to his support. After five minutes, the therapist asked the group what they thought about P's remarks. After about thirty seconds the rehabilitees stopped mumbling, several hands came up, and the therapist carefully chose the "weakest" of the aggressives. This rehabilitee supported P with antisocial views more calmly stated. Then the therapist asked G, a tall, rugged, commanding rehabilitee, who aggressively expressed the views of the rehabilitees with more positive social values: "I think Sarge A has his faults, but he doesn't go around picking on people, and who in the hell is P that Sarge A would waste his time picking on him?"

The group looked approvingly at G, and several members exclaimed, "That's right!" "P is full of it; everybody's always picking on him." P, slightly crestfallen, called to G, "Wait till he picks on you!" G heatedly replied, "I mind my own business, and don't go around sounding off what a tough guy I am, and nobody ever bothers me!" P yelled back, "You've been gigged!" G laughed disgustedly at P and said, "Sure I've been gigged, but that doesn't mean anyone is picking on me; it means I've done something I shouldn't have."

All laughed, and P angrily turned away and excitedly talked to T. The therapist asked C, who had looked on amusedly, what he thought had taken place. C, with a half-smile on his face,

said, "I don't want to say anything; it's none of my damn business." Several laughed at C's embarrassment. The therapist asked C why he felt this way, and C replied, "If I say what I really think, people will get 'burned up' at me, and they'll want to pick a fight with me later on."

The therapist asked C why people feel and act that way. A rehabilitee in the rear shouted, "Because they don't like the truth when somebody tells it to them, and they blow their top and they say the guy who tells them the truth is hand-shaking." The group nodded their approval vigorously, with several comments of "That's right!"

The therapist asked what kind of men generally act that way, and a rehabilitee in the rear shouted, "The guys who are always complaining, raising hell, and getting other guys in trouble and then saying they are right." The group again nodded approval, and the therapist looked at dejected, chagrined P, who pleaded, "I'm not that way!"

The group laughed, and P turned angrily to T: "Tell them, T, I'm not like that!" The group sobered and looked at T. T gave a very ineffectual defense of P, punctuated by the group's laughter and boos.

At this point the therapist, with the group's assistance, started a more detailed analysis of P's actions and attitudes, and the period ended with P reconciled to the group's criticisms, although he accepted little of it on other than an intellectual level.

The psychopathic rehabilitee approaches the center with a marked deviate, antisocial philosophy. His lack of social intelligence is deep-seated and dependent on discernible distortions of familial and cultural environment.² He requires a much more penetrating and persistent psychotherapy than the immature offender.

Mental deficiency, on the whole, does not

hinder adequate interaction with the group. The chief difficulty lies in its frequent association with psychopathic traits.

L, thirty-five years old, a submissive, withdrawn, southern Negro, belonged to the "very slow learning," or Grade V, category of the Army General Classification Test. He had been attending the group for several weeks, entering into the discussions only on provocation and then only monosyllabically.

During a discussion of the reasons behind attitudes, a particularly perplexed and worried expression in L's face caused the therapist to ask if he had a question.

L spoke in a slow, deliberate, somewhat querulous manner, "I don't understand what you were talking about." The therapist in a kind, reassuring tone, asked L if it was something in particular, or if it was something going on all through the period. L replied, "Half the time in here I never understand what you people say. You use big words." The therapist asked L if he didn't feel free to ask questions when he didn't understand.

With more emotion than usual, L stated, "I'm afraid the group will think I'm silly and laugh at me." The therapist turned to the group and asked if they ever laughed at anyone's asking questions. The group looked sympathetically at L, and M, an assertive, emotional rehabilitee, voiced the present feeling of the group when he said, "We don't want to laugh at any fellow for asking questions, because there are a lot of things many of us don't understand and ask questions about."

L seemed reassured by the group's acceptance and pleased by M's response. The therapist told L that in the future it would be his responsibility to interrupt when he didn't understand what was being said.

As the period continued, the group discussed the disadvantages of not asking questions, with L taking an active part.

The immature, "apron-string" rehabilitee ranges in age from nineteen to twenty-three years and offers the most hopeful prognosis. He usually enters the service with positive values and attitudes, but his inadequacies are thrown into bold relief by the stringent demands of the impersonal military environment.

The shock of confinement, the threat of social ostracism and stigma of the dishonor-

² Joseph Abrahams and Lloyd W. McCorkle, "Group Psychotherapy in a Rehabilitation Center" (unpublished MS): "The methodology for the group treatment of the individual with psychopathic traits . . . rests on a dynamic concept of the psychopath: formation of the psychopathic character is conceived as a result of the elemental reaction of the individual to his mother, father, and siblings by his and their regressive trends, which in turn are colored by the cultural environment."

able discharge, and a semipaternalistic re-orientation rapidly matured this type of rehabilitee. The following account of an advanced group of rehabilitees who have been more than five months at the center illustrates the point:

S, the nineteen-year-old, chubby, red-cheeked dependent eldest son of a brutal father and an overprotective mother, was confined to the center for persistent A.W.O.L.'s home. Rather quiet in group therapy, he was nevertheless attentive and persistently attempted to talk to the therapist at the close of the session about his personal problems. The therapist asked him if he would like to discuss them with the group and have the group help him. S agreed reluctantly.

The next session was opened by a remark by the therapist that S desired the group to help him. J, one of the more analytically minded, vocal rehabilitees, with warm anticipation said, "Fine, we'll help him. How about starting by telling about yourself?"

S flushed, attempted to conceal his embarrassment, and haltingly said, "Every time I went A.W.O.L. was from when I got so homesick I couldn't stand it any longer." He continued, slightly more at ease, "After I got home I would lie to my mother and tell her I was home on furlough. After a while my father would become suspicious and make me return to the Army."

J said seriously, "This sounds like a case of somebody not able to face reality and he had to run home to mama to make himself feel good." The group deliberated J's remark until S whinily said, "I don't think I'm a mama's boy." Before J could reply, the therapist asked the group if it might not be a good idea to approach S's problem from the way he gets along in the group.

S looked relieved as the group nodded and smiled understandingly. The therapist asked S if he was a follower or a leader, and before S could reply, several of the group members said, "A follower."

J anxiously picked up the discussion: "S has never been an acting noncom and when we play games he prefers to lie down on his bunk. He never says much, and a lot of the guys ride over him." The group nodded approval, S flushed, and with some antagonism toward J said, "I just don't want any trouble."

The group then discussed the reasons its in-

dividuals got into trouble, and how far one should go to avoid it. It then returned to S and his problem of adjusting at the center. A, a natural leader, suggested that S be given acting noncom stripes and that the group co-operate to make it easier for him until he learned to give commands. S expressed relief at the end of the session, saying that he would like to participate in the group's sports but still feared to act the noncom role, yet would like to try it.

These cases demonstrate that the psychotherapeutic principles of individual therapy (i.e., abreaction, catharsis, and identification) are employed in the group sessions. Their use in the social setting of a group is of advantage to individuals whose immediate problem is that of adjustment to the exacting environment of the rehabilitation center.

The mutual feeling developed in any group of men living together for periods of time in confinement often results in co-operative conniving to obtain little personal advantages in living. An attempt is made in the sessions to harness this force to hasten the restoration of the rehabilitees. Under the guidance of the therapist, the groups through free discussion examine the whys and wherefores of their confinement in terms of their whole life. The reward for their efforts is twofold: they improve their prospects of restoration, since a degree of self-understanding is a prerequisite, and they enjoy the personal interplay of discussion.

Training in group discipline is a necessary corollary to the therapeutic process. The belligerent, overassertive, antisocial rehabilitee is brought into line by his fellows and the asocial, shy, withdrawn person is drawn into conversation. While discipline from within is emphasized, when necessary the therapist actively disciplines the group.

Growth in the capacity of both individual and group to adjust and develop an *esprit de corps* are illustrated in the following example:

In two of the large groups in the prehospital company, rehabilitees were given the opportunity to go to the rear of the chapel and just sleep, providing they sat up and did not talk to one another or participate in the group discussion. There were twenty candidates for the sleeper group from one company and twenty-

six from the other. Before candidates were admitted to the sleeper group, the rehabilitees were told that if they failed to meet the two conditions they would have group therapy on the drill field for one week. The rehabilitees who formed the sleeper group were group members who for the most part related themselves to the center by almost vegetative behavior. Included, of course, were a few disrupters and chronic complainers. The rehabilitees who asked to join the sleeper group were questioned and only those with more than three months in the center were given permission.

The therapist then explained to the nonsleeper group the behavior of these men and reasons for their inability to meet their problems on a higher level of behavior. The nonsleeper group was told that, when the rehabilitees in the sleeper group want readmittance, they must decide to readmit them and, in doing so, assume a responsibility for them. A probation period of three weeks was set up for these rehabilitees, and if during this time the admitted rehabilitee fell asleep, the group would have either to reject him from the group or to lower the standards to permit this type of behavior. It was explained that to select the latter would mean that the group was unable to maintain its high standard and in effect they would all become members of the group with minimum standards and should expect to be treated as such. Since the majority of the rehabilitees wanted group therapy, the pressure was to eliminate offenders who violated not the therapist's but the group's values.

The rehabilitees in the sleeper group had a real motivation to seek readmittance into the group with higher standards, since their questions were not answered either in the group or individually. Also, it was difficult for them to find a role or any status in a group that had almost no interaction. There were some who, soon after they joined the group with minimum standards, found that their companions were rehabilitees whose hopelessness was objectionable—and they wanted to feel they were “going somewhere.” One rehabilitee gave as the reason for wanting readmittance his “not wanting to be let out.” Some of the rehabilitees in the sleeper group now stayed awake and had more interest in what was happening, since they were frequently referred to in analysis of problems. All the rehabilitees but ten wanted readmittance to the nonsleeper group in two weeks.

The rehabilitees who elected to stay in the nonsleeper group felt that they now had certain

standards to maintain, and group pressure was exerted on individuals to conform. The men who joined the sleeper group automatically received the at least passive disapproval of the group with higher standards. The rehabilitees in the group of higher standards identified themselves with their group and protected and defended its values. These values in time affected their approach to problems, and their behavior was modified accordingly. Thus group therapy gave the rehabilitee a new conception of his role in the group, and he defined the situation from this viewpoint.

This technique is also used to eliminate from the group other examples of deviant behavior, and group standards are constantly being elevated toward the “normal.” The group is encouraged to isolate and disapprove of behavior detrimental to it or its members. At no time, of course, is any restriction placed on what a man wants to say.

By this technique, the therapist, a forceful, dynamic individual, promoted the socialization and discipline of the group through the identification of the aggressive elements with himself. Irradiation of this identification throughout the entire group becomes inevitable. The aggressives became in some respects progressive and could not swerve from their new-found set of values without losing face.

In dealing with aggressive, antisocial elements, this point is of great importance. It can be used as a bridge for the attainment of lasting social values by the less aggressive members of the group. Most important of all, these social values have the group's stamp of approval.

Inherent in all group interaction are the mechanisms of abreaction, catharsis, and identification. Abreaction, or the living-through of earlier, inadequately coped with experiences is the most important of the three. The catharsis is kept on a constructive and personal level by the therapist, who utilizes the great “gripe drive” of individuals under military control. The employment of identification, which acts to give the quiet rehabilitee an “abreaction in absentia,” plus the other two mechanisms, will be illustrated in the following example.

The therapist noticed B, a heavy-built, good-looking, forceful rehabilitee in the rear away from the rest of the group looking at some papers. The therapist asked B if he would like to join the group, and the men all looked around from their seats and smiled. B angrily replied, "I am the acting first sergeant of this company, and I have to check this list." The men laughed and commented to one another and then looked expectantly at the therapist.

The therapist calmly asked B if he had to work while the group was talking. With an indifferent, nonchalant shrug of his shoulders, B said condescendingly, "I guess not, it's just that I thought this was important." The therapist then asked B in an authoritative tone to join the group. In a slow swagger he walked over to the group and, with a half-amused, bored smile sat down.

The therapist turned to the group and asked A why it is that some of the fellows don't want to be part of the group. A laughingly said, "I guess they don't give a damn about this stuff and think it is a lot of ———." The therapist turned to B, who now looked more sullen, and asked if this was true of him. B replied heatedly, "Lay off me; I don't want to be an example. Pick on somebody else." The therapist turned to the group which was looking at him expectantly and asked it if he was picking on B. B became tense, rose from his seat, and said, "Nobody can pick on me; I don't want anything to do with you or anybody else."

The therapist asked B why he felt this way, and he replied more aggressively, "Just lay off. If you knew what the fellows are all saying about you, you wouldn't act so smart." The therapist asked B if he cared to tell him what the men were saying, and B, waving his arms, wildly said, "They say you don't know what the hell you are talking about and nobody likes you." Several men of the group laughed, but the others seemed overawed by B's behavior. The therapist asked B if he also felt this way, and he burst out: "You are ——— right I do; if we were in civilian life, I wouldn't take any ——— from you. I would smash your face if you tried to tell me what to do." Without pausing, his face flushed and his body tense, B continued, "In civilian life I was a big shot. I gave guys like you a job, and if I weren't in here I would show you."

The therapist, in a conversational tone, asked B if he cared to tell why he felt this way, and with more control he replied, "You are like all

the rest, and I hate them all." The group, more relaxed, smiled knowingly at one another, and one fellow yelled, "Too bad about B, everybody picks on him; he never thinks about the guys he picks on." B angrily turned to the group and said, "I don't give a damn what you guys think," and, to the therapist, "See what I mean; you are turning the men against me." The men laughed loudly, and several more courageous spirits drowned B's remark. The therapist asked B what he had done. B replied, "You are smart and twist things around, but I can see through you." Another rehabilitee said, "I wish to hell you would make up your mind about that guy. One minute he is dumb; the next smart. Hell, he hasn't said a thing but let you blow your top." Another said warmly, "B, you want to smash his face—for what?" B defensively replied, "He is like the others; he would put the screws to you." The group looked expectantly at the therapist, who asked B if he had ever "put the screws to him." B said again defensively, "No, but I know you would, and I know a guy you had sent to the disciplinary barracks six weeks ago." I asked B the man's name, and, after a few moments, he said, "Why, C." The group laughed, "He was the biggest jerk to ever hit this place," said one. Another yelled, "That guy was a real trouble-maker; he got in trouble with everybody. How do you figure he sent him; I know that C liked him because he was the only person who C ever got along with." Then B, turning to the therapist, said, "They don't understand, but I know you for the guy you really are."

The therapist asked B if he could think of other people he had trouble getting along with, and B, with emotion, said, "Yes, I hate anybody who tells me what to do. I would like to smash all their faces. Why don't they leave me alone?" The therapist asked B to tell the group about some of his experiences with authority. B waved his arms, moved his body, and went on for five minutes about his trouble with people in authority. Then the group, the therapist, and B talked about his experiences. When the session closed, B was laughing and said to the therapist, "You are a funny guy; don't you ever get mad?"

The following notes on the progress of a rehabilitee will further illustrate the mechanism of group therapy.

S was twenty-one years old, white, native-born of French extraction, of medium stocky muscu-

lar build and swarthy complexion. He was a premature traumatic case, born in a family consisting of an explosive, egotistical father and an emotional mother who suffered from fainting spells and sick headaches with vomiting. He was quite attached to his mother, who usually pampered and petted him. A maternal grandfather was an invalid and suffered from dizzy spells; a maternal uncle was deaf and dumb; a paternal aunt was emotionally unstable; and a paternal cousin has epileptic seizures.

In childhood he was given to multiple fears, excessive whining and sulking, violent tantrums, thumbsucking until six, enuresis until twelve, and nail-biting to the present. In addition, he had a speech disorder until sixteen. He was very short and fat in childhood, was called "Butterball" by the other children, and would fight anyone at the slightest provocation. He played alone and read most of the time on subjects of rather advanced nature. In school his adjustment was variable; he lacked application and was a disruptive element. He was managing editor of his school paper, however, and active in dramatics and debating, which gave scope to his marked argumentativeness. He boasted of his superior mental and intellectual development and complained to his mother that "no one believes I'm a genius."

He was a poor mixer, avoided by people, and had only one good friend. He was exhibitionistic concerning his atheism, directly in contrast with his parents' extreme religious views. After finishing high school, he decided to be a writer, and as a result he wore long hair, a pair of sandals and white coveralls, and carried a large book under the arm. Two or three books reached the second-chapter stage, only to be abandoned for something else when he lost interest.

His sex life was marked by active dislike of girls until eighteen, masturbation persistent until the present, and infrequent visits to brothels. One of his amusements was, while driving with a girl friend, just to miss pedestrians and to attempt to knock their hats off with a cane in passing.

Fairly heavy drinking began at eighteen, chiefly reactive to his wide swings of mood. He held a succession of jobs for several months, during which he was argumentative and conceited and was repeatedly fired for insubordination. At his own request, he was disenrolled at the age of nineteen from the Merchant Marine, several months after joining. Following enrol-

ment in the Naval Reserve, he received a good discharge for "psychoneurosis."

He spent two years prior to induction hitchhiking and bumming his way, fabricating hard-luck stories and begging for food.

In the Army his adjustment was marginal, for five months under favorable conditions. Failure to receive a promotion resulted in a decision to obtain an inaptitude discharge. He stole a jeep, drove it off the post, and then surrendered to civilian authorities. After his sentence when refused an interview with a psychiatrist he struck a medical officer, and slashed his wrists.

On arrival at the center he was loud, aggressive, conceited, argumentative, with little or no emotional or intellectual insight. His antagonism toward all aspects of Army life knew no bounds, and he complained of life's injustices.

The reports on his behavior in the sessions are as follows:

April 20.—S, a new member in the group, entered into the discussion with a vociferous attack on the Army, the center, and the therapist. He ended his emotional outburst with shouted assertion that a dishonorable discharge is not so bad as some people say, and, besides, one could always move to another country. The group rejected his ideas, and several of the men told him to "wise up." After that he sulked and, despite the therapist's efforts, would not enter into the discussion.

April 28.—S, who has been silent for the past week, became active at the close of the session. He asked the patronizing therapist, "Why do you think you can teach men here, when they don't want to be in the group?" He continued heatedly with, "Why do we talk about progress when mankind has not progressed at all? My great-great-great-grandfather, who swung in the trees, fought for his existence as we do today." The group laughed, and he became tense and upset, and one of the members told him to "throw away the book he had been reading and concentrate on getting out of this place." He angrily walked out of the classroom, with the comment that "the men in here are just a bunch of bums."

May 9.—S quietly stated today, "I'm nothing more than a little cog in a big wheel, but I wouldn't mind that if the center would admit it's making a lot of mistakes." In a less re-

strained manner, S launched upon long-winded, esoteric complaints about the way he was being treated. He halted only occasionally to search for a more erudite word. Some of the rehabilitees were impressed, and S enjoyed the attention he received. As the therapist and group examined S's complaints, the rehabilitees pointed out his rationalizations; however, today S was able to remain active in the group and accept the men's criticisms.

May 20.—S, R, and P all expressed anxiety about their status at the center and fear that they might not restore. The group was surprised when S said, "I want to restore so I will get an honorable discharge and a chance for an education under the 'G.I. Bill of Rights.'" The men were impressed and applauded S's decision. S looked pleased and turned to the therapist and asked if he had a chance to restore. The therapist asked the group if they thought S had a chance to restore. P, when called upon, said, "Sure you have. I've been here longer than you, and I've seen guys with screwier ideas than you settle down and make the grade." S seemed reassured by P's remark.

June 1.—S asked the therapist, "How can I get over disliking someone?" The therapist asked S if he cared to tell the group about the person and his dislike for him or her. S replied, "I never got along with my old man, and lately I've been wondering if I shouldn't write him a letter and try to straighten things out." He continued with more emotion, "I never cared much for my old man, but in a lot of things he was right; and I guess I'd be a better guy if he would have punished me more." The group gave S sympathetic advice, and several of the men told of their difficulties with their fathers. The therapist encouraged S to talk about his feelings toward his parents and his experiences during childhood. The therapist then asked the group to help S put it all together.

June 20.—S became loudly explosive in the group today. He said, "I am a revolutionary, and even if I am wrong, I can't and don't want to change." The group's surprise in S's attitude was characterized by the remark of K, who asked, "What the hell's eating you? Did you get out of the wrong side of the bed this morning?" At this point S angrily said, "——— you," and turned his back on the group. The therapist asked S if he wanted to join the group's discussion. He sulked and replied, "No, I don't want to have anything to do with this." Several members volunteered information as to

why S felt this way, and S moved uneasily in his seat. Finally, unable to contain himself any longer, he arose and accused the group of picking on him. After this he remained moderately active in the group throughout the period.

July 1.—The discussion centered around reasons for authority. S gave a long, passionate speech in favor of the center's disciplinary policy. He said, "The trouble with this place is not that the center isn't fair but that the men don't know how to co-operate." One rehabilitee yelled, "Who in the hell are you to say people don't co-operate?" S's face flushed, he looked pleadingly at the therapist, and said, "I've changed, and these guys are trying to hold me back." The group laughed, and several booed. One man in the rear said, "S, you are the damndest guy! You never are in between. You are either all for or all against the administration, group therapy, and everybody else." S laughed. self-consciously and said, "I'm changing." The rehabilitee replied, "You're not changing, S; you remain the way you were when you entered this place." The rest of the hour was spent discussing the group and S. Today, S was calmer, laughed instead of striking out against people who criticized him, and was able to listen to other people's views.

July 28.—S told the group, in a loud, domineering, aggressive manner, how much he has learned in group therapy. Several members criticized S, and he countered with constructive, but patronizing arguments. The group is beginning to accept S, and S accepts the group. His present attitude is best summed up by his remark today, "I look forward to this hour all day long."

August 12.—S told the group of his anxiety concerning his restoration to duty. They reassured him as to his progress.

August 15.—Very elatedly, S told the group and therapist that he feels he has a good chance to restore.

September 6.—S was depressed, daydreamed throughout the period, and, when asked to enter the discussion, said, "I don't think I can restore. Why don't these people give me another chance?" He was fairly rational and objective about himself as he described his progress through the center. Finally, he said that he felt better "now that I've had a chance to get this out of my system." Several members told S that, as long as he is here, he has a chance to restore and that he shouldn't be upset just because he hadn't made the honor company

September 30.—S appeared at the Honor Company session today. Pleased with his new status, he lost no time in telling the group members what a great place the rehabilitation center is and how much he had profited by his experiences here. He was less patronizing and smug. His views were more rational and balanced. S and the group now accept each other.

October 13.—S continues to make apparent progress. His criticisms are more in the form of give-and-take, and he no longer runs away from or condemns the group. He told the therapist of writing to the University of Chicago for its catalogue, and of his plans to go to school there after his "honorable" discharge from the armed forces. (The therapist attended that University.)

November 6.—S talked very realistically of the problems he would have if and when he restores to duty. He was somewhat emotional, but his patronizing, condemning attitude was largely gone.

Examination by the psychiatrist (outside the group therapy department) who evaluated him at this point revealed: "He is pleasant, neat in appearance, and speaks spontaneously. His ideas are expressed succinctly, and he apparently derives a great deal of satisfaction in attempting to impress the examiner with his superior vocabulary. Orientation and comprehension are excellent. Insight is good. He expresses himself as willing to be incarcerated further because of the accelerating influence this rehabilitation center has had on his emotional maturation. He presents a history typical of constitutional psychopathic personality, excitable personality, but, in view of the changes undergone in his makeup in the last ten months, the examiner believes that this diagnosis is no longer tenable."

A letter from this man two and a half months after restoration is presented:

DEAR SARGE:

Just a word or two from an ole "ex." You remember me, of course; I was the impulsive radical and you the guiding light. Huh.

Just a word of good propaganda to the boys. The furlough is the best thing this side of heaven and all GI's yet are sympathetic, no "jailbird"—remarks or attitudes. And everything seems so easy and simple compared to the complex Rehab environment.

I discovered something today. This morning for breakfast we had two pancakes, two or three pieces of bacon, and a orange, which was less

than we got at the Rehab. I had just finished eating when this thought struck me.

What if I exchanged the men here around me for the Rehabitees. I gazed at the men around me. They were eating in perfect contentment and as they finished lit a cigarette, got up, and walked out, also as in the Rehab, washing out plate, etc., without a word of griping, urging, etc., about the food. And we are all restricted to the company areas too (all expect to be shipped out* any day now), and I know that they are not eating anywhere else.

I could not help but compare this behavior with that exhibited at the Rehab.

There was no "gulping-down" of food. No "searching glances" and "fervent prayers and profane demands" for seconds. If one got more than another, no curse words were heard.

I suspect that for some reason—whether it be "neurotic egos" distorting what seems to be an adequate supply of food—or if it was that the hunger drives of the Rehabitees is abnormal. But I do know now that the entire attitude of the men at the Rehabilitation Center concerning food, the amount necessary, etc., is a abnormal one. You no doubt could explain it. I think that at the end of my stay there I realized this fact, but not as strong as I do now.

Surely the men could save their minds and nervous system and bodies a lot of anxiety and strain if they "would (?) but take an objective attitude toward the chow situation.

Well give my Hello to P, A, and S. Say "Having a Wonderful time wish you would be here" to them. And a "Good Day" to E, my old enemy therapist. We really used to have it.

Well stay on the ball and keep the "Group" class going solid.

My best wishes
S.

Group therapy, with its natural living qualities, differs from other groups, such as classroom lectures, town meetings, and club gatherings in its extremely personal slant, more permissive atmosphere, and all-consuming intent to discover the "why" behind the behavior of its members. The therapist is a moderator, albeit a paternalistic one, who subtly controls the direction of the group's inquisitorial activities. His personal balance and control enable him to serve as a clear mirror of the group's distorted behavior and attitudes.

It is of importance to note that group therapy attempts to "reach" the psychopath, a notoriously affect-poor individual, through group cohesiveness, through the "drag" group life has on individuals. The mental defective is likewise believed more liable to respond to group living pressure than to individual exhortation.

The extremely favorable statistics presented at the beginning of this paper must be considered in the light of a follow-up system rendered inadequate by the rapid shipment overseas of rehabilitees restored to duty. Any conclusions, therefore, as to the long-range value of the program must be held in abeyance.

SUMMARY

1. Group therapy is one phase of a "total push" environment, where all contacts of

the rehabilitee are to prepare him for future adjustment to all aspects of Army life.

2. The result of treatment is the gradual development and increase in emotional stability, maturity, initiative, leadership, sense of national obligation, and eagerness to return to duty.

3. The prison atmosphere is believed to be markedly lessened by the therapeutic process. The rehabilitee's sense of values is developed and his horizon broadened. Sometimes the result is spectacular.

4. Group therapy has shown itself to be of real institutional value; opinions as to its long-term, social values must be withheld.

FIFTH SERVICE COMMAND
REHABILITATION CENTER
FORT KNOX
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

THE COMBAT NEUROSES

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

ABSTRACT

The main types of neuroses among combat soldiers are the anxiety, "mixed," and hysteria patterns. Anxiety, the most prevalent type, usually had a slow onset and usually occurred on the battlefield. Not necessarily an outgrowth of neurotic predisposition, it seemed to be more directly related to the precipitating experiences. When the soldier was unable to cope defensively with a series of situations, he lost self-confidence, he felt self-condemnatory, and his capacity for sociability declined and his craving for affection became intensified. Anxiety expressions were thwarted by the army unit when these reactions impeded its efficiency. Capable leadership and solidarity were important in preventing combat collapse.

The present war more than any other contemporary phenomenon has directed attention to the importance of the precipitating situation in neurotic breakdown. Though these breakdowns have frequently been related to faulty childhood traits, the growing evidence shows that a certain proportion of normal and healthy soldiers also succumbed. The psychobiological effects of these types of neurotic collapse have been intensively analyzed; but it has become increasingly necessary to resort to concepts concerning individual-group relations to complete the interpretation. It may be pertinent, therefore, to inquire into this social dimension of personality as it relates to combat neurosis. Prior to a discussion of the onset and effects of the anxiety neurosis, however, the types of situations which induced breakdown and the predisposition of the patients to neurosis will be described.

The subjects were 276 enlisted men in the combat branches of the Army Ground and Service Forces who had been returned to the United States for additional treatment at the convalescent hospital center. Since the overwhelming proportion—about 90 per cent—of neurotic patients returned to combat or related duties, the patients investigated were either the most severely affected or the most resistant to treatment.¹ Some broke

down more than once before evacuation to the zone of interior. Virtually all cases were judged unfit for reassignment in either combat or communications zone. At the convalescent hospital center the patients had a markedly reduced symptomatology, and could verbalize objectively many experiences. All subjects were "up front" in combat; nearly all came from the European Theater of Operations. They were removed from combat between December, 1944, and May, 1945. Except for these criteria, they were selected at random. They consisted of infantrymen (71.5 per cent), medics (9 per cent), armored forces (8 per cent), field artillery (5.5 per cent), engineers (4.5 per cent), and signal corps linemen (1.5 per cent). They averaged about 13.5 months overseas and had been in or near combat between 4 and 5 (4.27) months before hospitalization.²

per cent remaining had to be removed to the United States" (Brigadier General William C. Menninger, "Psychiatry and War," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1945, pp. 110, 111).

¹ "The experience in the First, Third and Seventh Armies indicated that approximately 60 per cent of such casualties could be returned to duty in the army within two to ten days treatment—over half of them in actual combat—and that another 30 per cent could be returned for non-combat in the Zone of Communications in the Theater. Only ten

² This distribution of rates for the different branches of service is not necessarily representative of the proportion of breakdown among the combat branches of the army, though it is apparent that the majority of breakdowns in the ground forces occurs in the infantry. With reference to rank, 38.9 per cent were privates; 32.2 per cent were pfc's; 11.1 per cent were corporals; 7.6 per cent were sergeants; 7.8 per cent were staff sergeants; 1.9 per cent were technical sergeants; and 0.4 per cent were first or master-sergeants. This ratio of breakdowns among "noncoms"—i.e., from corporals and up—seems in proportion, perhaps in excess of their proportion, in the army.

The three main neurotic patterns among the patients included (1) the anxiety, (2) the mixed—i.e., anxiety and hysteria—and (3) hysterical syndromes.

The anxiety cluster of reactions was the most prevalent—56.5 per cent of the present study—of the traumatic or situational war neuroses.³ Called such other names as “combat exhaustion,” “nervous exhaustion,” “combat fatigue,” “operational ‘fatigue’”—though fatigue is not its essential component—it is identified as the “combat syndrome” of the present war as distinct from the so-called “shell-shock” cases of World War I.⁴

³ The traumatic or situational war neuroses differ from character neuroses, which generate in childhood. The former breakdowns seem more directly related to the conflict situation which induced the break. The conflict is, consequently, more related to the precipitating situation, is less repressed, and is not so integrally bound up with the personality as is the character neurosis. When a situational neurosis is mild, it sometimes can be alleviated by removing the person from the situation (see Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* [New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939]). Some psychiatrists regard the “combat syndrome” or the anxiety reaction type as relevant only to nonpredisposed individuals. The breakdowns of the predisposed soldiers are regarded as recurrences of previous breakdowns. Blain states in this connection: “. . . The diagnosis [traumatic neurosis] should be limited to those patients having a history of previous good adjustment, in whom the onset followed combat in the sense of contact and battle with the enemy, and who showed objective evidence of recoverability. Men with nervous reaction not fulfilling these criteria are considered to be undergoing recurrences of previous psychoneurotic disorders” (Daniel Blain, “Neuropsychiatric Aspects and Treatment of Convoy and Torpedo Casualties,” *Manual of Military Psychiatry*, ed. Harry C. Solomon and Paul I. Yakovlev [Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1945], p. 635). The percentage of anxiety cases is usually higher than 60 per cent and in some samples runs over 80 per cent.

⁴ The term “shell shock” was coined by Colonel Frederick Mott, a British pathologist, who claimed that exploding shells caused minute hemorrhages of the brain. But it was discovered that a very small percentage of these cases had this type of hemorrhage and that many “shell-shocked” cases were never near an exploding shell. The term fell into disuse and was eventually abandoned for the term, “traumatic neurosis” (see Robert P. Knight, “The Treatment of the Psychoneuroses of War,” *Bulletin*

Existing in varied composites, its physiological symptoms included confusion, apprehension, impaired attentive facility, irritability, restlessness, apathy, aversion to noise, battle dreams, and nightmares.⁵ Its social expressions consisted of loss of confidence, self-condemnation, diminution of sociability as manifested in an aversion for crowds, an inability to sustain conversation or to meet strangers, and an intensified craving for affection and for “familiar” persons and environs.

The mixed pattern, which characterized 37.3 per cent of the total group, had one or more somatic disturbances without organic cause, which were combined with anxiety symptoms.

The hysteria cluster, which existed in 6.2 per cent of the cases, consisted of fixed somatic disturbances without accompanying anxiety reactions. This syndrome was relatively infrequent among American soldiers.

Other psychoneurotic patterns, such as reactive depression, neurasthenia, and obsessive-compulsion, were too few to be in-

of the Menninger Clinic, VII, No. 4 [July, 1945], 145; also Menninger, *op. cit.*)

The biological organs affected also differed in the two wars. In the first war the heart was most severely disturbed. In the present war the stomach has been the most frequently upset. Various explanations have been advanced for this difference, such as motivation in fighting, static and mobile warfare, differences in the types of participant personalities, the advance and influence of psychiatry in detecting anxiety cases, the use of larger and more deadly tools of destruction, particularly the airplane, in the present war.

⁵ The physiological manifestations of anxiety included upset stomach, loss of appetite, loss of weight, headaches, dizziness, nausea, tension, tremors, excessive perspiring, heart palpitations, crying, and fatigue.

The impaired attentive ability was indicated by the relatively low score in the Digit-Span test of the Bellevue Wechsler Intelligence Test. Anxiety cases also seemed to have a decline in their abstraction ability. One hundred men were tested by the Shipley-Hartford Retreat Scale before and after convalescent furlough. After furlough, the men gained an average of ten points; the difference was statistically significant. The vocabulary scores, however, showed no appreciable rise.

cluded in the analysis. But it was noted that features of these subtypes sometimes were mixed with the syndromes studied.⁶

I

The types and onset of breakdown may be more clearly understood by a more definitive analysis of the precipitating situations. Did the aberrant reactions develop gradually or abruptly? Where did the onset occur—on the battlefield or behind the lines? Did patients with different syndromes exhibit variations in the mode of onset?

Seventy and five-tenths per cent of the patients seemed to acquire their symptoms gradually and cumulatively. The gradual onset was reported for the three types of patients; 31.2 per cent of the group slowly acquired such anxiety symptoms as headaches, stomach-aches, "shakiness," memory lapses, among other reactions, and were sufficiently incapacitated either to "ride the sick book" or to be ordered back of the lines. Twenty-four and one-tenth per cent developed their symptoms during hospitalization or during furlough. Fifteen and two-tenths per cent were removed because of somatic disturbances which were aggravated during combat.

Twenty-nine and five-tenths per cent might have incurred their symptoms more abruptly; 25.8 per cent broke down after an explosion or artillery barrage; some patients in this category had had previous symptoms, which merely became intensified and less controlled after this culminating experience. Some soldiers were so perturbed by fierce encounters or by the death of their buddies that they succumbed soon after. For example, one soldier withstood bombardment for two days behind the German lines and saw

⁶ Depression and fatigue were the main components of reactive depression and neurasthenia, respectively. Both symptoms were prevalent among soldiers with anxiety reactions. In some cases compulsions were noted, but this feature was more characteristic of noncombatant soldiers.

Many soldiers were so quickly removed from the battlefield that the symptoms did not have time "to settle." The symptoms were formed into varying combinations.

five buddies killed. When he finally reached his unit, he was tense, tremulous, somewhat confused, and had to be removed.

Though three out of four (75.9 per cent) patients developed their symptoms on the battlefield, the "one" (24.1 per cent) patient broke down behind the lines. The hospitalized patients acquired their symptoms (1) immediately after arrival, (2) when recalling the previous events, or (3) when confronted by the prospect of further duty. The significant fact is that the external stresses per se do not necessarily explain the breakdown. The response or intended response to the situation, or the "meaning of the stimuli," may be even more fundamental in explaining the onset.⁷

The patients with different syndromes had slight variations in mode of onset. The mixed group had experiences somewhat similar to those of the anxiety group; in addition, 30.1 per cent of that group had had previous somatic disturbances, which became exacerbated during combat and were the chief cause of their removal. The seventeen hysterical patients had a slow onset. Seven developed their symptoms during hospitalization for a wound or illness; ten had had previous somatic disturbances when they arrived from the front. The patients who suddenly acquired hysterical symptoms under fire also seemed to develop anxiety symptoms; their symptoms were less fixed and more responsive to treatment. The symptoms which developed gradually seemed more lasting.⁸

II

Divergent opinions have been expressed about soldiers who broke down during mili-

⁷ See Lieutenant Colonel Roy R. Grinker, "Combat Neuroses in the Air Forces" (paper delivered at the Neuropsychiatric Conference of the Sixth Service Command, Chicago, November 16, 1945).

⁸ "Long hospitalization and care always produced more tenacious symptoms. Therefore around a nucleus of 'acceptable' illness the patient builds conscious and unconscious protective mechanisms" (Herbert I. Kupper, "Psychic Concomitants in Wartime Injuries," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VII, No. 1 [January, 1945], 20).

tary service. Turow found that about 73 per cent of 1,500 noncombatant patients were predisposed to neurosis.⁹ Wexberg claimed that most patients who were stationed in the tropics had a "past history of at least mild neuroticism."¹⁰ Though he does not explicitly indicate whether his subjects were combatant, noncombatant, or both, he seems to infer that they were noncombatant. Since healthier soldiers are screened for combat duty, a higher rate of nonpredisposed soldiers might be found among the combatants. Maskins has indicated that "the vast quantity of the early war literature attributed neurotic collapse to 'predisposition,' 'inferior heredity,' 'taint.' Yet it was soon evident that substantial, reliable, untainted soldiers could disintegrate."¹¹ Hargreaves found that 20 out of 98 hysterics, 31 out of 80 anxiety cases, and 1 out of 6 "purely exhaustion" cases—28.3 per cent of the total group—showed no signs of past abnormality. He concluded that greater emphasis should be placed on the situation encountered when the breakdown occurred than "on the history of the past."¹² Though Sheps and others have shown that the soldiers who did break down had a higher rate

of predisposed cases than those who withstood combat or who were most successful during training, it still means that there was a certain proportion of nonpredisposed soldiers who collapsed. Consequently, it was of interest to discover what proportion of the soldiers who broke down were predisposed and what effect this difference had upon their ability to withstand combat as expressed in battle time-span.

In the present inquiry, 39.9 per cent of the patients were considered relatively nonpredisposed to neurosis and were relatively stable and adjusted persons before induction.¹³ In the anxiety group, about one-half (49.4 per cent) of the soldiers were nonpredisposed, though the proportions decreased among the mixed (30.1 per cent) and among the hysterical (11.8 per cent) patients. The discrepancies in these categories may suggest that the anxiety reaction or "combat syndrome" does not necessarily result from predisposition but rather may result from the soldier's combat experiences. The nonpredisposed group also seemed less susceptible to the formation of hysterical disturbances (Table 1).¹⁴

The nonpredisposed soldiers remained in combat longer than the predisposed by about $1\frac{1}{3}$ (1.31) months.¹⁵ The former averaged slightly over 5 (5.05 ± 3.58) months in battle, while the latter averaged about $3\frac{3}{4}$ (3.74 ± 2.91) months in combat. Differences in combat time-span between the types of neurotics were slight—0.29 month, or about 9 days. The anxiety group remained

⁹ Major Irving L. Turow, "Neurosis, Neurotic Reaction and Motivation" (paper delivered before the Neuropsychiatric Conference of the Sixth Service Command, Chicago, November 16, 1945).

¹⁰ Major Leopold E. Wexberg, "Neuropsychiatric Disorders in the Tropics," *Manual of Military Psychiatry*, ed. Harry Solomon and Paul I. Yakovlev.

¹¹ Meyer Maskins, "Psychodynamic Aspects of the War Neuroses," *Psychiatry: Journal of the Biology and Pathology of Inter-personal Relations*, IV, No. 1 (February, 1941), 103.

¹² G. Ronald Hargreaves, "The Differential Diagnosis of the Psychoneurosis of War," in *The Neuroses of War*, ed. Emanuel Miller (New York: Macmillan Co., 1943), p. 90. Hargreaves' criteria of predisposition included: (1) "family history of mental disease; (2) signs of gross nervous disturbance in childhood—e.g., epileptiform convulsions, enuresis, etc.; (3) signs of psychical disturbance in childhood—nightmares and terrors; (4) signs of failure to adapt to school life—avoidance of games, failure to make friends, etc.; (5) signs of failure to adapt to adult life—failure to stick to and adapt to civil employments" (*ibid.*, p. 89).

¹³ The criteria of predisposition were determined by the psychiatric evaluations and by the social histories.

¹⁴ "Both in the last war and in this, it has been noted that the better types suffer affective changes usually combined with anxiety whereas their less meritorious mates react with hysteric symptoms" (Geoffrey Tooth, "Nervous Breakdown in the Navy," *British Medical Journal*, March 11, 1944, p. 358).

¹⁵ The difference between the means is statistically significant as computed by the formula,

$$G_D = \sqrt{\frac{G_1^2}{N_1} + \frac{G_2^2}{N_2}}$$

in combat 4.39 months, while the mixed group remained on the field 4.11 months (Table 2).

What personal difficulties did the predisposed soldiers have before induction into the army? Only 11 patients—6.6 per cent—of the predisposed group admitted one or more breakdowns during civilian life. They eventually recovered and were able to resume work. About 1 out of 3, or 31.3 per cent of the group, revealed the following childhood

and adolescent manifestations: enuresis, fears and nightmares, temper tantrums, "nervousness," periods of tension and lack of emotional control. The schizoid group—22.9 per cent—were unable to cultivate friends, were dependent upon some family member, and more or less resented impersonal authority. For this reason, some found difficulty in retaining jobs unless they worked unmolested or had their own businesses. Twenty-one and nine-tenths per cent of the

TABLE 1

TYPES OF COMBAT BREAKDOWN AMONG PREDISPOSED AND NONPREDISPOSED SOLDIERS

TYPE OF PERSONALITY	ANXIETY		MIXED		HYSTERIA		TOTAL	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Predisposed:	79	50.6	72	69.9	15	88.2	166	60.1
Nonpredisposed:	77	49.4	31	30.1	2*	11.8	110	39.9
Total:	156	100.0	103	100.0	17	100.0	276	100.0

* In one of the two cases, it was difficult to decide whether the patient was predisposed. The record, however, indicated that there were no neuropathic traits.

TABLE 2

RATES OF TIME-SPAN IN OR NEAR COMBAT PRIOR TO BREAKDOWN
AMONG PREDISPOSED AND NONPREDISPOSED SOLDIERS AND
AMONG TYPES OF COMBAT NEUROTICS

No. OF MONTHS	PERSONAL PREDISPOSITION		TYPES OF NEUROTICS		
	Pre-disposed	Nonpre-disposed	Anx.	Mixed	Hysteria
Under 1.	19.3	13.6	16.0	18.4	17.6
1-1.9.	13.9	3.7	10.8	8.7	5.9
2-2.9.	16.3	12.7	14.2	17.4	11.8
3-3.9.	11.4	11.9	11.5	8.7	29.4
4-4.9.	9.6	11.9	9.0	11.6	17.5
5-5.9.	7.8	17.3	12.2	10.7	5.9
6-6.9.	9.6	7.2	8.3	10.7	.....
7-7.9.	3.7	7.2	5.8	4.8	5.9
8-8.9.	2.4	2.7	2.8	2.0	.....
9-9.9.	2.4	1.8	1.9	2.0	.....
10-10.9.	1.8	.9	2.6	.....	.....
11-11.9. . . . .	.....	2.7	1.9	.....	.....
12-12.9.	1.2	.9	.6	2.0	.....
13-13.9. . . . .	.....	.9	.....	1.0	.....
14-14.9. . . . .	.6	3.7	2.6	1.0	.....
15-15.9. . . . .	.....	.9	.....	1.0	.....
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

patients came from "nervous and unstable" families and had met considerable tension in early life. Some had parents or siblings who were psychotic, neurotic, or "very high strung." Though many patients might have adjusted vocationally, they were often impeded by familial demands and problems. Those with somatic disturbances—13.9 per cent—frequently had the bases for their subsequent conversion symptoms.¹⁶ The alcoholics—3.6 per cent—manifested instability in other ways, such as emotional lability, depression, and tension.

The combination of some predisposing traits is illustrated in the following brief history. This twenty-three-year-old, white infantry rifleman had been in the army about 2½ years, had spent 18 months overseas, and was in or near combat about 3 months before his breakdown occurred. He was diagnosed as a severe anxiety case.

My father is a welder, and he makes enough money to support us, but he didn't get along so well with my mother. My mother said she was promised to him so she married him. She wasn't in the house very much. She went out with her friends, "women" friends, and drank a lot. They fought a lot, and I didn't like to see them. I went outside and took long walks. When I was fifteen, my mother was operated for gallstones, and after the operation she got pneumonia and died. I began wandering around and didn't go to school for a week. I wanted to be by myself. I cried, too, but I didn't let anybody else see me.

I've always been alone. I used to play with my sister, but I grew out of that. I stuck around home or went for long walks. There was nobody that I wanted to go with. I never belonged to a club or had a real friend. When I came home from school, I didn't play ball or other sports. I didn't know how. I did little jobs for my father or sat home and listened to the radio. There were three boys who lived on my street,

and they wanted to know me. So one day, they started throwing snowballs at me and then tried to make my acquaintance. I got to know them, but didn't have much to do with them. They came around only when they wanted something. Money or something like that. I got onto them, and I wouldn't give them anything. People always wanted something from me.

I quit school in the eighth grade. I got into too many fights with other boys. They would start out of nothing. They would get on my nerves, and I would start throwing fists. I get hot-tempered easy. I got a job through my father in the factory, and the boss let me alone so I could do my work. When anybody lets me alone, I'm all right. When they start bothering me, I feel like fighting. I only knew one girl. I got to know her when I was eighteen. She was fourteen, a neighbor. She ignored me, but later I began to talk to her; when I was twenty and was going into the army she said she would write to me every day.

In the army, trouble started. I was never with so many people all the time. Everybody telling you what to do. I said the wrong thing or somebody said the wrong thing to me, and we would fight. I kept to myself as much as I could. When I'm by myself I feel good. In real life nobody notices me or fights with me. I want people to like me. They will like me when I can be somebody. I daydreamed about people liking me—all the time. I went to town every week end in the army and looked at the store windows or went to a show. When we finished training during the week days, I went for walks. I wrote letters home nearly every day and got two letters a week from home. I wrote a lot to my girl friend, but she was slow in answering, so I stopped writing to her. And she said something I didn't like. After five months of training they sent me to a P.O.E. I got scared and wrote my father that I was going overseas. He told me not to worry, that I wouldn't go. But I did.

In Africa, I got so lonely, I could sit and cry. I missed my home, and was scared too. Then I tried to go with the others when they talked and put in a word here and there. I did my work so nobody would laugh at me. From Africa we went to Anzio and stayed there about three months. I was scared all the time. I wrote letters home while I was in the foxhole and things were quiet. During the shellings there were times when I wanted to run back, but I didn't. The other fellow in the foxhole got on

¹⁶ Some patients who had conversion symptoms, such as headaches and backaches, claimed that one of the parents had had similar aches. In another study of noncombatant breakdowns, it was found that many Negroes from the South complained of conversion reactions or "miseries," which they claimed were like those of the mother or father. It seems that this type of symptom takes on the form of a family "tradition."

my nerves, and I got on his nerves. I tried my best not to show it and wanted to get along with him. I saw some men I knew get killed, and that made me angry and scared. I got shot in the arm. Then I got some fragments in my side, and that jarred me up so much, I wanted to get away. Then they had a shelling, and one landed near me and I fell unconscious, when I woke up in the hospital, I was shaking and nervous.

The relatively nonpredisposed soldiers seemed able to withstand combat stress longer than the predisposed group, but battle time-span is only one index to the soldier's ability to withstand the trials of war. Varied combinations of factors, such as the ferocity of the campaign, the rigors of terrain and climate, the number of buddies killed and maimed, the triumph or defeat of the unit, and the soldier's singular configuration of ordeals were also responsible for his eventual breakdown.¹⁷ A significant circumstance bearing on breakdown was the quality of the soldier's unit and his relative position in it. Since the breakdown was often a cumulative process, the group, by its leaders and men, was able to offset or inadvertently to hasten the collapse. The influence of the unit will be indicated in the discussion of the genesis and effects of the anxiety breakdown.

III

The soldier who is about to enter combat undergoes an intense emotional ordeal. Tense with expectancy, he is uncertain as to how he will react under fire and hopeful that he will not be too afraid. Fear, tension, and apprehension are so prevalent among soldiers that these reactions are virtually normal responses in a grossly abnormal situation.¹⁸ Emerging after the first phase of com-

bat, he may get renewed confidence. By the continually perilous experiences his confidence may begin to be sapped. He becomes more weary, his determination lags, and he finds more difficulty in keeping up with the others; the situations become more formidable and more arduous to cope with.

The anxiety breakdown begins when the soldier feels overwhelmed by a situation or series of situations and becomes so helpless that he cannot formulate, enact, or complete a protective response.¹⁹ He feels defenseless. Since his orientation becomes uncertain, his environs problematic, he lapses into a state of self-concern, concentrating upon measures of defense. In this personal crisis, he may be hesitant, irresolute, confused, tense, or tremulous in preparation for renewed activity, which, however, he cannot consummate. Powerless to retaliate successfully, he is either immobilized or intent upon fleeing.²⁰ His acquired military habits break down, for he feels that these attitudes cannot protect him. His activity then becomes more random, more impulsive, and

servations in the Tunisian Campaign," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIV, No. 3 [1943], 383).

¹⁹ "What is the nature of the psychological process that can influence the basic underlying repetitive pattern which characterizes all neurotic phenomena? . . . the repetitive pattern is a recurring effort to bring to a satisfactory completion a painful, forgotten and incomplete experience" (Lawrence S. Kubie, "The Nature of Psychotherapy," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, XIX, No. 3 [1939], 190, 191). The "act" as a unit of behavior analysis has been adopted implicitly or explicitly by some psychiatrists. Kardiner, for example, states: ". . . Our operational concept is drive plus action syndrome. But since the drive is implicit no matter what the action syndrome is, it is only the latter which furnishes reliable differential criteria. It is much less of a risk to . . . leave the drive implicit, than vice versa" (Abram Kardiner, "The Traumatic Neuroses of War," in *Psychosomatic Medicine*, II-III [Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, 1941], 140).

²⁰ "The basic anxiety is more or less the same everywhere, varying only in extent and intensity. It may be described as a feeling of being small, insignificant, helpless, deserted, endangered in a world that is out to abuse, cheat, attack, humiliate, betray, envy" (Horney, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

¹⁷ Soldiers without gross abnormalities responded differently to different types of situations. Some soldiers became more discouraged and tense as a result of a scolding or of ridicule. Others were able to tolerate social pressures but less able to endure a shelling. The majority of patients were least able to endure the death or maiming of buddies.

¹⁸ "A state of tension and anxiety is so prevalent in the front lines that it must be regarded as a normal reaction in this grossly abnormal situation" (Captain Herbert X. Spiegel, "Psychiatric Ob-

more personalized. Prior to the breakdown, he may search desperately for a medium to surmount the danger. By intensifying his aggressions, he may strive to destroy the object before he succumbs. He may become "trigger happy," may give away his position, or grow temporarily disoriented. One soldier, for example, during a barrage, jumped out of his foxhole, ran to the German lines, and demanded that they "quit making so much noise." He had to be forcibly pulled back by his buddies. In fits of desperate aggression, he may perform heroic deeds.²¹ One soldier (a not too infrequent instance) wiped out a machine-gun nest single handed, before he collapsed.²² Even this behavior is transient. Soon the soldier may break, with the characteristic explanation: "I went haywire," "I went to pieces."

Before I got hit with fragments, I was confident all right. I thought the others might get hurt but not me. Then a sniper's bullet got me, and that shook my confidence right there. I knew my number could be up, too. I got better, came back, and was going along for a while; but I was not as cocky as I used to be. Then some buddies of mine got it, and that wore me down more. "My number's coming," I felt in my stomach, and that got me shaky—that or something. Then during a shelling, a blast came near me and I was hit by fragments. It shook me so badly, I thought it was my time now. But I jumped up and tried to shoot or something. I don't know what happened after. I must've blacked out or something. And when I came to in the hospital, I was shaky and jittery and everything else.

²¹ Pseudo-psychotic episodes are not infrequent among severe anxiety cases. By bizarre and seemingly disoriented behavior, some patients in the early stages resemble schizophrenics. It seems that after treatment, the self remains intact, if contracted. It may be stretched to the bursting-point, but it does not splinter off into delusional behavior.

²² This does not mean, of course, that all anxiety patients commit valorous deeds only before the breakdown. Some do it while in a normal condition. Rees in this connection writes: "... In Algeria I saw in the hospital eight officers with battle neurosis who had recently been decorated for gallantry on the field" (Brigadier General J. R. Rees, "A Brief Impression of British Military Psychiatry," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, VIII, No. 2 [March, 1944], 34).

The soldier may break without an emotional upsurge. Though his symptoms, such as headaches or persistent stomach-aches, grow more severe, he may strive harder to continue. His declining self-confidence makes him more preoccupied and less responsive to collective controls. Defeated, ineffectual, and unable to continue, he may explain: "I couldn't take it any more," "I was all washed up."

You can't get your mind on anything any more. You get so damn mixed up. There are a dozen things bothering you. You get angry at yourself. You don't want to quit. You want to keep going. But you know, you just aren't any good any more.

During a break, the soldier may be unable to move—"freezes" on the spot—may suffer a lapse of memory, a fugue, or a sustained amnesia, which often results from the attempt to banish the object from his mind. By this repressive process, he tends to lose sight of the objects which created his disturbance. The unresolved conflict, however, actively presses for a solution, particularly in his dreams. During periods of treatment and convalescence, he seldom if ever discusses the episode of breakdown, except for diagnostic or therapeutic purposes.²³

The soldier's helpless condition may be accentuated by artillery blasts.²⁴ "The blast hurled me right out of the room"; "I was tossed in the air like a pebble"; "A shell landed near me and almost buried me alive. My voice choked and my arms and legs

²³ One common and implicit agreement among them, which is like a stringent taboo, is the restraint upon questioning another patient about his episode of breakdown. The patients may discuss various other features of their military life, but this particular event is avoided. The patients who are incapacitated physically do not feel so inhibited in discussing the happenings related to their wounds.

²⁴ "The symptom of anxiety is the sign of the shock to the self-confidence occasioned by the trauma. This is most strikingly expressed in men, who in consequence of an explosion, have been knocked down, hurled over or blown up..." (Sandor Ferenczi, Ernest Jones, and Sigmund Freud, *Psychoanalysis of the War Neuroses* [London: International Psychoanalytical Press, 1921]; quoted in Maskin, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106).

were pinned and frozen. I tried like hell to get out, but I couldn't move."

The breakdown may have its physiological base in cumulative fatigue and in organic tension and its psychological base in accruing fear, which wear away resolution and confidence; but the onset of the collapse comes when the soldier feels he cannot manipulate the overwhelming situation. The prolonged personal crisis, in fact, aggravates his tension, fatigue, fear, and self-concern in trying to build up defensive attitudes. During the early phase of the African campaign, some replacements broke down because "there just weren't enough veterans left to explain to the replacements how they were to respond to the numerous difficulties which they had to face for the first time."²⁵

The unit, however, resists anxious expressions, which affect its solidarity and collective determination. The leaders learn that anxiety may influence other unit members.²⁶

²⁵ Captain Morton C. Wyatt, "Psychoneurosis and Leadership," *Infantry Journal*, April, 1945, p. 35.

²⁶ "Nervous exhaustion cases tend to be suggestive to others. The 'out' afforded to the exhaustion cases should never be allowed to become attractive" (Major Donald R. Roberts and Captain Edmund H. Torkelson, "Preparing the Mind for Battle," *Infantry Journal*, April, 1945, p. 36).

When an officer or noncommissioned officer is affected by anxiety, he can influence the entire unit. "This man was normally a man of good humor and easy going manner. He now became irritable and instead of continuing to be extremely efficient gradually grew less efficient. Finally one day when the company had been halted in an attack and was undergoing a heavy shelling, his company commander saw him running back from his platoon, past the C.P. [command post]. The company commander stopped him and asked him where he was going. He answered vaguely that he thought an order had been given to withdraw. The company commander told him sharply that it wasn't true and ordered him to return at once to his squad and tell them to stay put. Sgt. X. returned to his platoon and upon arrival there began to shout, "Pull out! Pull out! We can't hold this. The skipper says to get out." Everyone from the platoon leader down believed him, and the entire platoon hastily withdrew in considerable disorder, leaving the flank exposed just as a German counterattack started" (Lieutenant Irwin M. Kent, "Combat Fatigue," *Infantry Journal*, May, 1945, p. 42).

Consequently, they try to ward it off. A first sergeant, for example, admonished two anxious soldiers who fled during an attack as follows:

You have broken a tradition in this company. You are guilty of quitting, and we have no place for a quitter in this company. Our outfit can and will operate without you, but we can operate better with your aid, which we propose to do.²⁷

The unit places a definite meaning upon a soldier's anxiety. When the soldier disrupts unit efficiency by losing self-control or by not responding to the demands of his superiors, he is considered a deviant. Other soldiers are aware that they are exposed to similar conditions. They realize the onerous duties which they must perform. "I never knew I could take so much," stated one soldier, "till I joined the infantry. Walking miles on end, up all hours of the day, on the go all the time and ducking shells. Everybody took it, so I couldn't lay down." The unit increases the individual's endurance and courage by challenging him to uphold his self-esteem.²⁸ When a group realizes that a member is looking for an "out" and is about to depart, the attitudes of others may be expressed as follows: "That yellow so-and-so is going. He's a quitter, leaving us to take it—get hurt and maybe killed." These attitudes vary with the conditions under which the soldier departs. The effectiveness of these compulsives in retaining the soldiers varies with the quality of unit leadership and with its inner cohesion. When these factors are on a high level, the number of anxiety cases is reduced.²⁹

²⁷ Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

²⁸ "Three of us went on a scouting mission and without my knowing it, two went out and back to the company. I looked around and didn't see them. I was stranded behind the enemy lines alone. I guess I never was so scared in all my life and it was because I was alone" (related by a patient).

²⁹ "When the pride in your unit goes . . . down . . . so does morale. Then the number of AWOL's and "psycho" cases goes up. Consequently, the number of man days lost to the army is in direct proportion to the quality of officers in the unit, both in training and in combat" (Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

Where the morale of a unit and its officer-man relationships are good—i.e., good welfare, good leadership, good discipline, there you will find very much less tendency to break down under battle stress. This has been shown very clearly by the Eighth Army. . . . The Eighth Army was so sure of itself, so confident and so much a family that the fact that one belonged to the Eighth Army was of tremendous value in the therapy of breakdown and more important as a preventative of breakdown.³⁰

The soldier feels the group is greater than himself. Seeking guidance from his leaders, he expects or tacitly demands that they set the example for him. In addition to securing the necessary equipment, the soldier wants the leaders to be with him on the field. "We wanted our officers with us, leading us," stated one soldier," not running back when an attack started." The leaders by their confident behavior and poise frequently inspire the soldier.

I had potential "psycho" cases in my company during the Sicilian campaign and successfully prevented them from developing into any state other than potential. . . . The absence of other cases was due to the example the officers set in our first encounter with the Germans and in the days to follow.³¹

The soldier's covert apprehension and fear do not necessarily constitute the breakdown. When his feelings influence his performance and he affects the group, then he must be removed.³²

³⁰ Rees, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 34. "In fact of over fourteen hundred cases of battle neuroses arising in the recent Tunisian fighting only two per cent were evacuated from the Eighth Army to the base and the rest were back on full duty of some kind within their own army within six weeks" (*ibid.*, p. 34).

³¹ Wyatt, *op. cit.* "The bulk of the psychiatric casualties can be regarded as artificial in the sense that they occur in a comparatively stable group of individuals in an unusual manner in a very distorted situation and that with inspiring leadership and loyalty can be prevented. In this sense the name 'war neurosis' or 'army neurosis' is appropriate. The number of psychiatric casualties that did not occur was a tribute to the leadership and unit loyalty" (Spiegel, *op. cit.*, p. 383).

³² Since the army unit emphasizes personal attitudes and a personal demeanor which can overcome

Some soldiers, despite their "shaky" and "jittery" condition, were reluctant to leave. They felt that they were "letting the others down" and tended to condemn themselves in the manner that they condemned others who had departed. After they left, some were concerned about their buddies during recuperation and while in the zone of interior. These attitudes, of course, varied. Soldiers who had been with a unit from its activation and who were intimate with and attached to the other men were profoundly concerned about their welfare. Some were moved by the death of a buddy, months after their departure from the unit. Other soldiers, such as replacements or those estranged from the group, felt less keenly about the matter. One, for example, said: "I'll take as much as I can and when that gives out, let somebody else take my place. There are enough men in the back with soft jobs. Why can't they go up on the lines for a change?"

The crux of the soldier's conflict is between unit attachment and self-concern, both before and after breakdown. This conflict tends to be momentous and draws upon the soldier's profoundest emotional resources. But it is not merely a deliberative conflict. It is rather a tug of forces between the stresses of the external battle situation and the unit strength and individual purpose which instil determination and courage. When the soldier is repeatedly overcome by catastrophic experiences, the cohesive group may provide him with additional resilience and resolution. Even unit influence, however, is limited. Grinker and Spiegel, and Wyatt, among others, maintain that any

critical experiences, it enables men to function under stresses which they probably could not endure as individuals. The aim of the unit is to prepare for every contingency, every surprise, for the many uncertainties which happen on the battlefield. Consequently, it is not unusual to see individuals with different temperaments behave somewhat similarly in critical situations. In this sense army patterns of behavior constitute a "crisis-culture."

soldier can develop a battle neurosis regardless of his personal stability and morale.³³

The soldiers who suffered a very severe anxiety reaction were so deprived of self-confidence that their concentrated aim was to forget what had occurred.³⁴ They were easily irritated by circumstances which blocked expression and diminished their capacity for sociability and, apparently, for attachment to others, though sometimes their loneliness was very intense. They seemed intent upon "nursing the self back to health"; this process was often interrupted by battle dreams and sudden fantasy. Some attempted to become reoriented, to discover what had happened before their collapse, and to assimilate the past experiences. Among these patients, self-concern was necessarily predominant.

The soldiers less severely affected were confronted with the probability of return to combat and could more readily weigh the alternatives. The patients who wanted to avoid combat implicitly admitted to themselves that they would have to forego their self-esteem and/or disregard the predicament of other unit members. Those who developed anxiety or hysterical reactions during convalescence resolved the conflict by this self-compromise. The hysterical patients, especially, often insisted that their ailments were organic despite the statements of the medical officers. Some realized that to admit that their pains were "in their heads" would undo their rationalizations about not returning to duty.

³³ "No one is immune from a war neurosis; anyone no matter how strong or stable may develop a war neurosis under proper circumstances" (Lieutenant Colonel Roy R. Grinker and Major John P. Spiegel, "Brief Psychotherapy in War Neurosis," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VI, No. 2 [April, 1944], 123). "The constant and severe pounding went beyond the 'nervous threshold' of a number of these veterans who had previously been thought immune to nervous exhaustion. This led us to believe that any man could become a nervous exhaustion case if he were exposed to long and severe combat" (Wyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

³⁴ "I asked some fellows what happened. When they couldn't tell me, I gave up and tried to get it out of my mind, forgot it" (related by a patient).

The patients who preferred unit attachment to self-concern wanted to return to duty. "I didn't have any arms or legs off, I could run and shoulder a gun," said one soldier, "I was a little shaky but I wanted to go back. I didn't like being a patient while my buddies were up there fighting and some dying."³⁵

Some preferred combat to limited duty, which they considered a blow to their prestige. Others were not averse to limited duty on the conviction that "it was time for those in the back to get their share of battle."³⁶

Some patients had persistent attitudes of self-condemnation after their physiological symptoms improved. During the war these attitudes were intense and were aroused by casual remarks:

One of the medics in Italy told me I would get better after the war. I knew what he meant. He thought I was quitting. That burned me up; he shouldn't have said it. He was never up there. It bothered me.

These attitudes persisted and were sometimes aggravated after the patients returned to the United States; the adverse attitudes in the community were particularly instrumental in stirring these feelings. One patient who had been decorated twice for gallantry in action was determined to return to the "front." During convalescent furlough, his neighbors would not accept the fact that he had been returned for "combat fatigue." They reminded him of the other boys in the town who were still overseas. Another patient said: "They don't want to understand why I'm home on furlough. They think I'm playing politics or something to get back here." Some men developed a quasi-paranoid attitude, which resulted from their personal defensiveness and the spread of rumor. They realized that some people were talking

³⁵ This patient returned to combat and was subsequently removed because of a head injury.

³⁶ Some patients who broke down while on limited duty attributed the collapse partially to the less co-operative attitudes of the men behind the lines.

unfavorably about them.³⁷ For this and other reasons, some patients avoided former friends. A few did not return home during furlough. They felt "unworthy" or like "failures." Some even envied the amputees. They claimed that the amputees reminded them of their maimed buddies and created "funny" feelings. They implied that the amputees had acceptable reasons for hospitalization but were doubtful that people considered *their* removal from battle as legitimate.

During and after breakdown the patients were usually disturbed by war dreams, which partially or completely displaced other fantasies.³⁸ Though the men tried to forget their experiences and endeavored to avoid dreaming, they usually failed; the dreams persisted. Since they could not respond effectively to their critical experiences, they were also unable to complete the reactions in their dreams; the dreams were incomplete, unpleasant, and often terrifying. The patients dreamed of duplications or variations of previous experiences—such as fleeing from, or struggling with, Japanese soldiers—of attempted trips to or near home, and of expressions of self-condemnation. Some dreamed so vividly that they awoke terrified, with their limbs and vocal chords immobilized. Others awoke screaming, kicking, and falling out of bed.

I was running from an airplane, and it was strafing us right and left. My buddies were dying, and I was praying and calling for help. I woke up and found I was still screaming.

I can't get rid of my dreams. I see the way my buddy, J., was killed, with the blood all over him. I try to yell but wake up and my voice sticks.

³⁷ These attitudes have been revised since the termination of the war. The prevailing query of civilians concerns the time of discharge.

³⁸ In the effort to repress the war episodes, the patients' general expression of fantasy was reduced. In the Rorschach psychodiagnostic test, the anxiety patients had relatively few "M," or movement, responses, which are indicators of fantasy life, but they had a high percentage of "F," or form, responses, which indicate intense inhibition and personal constriction.

I was on my way home in a taxi, and it was struck by lightning just as I was getting out.

A buddy and I who were taken off the line at the same time were being led before a firing squad. We resisted, but it was no use. As we were about to be shot, I woke up and was puzzled. The firing squad looked like Americans.

Some patients tried to circumvent their dreams. They retired early in the hope that they would have the dream, awake, and then sleep soundly the rest of the night. Some patients hesitated to go to sleep because of impending dreams. A few patients tried to influence their dreams by concentrating on pleasant things before bedtime; the majority did not succeed. During convalescence the dreams lost the former stark intensity and regularity.

In the effort to integrate their critical experiences, the patients became more rigid and less sociable. They avoided strangers and persons who had not established some tolerance for their condition. "People annoy me"; "Crowds bother me"; "I can't talk to anyone for a long time"; "I can't get started in a conversation"—these were characteristic statements of their condition.³⁹ Some patients distrusted themselves in the presence of strangers because their behavior was unpredictable. Restless, irritable, startled by loud noises, they also found difficulty in conversing for sustained periods. By irritating others they, in turn, aggravated their own condition. In losing self-confidence, they lost social confidence: "They won't understand," claimed one patient, "I flare up at the least little thing." Patients who were formerly withdrawn desired more complete isolation: "I want to be by myself more than

³⁹ "I used to like crowds and noise. I was always sociable and liked people. I went to this and that night club. Now I go to Chicago for a few days and I'm through. I want to go back to the sticks. When relatives come over and start expressing their opinions, one of us has to leave, and it's usually me. I stay away. I don't go with the guys in the barracks. Some guy who starts talking to me doesn't get much co-operation. I walk away from him before I pop off" (related by a patient).

ever. People irritate me so much. When I'm alone I enjoy myself."

Though averse to large groups and unfamiliar persons, the patients had a sharpened craving for intimate contacts.⁴⁰ They felt relaxed and expansive among persons with whom there was a reciprocal affection and trust. They easily distinguished between the affectionate bond and the impersonal and defensive relationship. They sought the former but avoided the latter. "When I'm with my wife and baby or with my family, that's fine," stated one patient; "but when I'm with others I want to get away."

Their desire for intimacy was usually coupled with social dependency. Familial crises, such as the death of parents, compelled some patients to assume a self-reliance which they were unprepared or unable to adopt.

I heard of my mother's death while I was in Italy. It gave me the blues. I came home one year later. My father had remarried. My stepmother was all right, but I didn't get used to her. I couldn't stand the way my father embraced her. She irritated me, and I stayed away from home. I went to my sister's home for awhile, I felt empty and something missing. I really missed my mother. She was one hundred per cent genuine with me. None of the formality and patronizing that my sister began to show me. She tried to be nice to me, but she wasn't natural. I believe she changed after she got married. During my furlough there was a time when I felt worse than when I was just taken out of combat. When I was overseas, I remembered how anxious I was to get home. Now when I come home on the week ends, I get tense when Sunday comes and want to go back to camp.

In some soldiers combat anxiety was intensified by the shock of marital infidelity. Some soldiers were bluntly informed by their wives that they were no longer loved; other wives wanted divorces; a few wives had become pregnant or had had children by other

men.⁴¹ Some of the men were deserted by their girl friends.

The majority of the patients, however, were improved as a result of their family reunions.⁴² Able to forget their combat experiences during the home stay, they were reluctant to return to camp.

During convalescence it was necessary to distinguish between the types of abnormality, since some patients appraised their condition as they had previously evaluated others with abnormal behavior—as "crazy or near-crazy."⁴³ The fact that the soldiers lived together minimized the uniqueness of their state and enabled them to discuss common problems informally. Treated prima-

⁴¹ In some instances, the wives communicated their attitudes while the men were in combat. Their attitudes, not infrequently, contributed to the patients' eventual breakdown. In one striking case, a spouse wrote to her husband's friend, but did not write to him. He became very perturbed by this event and was more humiliated because the men in his company discovered the fact. He broke down soon afterward.

Some patients attempted to reconcile the breach when children were in the family. They felt so attached to the spouse that they were "willing to forget the past." Not infrequently, close friends of the patients were the men involved. This fact created a "double blow."

⁴² In a group of one hundred patients, 75 per cent admitted that they felt improved as a result of the convalescent furlough. The patients who "felt worse" admitted that it was a result of difficulties in the familial or marital situation. A characteristic example of the improvement created by the home and vocational situation is illustrated in the following case: A former professional ballplayer was injured in the right arm and despaired that he would ever be able to return to the game. He was despondent and convinced that the government should support him for the rest of his life, since he had incurred the injury in the lines. When he arrived home, his mother and his girl friend encouraged him to practice with some major-league team, and he realized that his arm was still effective despite the injury. When he returned to camp, he had completely regained his confidence.

⁴³ Most patients were uncertain as to what category of abnormality they belonged in. Eleven out of sixty patients considered themselves "crazy or near-crazy," though there was no justification for this type of estimate. About fourteen said they had "combat fatigue," which one defined as a "nervous hangover from battle."

⁴⁰ Though the desire for intimate contacts is prevalent among overseas veterans generally, it is far more intense in the anxiety groups.

rily as soldiers and away from the conventional hospital situation, they found it more difficult to regard themselves as "patients." By their common defensiveness, they created a number of common rationalizations, especially against regimentation, authority, and the attitudes of civilians toward the "psycho" patients. Some were anxious to leave the army so as to be "free," unhampered by rules and regulations. As their personalities strengthened, their resentments arising from past incidents increased in intensity and were reinforced by discussion. It was necessary to divest some patients of these defensive attitudes to facilitate civilian readjustment.

Some were apprehensive lest potential employers discover their status, though their status was not recorded on their discharge papers. Uncertain as to what the people in the community would think, many remained silent.

At the time of discharge, most patients had regained some measure of social and vocational confidence. They had acquired some taste of civilian life during their convalescent furloughs and week-end passes. They were given insight into their few remaining symptoms so as to control these expressions more effectively. Some had entered the army with vocational skills; others were acquiring these techniques through the com-

prehensive school program in the convalescent center. Many had definite vocational plans before discharge. Since the scope of the program was broad, the patients' initiative contributed to their recovery.

Most patients should readjust successfully to civilian life. That some may have recurrences should not be surprising. The proportion of patients who do relapse will be in part contingent upon their economic adjustment and their social ties. It would be idle illusion to separate their emotional disturbances from the nature of our postwar economy. The vexing personal problems that can arise from unemployment are well known. The soldiers with "wife trouble" or "family trouble" may have disheartening experiences which can cause a return of anxiety symptoms.

In general, combat breakdown reflects upon the role of the precipitating situation in inducing aberrant reactions and the function of the small group in sustaining normal behavior. It gives credence to the hypothesis that neurotic-like reactions may emerge among stable personalities when the experiences are sufficiently critical. It would be well to analyze more fully the proto-situations in civilian life which cause similar breakdowns.

PERCY JONES HOSPITAL CENTER
FORT CUSTER, MICHIGAN

THE STUDY OF THE DELINQUENT IN THE ARMY

MALCOLM R. MCCALLUM

This short paper is not presented as the outgrowth of any actual research; the author did not find it feasible, since he was in the Third Army in the European Theater of Operations. Rather it will indicate some problems of the effect of Army experience on men who have had a past history of delinquent experience. In addition, it will consider the extent to which patterns of behavior in the Army might in themselves be conducive to delinquent practice when the men are released into civilian life.

At the outset I wish to present briefly a theory as to the nature of delinquent behavior which might be tested in the Army situation. In essence it is the notion that delinquent practice reflects the attempt by the individual to obtain illegitimately those satisfactions which are denied him through conventional channels: delinquent activity is essentially an attempt to gain status in roles which, while unacceptable to the world at large, are acceptable in the social world of the delinquent. Since status in our society generally depends on economic position, it follows that deprivations against property in the effort to improve his economic standing will constitute the bulk of the delinquent's practice. Delinquency is thus a way of life that has grown up in response to the exigencies of the delinquent's situation; it is a way of getting those things which are denied him by conventional society.

When a man enters the Army, he no longer competes for the goods of the society, since his economic status is assured by the Army. The struggle to get things and the social recognition they involve come to an abrupt end. One cannot overemphasize the psychological effect of this change from a situation in which a person is constantly striving to improve his social position in reference to those about him to one in

which his position is predetermined. What he eats, what he wears, and where he sleeps suddenly become no longer matters of concern to him, and this whole area of his experience abruptly loses its meaning.

It would seem, therefore, that if our theory as to the nature of delinquent behavior be correct, there should be a reduction in the amount of deviate behavior found among men who had exhibited delinquent tendencies prior to their entry into the Army, consequent on the fact that in the Army the incentives to delinquent behavior have been removed. This could be the point about which a very interesting study could revolve.¹

In this connection the attempt might be made to follow the cases of men released from Illinois penitentiaries for service in the armed forces. The observation of persons in a position to pass judgment is that, by and large, these men have made a satisfactory adjustment to Army life as revealed in the fact that the bulk of them have served the six months in the Army that entitles them to a discharge from the penitentiary system. A desire to avoid revealing to the Army personnel directly involved in handling these men the fact that they have a criminal background has prevented a more adequate follow-up of their Army careers.

On the basis of the very limited material available to me (a material so limited, in fact, that one hesitates to make any generalizations on the basis of it), it would seem that in the Army, where the struggle for status has suddenly resolved itself, there does tend to be a reduction in the amount of delinquent behavior. From conversations

¹ See case histories Nos. II, X, XI, and XIII in the "Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies" for instances in which men with a background of delinquent experience have made suitable adjustments to Army life.

with members of my company of a hundred and sixty men, I established that 3 per cent of them were engaged in criminal activity prior to their entry into the Army, and none of these men exhibited behavior that was a problem to the Army during the period they were members of it.²

I have serious doubts as to whether this situation could be found to obtain generally throughout the Army. This is for a reason that would not invalidate our general proposition as to the nature of delinquent behavior but which would qualify the extent to which the Army experience of the delinquent could be taken as a criterion of the correctness of our assumptions on the nature of delinquency.

The reason lies in the fact that, in his efforts to obtain status through delinquent activities, the delinquent has built for himself a pattern of behavior which has at its base a rejection of all conventional authority, however and wherever that authority be manifested. This means that, regardless of the fact that in the Army his status becomes assured, this general rejection of conventional demands may result in the delinquent's getting into trouble with the military authorities.

This I should expect to be especially pronounced in the Army in garrison in the United States, where discipline is of the formal type based on a maintenance of social distance between officers and men and where the emphasis is on saluting, "sirring" of officers, and a minimum of personal contact between officers and men. This kind of discipline imparts to the Army a mechanical unity based on a rigidly determined hierarchy of impersonal roles. It would be our notion that a boy with a background of delinquent experience would find it especially difficult to conform to this type of discipline.

² The fact that this was a battlefield unit and that those men who might have represented problems had been screened out in the United States and sent to rehabilitation centers would have important bearing on the amount of behavior difficulties encountered in this situation.

On the battlefield this type of discipline tends to break down, or, more accurately, it is supplanted by a kind of coercion based on a recognition by the officers and men of each other as persons. There arises an order based on a psychic unity evolving out of shared experience and common danger that puts a premium on the individual as a person. Discipline is assured not so much by emphasis on formal devices such as saluting as it is by appeals based on loyalty to the "in-group" which has been forged by battlefield experiences. The control an officer exerts over his men becomes the direct correlative of his status with them as a person. It would seem that it is much easier for a person of delinquent background to become assimilated to such a system of discipline and have his behavior coerced by it.

I am well aware that there is a conflict of logic in holding, on one hand, that the Army situation is one in which we can test the theory of delinquency as essentially a status-gaining device, and, on the other hand, in maintaining that the possibility of such a test is invalidated by the persistence of attitudes inimical to all authority that the delinquent carries over into the Army. The only excuse we can offer is that this conflict is part of the total picture, and it lies within the province of future research to determine just which of these elements plays the greater role and, in turn, the extent to which the Army provides an adequate test of the theory of delinquency as a status-gaining device.

To summarize, then, we have this general problem of the effect of the Army upon behavior, where delinquent behavior cannot by the very nature of the organization improve the individual's position. Related to this we have the problem of the persistence into Army life of attitudes of rejection of all conventional authority. Subsidiary to these general considerations is the question of the role played by contrasting types of discipline found in the garrison and battlefield situations as they affect the behavior of men who have had a delinquent background. These questions, taken together, it

seems to me, could provide the framework out of which an interesting study of the role of the delinquent in the Army situation could evolve.

There are a series of other questions that can be raised in reference to the Army experience and its effects on deviate behavior which center around the extent to which this experience will tend to increase delinquent behavior among those who return to civilian life. The first of these questions is whether the Army experience, where all the man's needs are provided for, and all his decisions formulated for him by the Army bureaucracy, will not unfit him for the fierce competition of civilian life—whether, unable to carve himself a conventional role in the competitive process, he will tend to fall back on unconventional roles in the effort to attain status. Time alone will provide the answer to this, and we can here only guess as to the effect this “softness” of Army life will have on the veteran when he returns to the rough competitiveness of our economy.

One may hazard the guess that persistent pre-induction attitudes will tend to aid the veteran in his adjustment to the demands of civilian life and that it will be only in the case of individuals in whom these attitudes were not firmly established prior to their entry into the Army that there will be a recourse to criminal activity. We cannot deny, however, that the dependent role that the individual must perforce occupy in the Army will make difficult his adjustment to the demands of civilian life.

Are there elements in Army life that would be conducive to illegitimate activity once the individual left that system? Gambling is very widespread in the Army. Something like 80 per cent of the men in my company engaged in it at one time or the other. The reasons for its prevalence are not far to seek. First, no other kind of recreation is so easily available; second, in Europe there were no goods to purchase with money, which led to a general disregard of its value; and, lastly, at the front the roll of the dice for a few dollars does not

loom large against the greater game of chance.

There may turn out to be, on return to civilian life, an increase in gambling and the consequent opening-up of many opportunities for employment in the half-world of the gambling fraternity. It seems to me logical to presume that many veterans will gravitate to this half-world because of their Army experience, and in this sense the Army can be looked upon as an agency in the promotion of nonconventional behavior.

There is another well-defined pattern of activity in the Army which, if carried into civilian life, may lead to a marked increase in deviate behavior—the practice of promiscuous sex behavior. Approximately 60 per cent of my company had relations at one time or another with professional prostitutes or with pick-up girls. That for many of these men this represented a new type of behavior was obvious, but such activity had so powerful a group sanction that it was difficult to abstain from it. It is an interesting question as to whether this experience of the soldier will not lead to an increase in sexual laxity upon his return to civilian life.

There is the further question of whether the experiences of many boys in the Army in Europe may not have tended to destroy in them some of the essential attitudes of our society. Basic to our way of life in a capitalistic economy is the deeply ingrained respect for the sanctity of private property. That attitude may have been, at the least, weakened by the widespread looting of private property which went on not only in enemy Germany but in friendly France. “How was the looting?” was the first question by a newcomer to a town that our troops had just occupied. Although looting was officially frowned upon, it had powerful group sanction, and approximately 80 per cent of my company engaged in it in one form or another.³ To be an expert looter was a term of social approbation. It hardly

³ This looting continued for extended periods after order ostensibly had been restored.

needs emphasis that there will be a tendency to carry over into civilian life some of these attitudes toward private property that have been implanted by experiences on the battlefields of Europe. The transition from the situation in which you legally despoil persons of property to one in which you illegally do so may not be so difficult for many veterans.

Another incentive to deviate behavior was the existence in the war-torn economies of France and Germany of thriving black markets in which fantastic prices were offered for many articles that the soldier could easily lay his hands on. Cigarettes, for instance, brought \$2.40 a package, a chocolate D bar brought a dollar, a pair of GI shoes \$30.00, a khaki shirt \$20.00. Participation in this black market was widespread in the Army, although confined in general to the selling of articles which actually belonged to the soldier rather than to the actual misappropriation of government property. The latter, however, was going on all the time; a railroad battalion was actually caught red-handed, with the result that 6 officers and 182 enlisted men of the organization were court-martialed. But the pilfering of government supplies in this railroad battalion took on a quasi-legitimate character because it had the sanction of the group behind it.

While returning to the United States, I often heard the remark made that "a man was a fool if he didn't leave the port of Le Havre with at least \$1,000 in his pocket"—and this money could be obtained only through black-market operations. It is undoubtedly true that many soldiers will return to civilian life with a taste for "easy" money as the consequence of these black-market operations, and it remains to be seen how many translate this taste into activity in the illegitimate fields where easy money is to be found.

This all boils down to the basic fact that the Army experience presents the individual

with a confused and contradictory pattern of behavior. On one hand, with its emphasis on a fixed status in which all the needs of the individual are met without exercise of judgment or initiative on his part, it tends to remove those conflict situations out of which deviate or delinquent behavior tends to rise. On the other, it gives group sanction to behavior patterns like gambling, sexual promiscuity, looting, and black-market operations that would tend to involve the individual in deviate behavior upon his return to civilian status.

What import either of these facts has for the larger society depends on the extent to which the life-organization of the individual is fundamentally altered by his experience in the Army. For, after all, his Army career is only an episode, albeit an important one, in the whole life of the individual. To the extent to which he is able to compartmentalize this Army experience, his adjustment to the demands of civilian life should not be too difficult. Where, however, the patterns of behavior in the Army have so ingrained themselves that they tend to influence his civilian experience, the task of adjustment becomes one to cause the individual real concern.

The determination of the degree to which the Army experience makes a fundamental and lasting alteration in the behavior patterns of the individual, as this is reflected, on one hand, in the decrease of delinquency in the Army consequent on the fixed-status relation, and, on the other, in an increase in delinquent practice upon the soldier's release into civilian life resulting from the kinds of activities that receive group sanction in the Army, should be the object of a study of the relation of the Army experience to delinquency. What we have done here is to indicate the course such a study should chart without any attempt to present its content.

APO F.S.
% POSTMASTER, NEW YORK

RESEARCH ON VETERANS' ADJUSTMENT

WALTER H. EATON

ABSTRACT

If the results of veteran adjustment studies are to be nationally comparable, common theories and methods should be discussed and, if possible, employed. The research methods used in studying the town of "Midwest" are described. Crucial theoretical questions encountered were: Who is a "veteran"? What is "adjustment"? What is "success of adjustment"? Alternative answers are suggested, and some of the conditions which the "Midwest" research suggests are significantly related to successful veteran adjustment are discussed.

I

Because of widespread public interest in the problem of veteran adjustment and because it seems likely that there will be much sociological research in the coming months, the present article presents some of the problems arising in connection with research that is already in progress. The value of the following remarks may therefore be twofold: to establish a starting-point for the exchange of theories and methods useful in investigations of this kind and to make possible—but by no means inevitable—some measure of uniformity among such studies, so that their results may be more easily compared and integrated on a national level.

The Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago undertook in 1941 to select and study a typical medium-sized midwestern community. The objective was to gain a more adequate knowledge of the ways in which persons became active participants in adult communal life. One special study was inaugurated in 1942. The title of this subresearch was "The Induction of Young Men into the Democratic Institutions of a Midwestern Community." Early in the investigation, it became evident that the young men of the community were far more likely to be inducted into the armed forces of the United States than into the democratic institutions of their home town, and the research was accordingly revised. Between 1943 and September, 1945, data were obtained concerning the induction of young men from eighteen to thirty years of age. A record was kept of their service his-

tories as reported in the local paper. Cards were prepared and kept up to date for some six hundred servicemen.¹ Included on the cards was such basic background information as: family, place of birth and years in "Midwest" area, ethnic background, church membership and attendance, education, membership in formal or informal associations, occupation, occupation of parents and of wife, social status of the subject. Interviews were secured with the wives, and in some cases the mothers, of those who were married. For purposes of future study, similar background information was obtained for men in the same age group who were not in service.

By the end of June, 1945, thirty-one of the original group of servicemen had been discharged. In July, twelve men were discharged, and the number increased to fifty-two for the month of October. By that time the study of veteran behavior in "Midwest"—the selected midwestern town—was well under way.

II

The first actual research problem was encountered in attempting to answer the question: Who is a veteran? The "Midwest" draft board, in accordance with a national policy of the Selective Service System, will not make available the names of discharged servicemen, even though this would provide

¹ Servicewomen were included in the group; but, because their adjustment problem appears to be radically different from that of servicemen, no attempt will be made to treat it in the present discussion.

the only complete enumeration of veterans in the area. It has therefore been necessary to compile a list of veterans from other sources, all of which are incomplete: (1) reports of discharges in the "Midwest" newspaper; (2) copies of discharge papers filed in the circuit clerk's office; (3) veteran-aid forms completed in the local office of the state veterans' service; and (4) interviews, church bulletins, American Legion membership lists, and other miscellaneous sources. It is estimated that not more than 5 per cent of all veterans will be overlooked when these sources are exhausted. Such veterans will be those who were discharged a year or more ago, who live in outlying rural areas, or who are unwilling, because of undesirable discharges, to publicize their separation from the armed forces.

To insure that veterans in the study should be a reasonably homogeneous group as to service experience, only those were included who had been discharged from the Army, the Navy, the Marines, or the Coast Guard and who had a minimum service history of six months. By December, 1945, approximately one hundred and fifty of the original six hundred servicemen and women qualified for this group.

The first contact with these veterans followed the mailing of a questionnaire. A letter accompanying the questionnaire explained the general purpose of the study and invited the veteran to visit the research office if there were any special matters he would like to talk over. Response to the questionnaire and letter was not immediately satisfactory. A follow-up postcard was found, however, to elicit a response in about 40 per cent of all cases, and it was determined to continue using the questionnaire both to obtain needed data and to introduce the research project to the veteran. Some idea of the veteran's reluctance to fill out forms of any kind may be gained from the statement of one veteran: "Well, I bet I know what's happened. . . . Most guys [when they receive the questionnaire] think just the way I did, 'Well, they're tryin' to hook me for somethin' else.' You know what

they say in the Army: 'Don't volunteer for nothin''" There appears to be some ambivalence in this reaction, however. Although no veteran likes questionnaires, some veterans have acquired a profound dread of authority, and this, together with the new veteran's natural ignorance of the civilian authorities, perhaps results in the completing of some questionnaires.

The following items were included in the questionnaire: dates of induction (or enlistment) and discharge; type of discharge; service-connected disability (if any); pension; months overseas or of sea duty; months in combat; highest rank or rating while in service; marital status; married before, during, or after service; years of schooling; Army, Navy, Marines, or Coast Guards; kind of outfit; specific duties; full-time jobs before entering service; jobs since leaving service: how obtained, how well liked; days home before employed; educational plans; kind of work preferred; letters written per month while in service; phone calls home while in service; number of days on leave or furlough before final or terminal leave; father's occupation.

After the questionnaire, the next contact with the veteran was usually an interview of about an hour in the veteran's home or the research office. Both direct and undirected techniques were employed; certain areas of attitude and behavior were touched upon in every interview, but the order and fulness of their discussion was entirely controlled by the veteran's response.² Once the interviewer had set at rest the veteran's fear of "sticking his neck out," the response was usually free and untrammelled. The veteran, whether or not he has any special problem or complaint to "get off his chest," is almost always vastly interested in the fact that he is a veteran and that he therefore

² Some of the questions were: How do you think "Midwest" changed while you were gone? What was your highest ambition before you went into the service? What is it now? Do you feel that your time in the service was lost? What special "breaks" do you think the average veteran deserves? What do you do in your spare time?

shares certain experiences with millions of other returned servicemen.

These interviews, together with the completed questionnaires and other data concerning service history and family background, constitute the raw material of the present study.

III

A major theoretical problem arises, however, as soon as we inquire what is meant by the term "adjustment" and, in particular, by the term "successful adjustment."

Some awareness of the complexity of this problem is implied in the term "readjustment," which is now widely used in referring to veteran behavior. Presumably "readjustment" means that the veteran, unlike many persons, suffered an interruption of his normal civilian growth, had to adjust to an unfamiliar military environment, and has subsequently returned to a civilian environment with the alien habits and motivations acquired during his military career. He has therefore made three adjustments—to civilian life, to military life, and to civilian life again. If his behavior as a veteran is viewed in this light, "re-readjustment" would perhaps describe his behavior most precisely; and so long as we are content to talk of "adjustment," "readjustment," or "re-readjustment"—each at its own level—no great difficulties occur. By means of interviews and questionnaires we may learn much about the kind of adjustment which the veteran made before, during, and after military service. But the moment we approach the problem of determining how "successful" his postservice "readjustment" has been, serious difficulties are encountered. Consider the case of a veteran whose preservice adjustment was "fair," whose service adjustment was "poor," and whose postservice adjustment is "good." Consider, then, the case of a veteran whose adjustment at all levels has been consistently "good." Which shall we say has achieved the better postservice "readjustment"? The answer must be either so complex as to be impracticable for research purposes or, if

stated in an oversimplified form, altogether meaningless. Accordingly, it became apparent that the concept of "readjustment" would defeat the first purpose of the research, which is to compare the behavior of different veterans in terms of certain uniform criteria of successful adjustment. The decision was therefore made to restrict our assessment of success or failure to veteran *adjustment*, i.e., the behavior of the veteran since his return from the armed forces. If, at a later point in the research and on a basis of more intensive interviewing, it should appear that the success of postservice and preservice or service adjustments are significantly related, the information would be of considerable importance.

But the question still remains: What do we mean by "successful" adjustment? There appear to be at least four possible answers.

We might say, first of all, that the success of the veteran's adjustment is a function of the difference between his preservice and his postservice status in the community. This meaning, however, could be applied only to veterans who, before entering service, had become "settled" and had "found a line of work" and whose preservice status and role in the community had thus been established. It is difficult to see how this criterion could be applied to the younger veterans, many of whom had little or no job experience prior to their service careers. Furthermore, the criterion would again involve us in considerations of "readjustment," i.e., we should be called upon to consider *more* than the veteran's postservice behavior in determining how successful his adjustment has been. The problem, therefore, seems more suitable for special inquiry than for the general determination of success in adjustment.

Second, we might say that the veteran's success in adjustment is a function of the difference between his postservice status and level of achievement and that of *nonservice* men whose pre-war age, status, ability, education, and occupational placement were nearly equal to his own. This knowledge,

again, would be of value; but as a measure of adjustment it is open to the objections urged against the first criterion.

A third criterion might be the extent to which the veteran says he that is "happy," "contented," and "satisfied" with his post-service behavior. Such a rating, based on the value-judgments which the veteran applies to his role at home, at work, and in the larger community, surely furnishes one of the elements which must be considered in assessing the veteran's adjustment.

But still a fourth criterion—which, unfortunately, seems to have no self-evident bearing on the one just mentioned—remains to be examined. This criterion is: To what extent has the veteran become a usefully participating member of his community? Such a determination would be made apart both from the veteran's subjective estimates of his satisfaction with civilian life and from any considerations of comparative role or status. The important question here might well be: How long does the veteran continue to think of himself as a veteran? How long does he continue to rely upon veterans for moral—as opposed to political or financial—support? How long does it take him to re-enter into the associational and clique relationships which are available in the community? How long, and how profoundly, is his political behavior influenced by his position as a veteran? These are some of the questions to which such a criterion of success in adjustment would refer.

What cannot be easily determined is the manner in which the two criteria just described might be combined in a single adjustment scale. For example, one can easily imagine a veteran who constantly seeks out the company of other veterans, who quarrels frequently, and who indulges in occasional acts of hoodlumism. His adjustment score, as determined by community participation, would be very low. Yet, at the same time, he might declare himself to be perfectly satisfied and contented. The obverse case would be no less problematic, if we assume that a single adjustment score must be used; for one must suppose that there

are veterans who return to their communities and participate fully in the communities' affairs but who, at the same time would express themselves to an interviewer as being extremely unhappy and dissatisfied with their postservice behavior. Or consider again the veteran, typical of several cases in "Midwest," who is thoroughly contented with his familial and occupational behavior but takes no part in the other clique and associational activities of the community. What single adjustment score should he be given? Considerations of this sort demonstrate, apparently, that there can be no one rating scale for the measurement of adjustment success both as satisfaction and as community participation. On the other hand, one is impressed with the importance of both criteria factors in making any comparison of post-service behavior among veterans. The answer seems to be that two rating scales must be employed.³

No scale for rating these variables was devised during the first months of the study, since it was felt that such scales should not be constructed until some insight into veteran behavior both in the community and in the interview had been gained. At present a five-point scale is being used. In determining the success of the veteran's community participation, a rating is made directly from interview and questionnaire material. Ratings for personal satisfaction are first determined for three subareas—work, home, and community participation—and their average is then taken as the final rating. With the help of interview material, ideal types have been constructed in order to define as clearly as possible what is meant by behavior at each of the five levels of the rating scales. It is apparent, of course, that such quantification, despite its semblance of exactitude, depends, in the final analysis, on the field worker's ability to organize and compare a great variety of impressions and to assign the individual case to its proper position on a given scale.

³ Doubtless some positive correlation will be found to exist between the two ratings.

IV

After a majority of "Midwest" veterans have been interviewed and given adjustment scores, certain "typical" cases will be selected for more intensive interviewing.⁴ Veterans chosen for intensive study will be interviewed informally over a considerable period of time; every effort will be made to secure information about their behavior, past and present, from teachers, employers, friends, and members of their immediate families. In this way a reasonably clear picture should be obtained not only of their adjustment but of their "readjustment," of the manner, that is, in which their present behavior is related to their entire development both in "Midwest" and in the armed forces. Our particular concern will be to answer the question: What *difference* has military experience made in their lives?

At the conclusion of the research, tentative answers to a number of specific questions will be available. We should like to know whether adjustment is easier for the "adult" veteran with more than a year of full-time preservice employment than it is

for the "pre-adult" veteran who entered the armed forces directly from high school or college and who has had less than a year of full-time job experience. We should like to know how the problems of adjustment differ for the veteran who returns to a sinecure in his father's office and for the veteran who returns to an uncertain employment future. We should like to know whether the veteran who leaves "Midwest" finds adjustment easier, or more difficult, than the veteran who remains at home. We should like to know how the postservice income of the veteran compares with that of the nonservice-man in the same age group. We should like to know how such factors as combat experience, time spent overseas, and the extent of the veteran's communication, during service, with his community are related to his adjustment success. We should like to know what influence, if any, the veteran's service occupation has had on his choice of occupations in civilian life. These and many similar questions remain to be answered. If the present paper should lead to an exchange of opinion concerning the best methods whereby answers to these questions may be found and can, at the same time, encourage similar studies elsewhere, its purpose will have been accomplished.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

⁴ A study is also planned of the attitude of "Midwest" toward its veterans. A cross-section of opinions about veterans will be taken in the near future, and again six months later.

NEWS AND NOTES

The American Sociological Society.—The American Sociological Society is holding its annual meeting from March 1 to March 3, at the Hollenden Hotel in Cleveland.

Foreign periodicals.—The *Journal* has received with pleasure copies of the Swedish quarterly, *Ekonomisk tidskrift*, dating from December, 1941, to September, 1945. This journal, which is published at Uppsala, has evidently appeared without interruption throughout the war.

The *Journal* has also received the first two numbers of a new French monthly, *Cahiers du monde nouveau*. The first two issues are a symposium on economic and political problems of peace, both medieval and modern. There is also an article on the conception of international trusteeship by Colonel Bernard, French delegate to the Hot Springs Conference. The second issue contains articles on the future of Indo-China, on Proudhon, and on the reconstruction of education.

Atlanta University.—The issue of *Phylon* for the fourth quarter of 1945 contains a complete bibliography of the writings of Robert E. Park, compiled by Edna Cooper.

Brooklyn College.—Major Conrad Arensberg left for Japan in mid-winter.

Bucknell University.—Stanley H. Chapman, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, joined the department on November 1 as assistant professor of sociology.

The University of Chicago.—*The Family: From Institution to Companionship*, by Ernest W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, and Harvey J. Locke, formerly of Indiana University, now of the University of Southern California, was published in December.

Everett Hughes's recent book, *French Canada in Transition*, appeared in January

in a French edition, published by Lucien Parizeau of Montreal. The translation is by Jean-Charles Falardeau of Laval University and is entitled: *Rencontre de deux mondes: la crise d'industrialisation du Canada français*.

University of Cincinnati.—The *Journal* records with regret the death of Earle Edward Eubank. Professor Eubank had been head of the department of sociology since 1921. From 1908 to 1912 he was supervisor of schools in the Philippines. He died in Florida on December 19.

University of Colorado.—William S. Bernard is on leave and is heading the National Committee on Post-war Immigration Policy with headquarters in New York.

Edward L. Rose, who was recently discharged from the army, is taking the place of Dr. Bernard.

Fordham University.—N. S. Timasheff has been promoted to the rank of associate professor. His book *The Great Retreat: The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia* will appear in February, 1946. Another book, entitled *Liberal, Communist and Fascist Society*, has been accepted for publication.

Iowa State College.—Joseph B. Gittler, formerly of Drake University, has joined the department of economics and sociology as associate professor.

University of Maryland.—Charles E. Hutchinson, formerly of the University of New Mexico, has been appointed assistant professor.

Luke Ebersole, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University, has been appointed instructor.

University of Michigan.—Horace Miner has been appointed assistant professor, to

begin with the Spring Term. Dr. Miner, the author of *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*, will give courses in the general area of race relations and cultural contacts. He will participate during the Spring Term in a special program in Latin American culture for military attachés. Dr. Miner has recently returned from overseas duty as a lieutenant colonel with the counterintelligence corps of the army. For his services in the European theater he was awarded the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star.

University of Missouri.—Elizabeth Guil-
lot, chief medical social consultant with the Michigan Crippled Children's Commission, has been appointed assistant professor of social work and will assume her teaching duties the second semester. She is teaching the pre-professional social work courses. Last semester they were taught by Thelma Harris, of Jefferson City.

Arthur W. Nebel has been released from military service and will rejoin the staff the second semester. Major Nebel has been in the army since 1941, part of which time was spent in China. He will serve as director of the social work curriculum which will be put in operation in the fall of 1946.

Lawrence Hepple is teaching full time in the department. Last year he was assigned to the Veterans' Center as special counselor for returning veterans.

Gerard Schultz has been appointed instructor in rural sociology and is teaching courses formerly given by Harold F. Kaufman, who joined the staff at the University of Kentucky.

Herbert F. Lionberger, now with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, will join the staff as assistant professor of rural sociology for the second semester.

Oberlin College.—The *Journal* acknowledges with regret several errors in a news note published in the September issue.

Loren C. Eiseley has come to Oberlin from the University of Kansas to be head of the department of sociology. He succeeds

Newell L. Sims, who has retired. Clarence Ward, who was erroneously reported to be Professor Sims' successor, is head of the department of fine arts.

The *Journal* also erred in misspelling the name of Fred Zorbaugh. Professor Zorbaugh, who has been in the navy for two years, is expected to return to his academic duties soon.

Shrivenham American University.—This institution was established in England in the summer of 1945 for soldiers then awaiting redeployment to the Pacific or return to the States. Each term was to be of eight weeks' duration, and a full roster of college courses was set up. The first term opened August 1; the second, October 8. As originally planned, the institution was to run at least through June, 1946. But because of the ending of the war with Japan and other causes, this interesting experiment in higher education was liquidated by the War Department in December, 1945.

Sociology was established as one of the nine branches or departments under the Liberal Arts Section. Courses were offered in the following subjects: "Introduction to Sociology," "Introduction to Anthropology," "Rural Sociology," "Urban Sociology," "Marriage and the Family," "Social Psychology" (jointly with psychology), and "Contemporary Social Movements." During the first term the total enrolment in these courses was 172; during the second, 208.

The staff in the first term consisted of T/5 Gerald W. Breese, formerly of Pacific University; S/Sgt. W. Gordon Browder, formerly of the University of Texas; Captain George A. Jackson, formerly of the University of Kentucky; M/Sgt. George Masterton, formerly of Washington State College; Captain O. F. Quackenbush, on leave from the University of Florida; and Kimball Young, Queens College, who acted as chairman. At the opening of the second term, Lieutenant W. C. Bradbury, Jr., on leave from the University of Chicago, joined the departmental staff.

BOOK REVIEWS

Total War and the Human Mind. By MAJOR A. M. MEERLOO. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1945. Pp. 78. \$1.75.

Men, Mind, and Power. By DAVID ABRAHAMSEN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. ix+155. \$2.00.

The small book by Meerloo represents the distilled wisdom of an acute observer regarding what went on in the minds of the Dutch people during the German occupation of 1940-45. The author is a psychiatrist (M.D.) who treated both soldier and civilian patients and who participated in the underground movement. His observations deserve close attention by those interested in the psychology of fear, courage, propaganda, mass reactions, and popular delusions and in the relative mental stability of democratic and fascistic peoples.

In so far as there is a main theme, it is that people develop resistance to propaganda, especially when the propagandists are from a hostile nation. Since there are a limited number of propaganda techniques—practically all used skilfully by the Nazis—the conquered peoples of Europe grew less and less susceptible to the psychological controls employed by their conquerors. Certainly the effective organization of the Dutch underground is strong evidence for the author's thesis. After a while propaganda—and even terror—increased rather than decreased the power to resist. People became immunized against fear: "In extreme exasperation men no longer fear death, and what before induced paralysis through fear arouses fury and a desire for revenge.

One implication that Meerloo does not explicitly draw out is that resistance to propaganda and terror is accompanied by a growing loyalty to the nation. As Germany was more hated, the Netherlands was more loved. While the Dutch people are too sane to go in for blind chauvinism, one gathers from the book that the Dutch are more nationally minded today than they were before the war.

The book is not well organized. The author wavers between a practical and a theoretical orientation, and he digresses into such things as the need for internationalization of military

knowledge and for an international statute dealing with the fundamental rights of human beings. His observations and his practical suggestions for Allied counterpropaganda are so good that it is a pity when he occasionally goes off into abstruse discussions of psychological literature, which he does not seem to know too well. The book will remain, however, an important source for understanding what went on in Europe during the dark years and how people react under extreme strain.

Abrahamsen is also a psychiatrist from a conquered country—Norway. He participated in the fighting there but escaped the occupation. His subject is, not his own people, but the Germans. He seeks to explain how the Germans and the quislings became so aggressive and inhuman. His explanation, unlike that of Meerloo, is drawn less from what he observed and more from the theories of psychiatry. For this reason, the reader feels that he is getting one man's opinion rather than a statement of facts and implications that must be taken into account. The best chapter is that on Vidkun Quisling, about whom the author knows things that the reader usually will not know.

Abrahamsen holds that the Germans suffer from a collective insanity, which arose largely out of their prehistoric life in the woods. Living in the woods made the Germans feel insecure and anxious to band together. The insecurity made them aggressive—and this overaggressiveness is manifested even in such things as the harshness of the German language. The popular fable of the Pied Piper of Hamelin shows how herdlike is their character. The dominance of the father in the German family gives every German male a homosexual fear of, and love for, the leader. The reason Germans are so sensitive about their country is that they always feel a need to protect their mother. I don't know how one could prove or disprove these statements.

After giving the above explanation of the German people as a whole, the author attempts to show how Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, Himmler, Quisling, and Laval acquired, during their childhood and early adolescence, the attitude and behavior of maladjusted persons. For example, Hitler hated his father, an Austrian,

so much that he felt a need to conquer Austria. Quisling had unsatisfactory relations with his mother in childhood—his betrayal was psychologically equivalent to the rape of his mother. All felt insecure and thwarted.

The last chapter is a repetitive plea for changing the character structure of the Germans, not merely occupying their territory. The specific suggestions are to (1) strengthen the role of the mother in the family and in society; (2) make children attend school from the nursery ages to sixteen or eighteen years; (3) control the press at first and expose Germans to divergent points of view only gradually; (4) put the war criminals—and the author realistically hopes that from four to six million Germans will be considered war criminals—in labor camps; (5) set up clinics to detect persons with mental abnormalities and to institutionalize them; and (6) avoid leniency.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

Chicago, Illinois

Psychology for the Armed Services. THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL. Edited by EDWIN G. BORING. Washington: The Infantry Journal, 1945. Pp. xvii+533. \$3.00.

Although this book first appeared only a month before the end of the war with Japan, it still has value as a text for training military leaders in military institutes. It can serve as a means of acquainting military leaders with the knowledge developed by psychologists relevant to military problems, and it can also serve as a means of propagandizing military leaders to think in psychological terms and to consult psychologists. Since this is a textbook, it contains very little that has not been in print before.

The book may be sharply divided into two parts: The first deals with such biopsychological problems as the sense organs and their use, fatigue, physical conditions making for inefficiency, individual differences, emotion, and sex. The second deals with such sociopsychological problems as morale, personal adjustment, leadership, rumor, panic and mobs, polling soldier opinion, propaganda, and race prejudice. This reviewer is not competent to evaluate the first part of the book, but it seems to be a good summary. It does not differ greatly from the usual textbook in practical or general psychology. The criticism may be made that the editor goes to unnecessary extremes in identifying psy-

chology as a biological science: for example, German psychology is criticized as "philosophical" because it uses untested methods; yet whole chapters of the book under review are based on intelligent guesses rather than on experiments. Also, subjects are taken up in this book which do not seem to have anything to do with psychology—such as how to treat frostbite.

The second part of the book reveals how little psychologists know about practical sociopsychological problems. Almost any experienced layman can find scores of places in this book where it would be unwise in many circumstances to follow the advice given. Those responsible for the later chapters, with a few exceptions, seem to be wholly unaware that sociologists have also been studying these problems. The descriptions and generalizations are based on incomplete information, and the advice given is not adequately qualified. Two exceptions, which do not warrant this criticism, are the chapters on "Panic and Mobs" and "Differences among the Peoples of the World."

Perhaps an even greater weakness of the book is its inaccuracy in historical reporting. Throughout the book there are errors in statements as to what has actually been taking place in the army. The authors seem to have fallen too hard for the official army doctrine. Most of the chapter on "Army Teaching" is nonsense, in terms of the experience of the present reviewer and of other soldiers he has talked to. Some of the statements are so inaccurate, as a reflection of soldier attitudes, as to be amusing: Soldiers "can do without letters from home if the leader makes it clear that he is trying to get their mail for them. They can face death at his command if they are sure that death is necessary to victory—if they know that he is competent and willing to lead the way into the danger" (p. 337). Similar to inaccurate reporting is a naïve conception of social causation: for example, on page 416 it says that soldiers are put into uniform and the insignia of rank are standardized because the man who loses a leader must be ready to follow without question the commands of his successor!

ARNOLD M. ROSE

Chicago, Illinois

Native Peoples of the Pacific World. By FELIX M. KEESING. New York: Macmillan Co., 1945. Pp. xv+144. \$3.00.

This little book is one of a series designed to provide the military forces operating in the Pacific with information on the area and its peoples, in the hope that such data will foster appreciation and understanding of native life and offer civil-affairs personnel useful counsel which would enhance their skill as administrators.

In some ways this handbook is a condensation of Keesing's monograph, *The South Seas in the Modern World*, published in 1942. The traditional anthropological topics are covered, ranging from races and languages to home conditions and social customs. There is here the same high quality of style and balanced presentation that characterize Keesing's other reports.

It is unfortunate that, prior to the book's publication, Keesing had not had any firsthand acquaintance with or access to reliable reports of the native populations during the war. In many sections his observations on recent developments are based on premises no longer true, and in others the total significance of the social revolution and upheaval taking place in the Pacific is missed. World War II has completely changed the relationships between the subordinate peoples and the dominant colonial powers. The Japanese invasion and the counter Allied invasions not only resulted in tremendous physical destruction but also modified nearly all of the pre-existing institutions. To illustrate the book's unreality, a few citations may be offered: "In general, however, even the white man's regime at its worst is likely to seem rosy to natives who have been under Japanese rule" (p. 6). It would be not easy to convince the Japanese today of this proposition. Even in Guam the issue is not that clear cut. The Chamorro superintendent of schools on Guam told me, soon after we retook the island, that one of the contrasts which stood out in his mind was the racial equality in Japanese-native relations during the occupation, as compared with the inequality of American military-native relations in the pre-war period. The administration of the Japanese South Seas Bureau compares favorably with that of the French, British, and Dutch in their respective domains. Considerable funds and efforts were devoted to the rehabilitation and the acculturation of native peoples. It does not help us to assume that, merely because we are white, we are inherently better governors.

Interspersed in the descriptive materials are suggestions to civil-affairs officers. Some of this

advice is not sound. For example, the counsel that English-speaking Chamorros on Guam might be used to help get in touch with the natives of other Micronesian islands overlooks the deep tension and suspicion which exists between the Chamorros and other ethnic groups. In the one instance in which Chamorros were used, they exploited their position to gain personal advantages for their own group at the expense of others. Or, again, the author states that "German missionaries and settlers have had some pro-Axis influence" (p. 5) and that military government should be wary of them. Actually, the missionaries were motivated by Christian principles rather than by Nazi doctrines. Before the invasion they secretly counteracted Japanese atrocity propaganda, and after the American occupation they proved cooperative. The observation that "Japanese immigrants and military forces have largely pushed aside the Micronesians in their mandate, and this has made them willing enough to cooperate with American forces as the Japanese have been ousted" (p. 16) is a faulty premise on which to base American-native relations. Micronesians acquiesce to American control not as a reaction to the Japanese but rather in realistic recognition that one dominant power has been conclusively supplanted by another and that the new one must be obeyed. Such a general precept as the advice to work within the framework of native society is a truism which is meaningless to an administrator confronted by a disorganized society and an unintegrated social order. To work within a framework connotes that the group has a common set of values and way of life. But Micronesia lacks these not only because of the war but also as a result of three hundred years of adjusting to the varying demands of divergent colonial powers.

The question needs to be raised whether this book and similar ones affect the attitudes and behavior of American troops in the Pacific. On the basis of experience thus far, the answer must be given—albeit grudgingly—in the negative. Americans, conditioned by a lifetime of regarding natives as primitives and all properties abroad as souvenirs, have treated the islanders as expendables who were amusing but of no consequence. Even high-ranking officers have little real regard for native needs and welfare. But it does not follow from these observations that an attempt such as Keesing's is futile. Rather, it indicates the tremendous task which lies ahead of us. Keesing's orientation is sound; but the

problem of educating Americans for living with, as well as governing, natives in the Pacific has yet to be systematically examined and a practical solution devised.

JOHN USEEM

Barnard College
Columbia University

The Governing of Men. By ALEXANDER H. LEIGHTON. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. xvi+404. \$3.75.

The question of the contribution which the various disciplines of social sciences can make to the practical problems of administration is increasingly attracting the attention of the social scientists and the administrators. Until the role of the social scientist in administration is better defined and more widely accepted than at present and until there has been accumulated a much wider body of data and more adequate conceptual tools than those which social scientists have yet forged, we must expect uncertainty and confusion in this new field of applied social science. Into this, at present unstable, situation, Commander Leighton has injected an analysis based upon his research at a War Relocation Authority center for evacuated Japanese in southern Arizona.

In the first half of the book the author describes events leading up to a center-wide strike among the Japanese *evacués* in November, 1942, and its sequel. The second portion is devoted to the presentation of principles and recommendations for consideration of administrators, as derived from insights into "constants and general principles of human social life."

The description of the events leading up to evacuation, including the kinds of people, the physical and social environment which the Japanese *evacués* found in a relocation center, and the successes and failures in establishing a functioning social community, is masterful writing. Leighton succeeds in reporting the background of the strike with economy of detail and yet with great clarity. Even so, better understanding on the part of the reader would have been achieved if block organization, that unit of the relocation center which called forth such strong loyalties, had been described in more detail. Greater emphasis might also have been placed on the role of the block manager and the function and relation of the block-manager

system, since this was the administratively organized device, extending to all portions of the community, which related the administration to the people, and vice versa, and was a competing system with self-government for this significant function.

Although the first portion of the book represents a first-rate example of description and analysis, it is the last half which is destined to provoke the most discussion and thought. One can speculate on the different conclusions which a political scientist, a social psychologist, a Durkheimian sociologist, or a social anthropologist would have reached, using the same experience and the same data as Leighton.

The mechanics of presentation in this section reminds one of both Machiavelli and Pareto, although these two have no exclusive claim to this procedure. For purposes of treatment Leighton divides his analysis into "Individuals under Stress," "Systems of Belief under Stress," and "Social Organization under Stress." Under each of these he develops certain principles and derives recommendations for meeting the problems of stress which an administrator may find among his people.

Ten different types of stress, ranging from "threats to life and health" to "capricious and unpredictable behavior on the part of those in authority upon whom one's welfare depends," are listed. Responses to these stresses may lead to either co-operation, withdrawal, or aggression, on the part of the individual; but the response is difficult to predict, since "a particular form or intensity of stress is not related in any simple or direct fashion to a given form of reaction," because of other influences. "One of the most potent of these additional influences is the beliefs of the people who suffer the stress. . . ." (p. 287).

It is at this point that the psychologist would have wished that the author had defined his understanding of the term "stress." One deduces from the list that "stress" refers to physical discomfort or mental anguish or both, producing either insecurity or frustration. If this is the case, then the distinction between the concepts of "stress" and "belief" is obscure. The same terminological difficulties appear in the use of the term "social organization." It is defined as "the habits and customs whereby persons interact with each other . . ." (p. 322). The term, however, is used sometimes to refer to a system of relations and sometimes to include all of culture (including technology and religion)

except the systems of belief. Attention has been called to the terminological inconsistencies because these make it more difficult to grasp the core of the conceptual scheme from which the "principles" stem.

Although Leighton sees and understands the interrelatedness of the individual and society, his analytical approach leans much more heavily on psychological than on sociological method. His principles and recommendations are reminiscent of the techniques of diagnosis and treatment of the clinical physician. The assumption constantly reappears that it is the responsibility of the administrator to correct the stresses of a community or individual through "remedial change"; and, as in the case of the physician, it is first necessary to make the diagnosis, understand the relationships, and then prescribe a treatment. It is questionable how many sociologists and anthropologists would agree completely with the projection of the physician-patient relationship to that of administrator-community. As it happened, the project directors at two other relocation centers did approximate this relationship and even expressed it in just about those terms. In the one instance there developed extreme paternalism, and in the other a continued bitter conflict between the administration and the *evacuees*. Emphasis upon the major role of the administrator as "social practitioner" obscures the structural arrangement of "joint participation and responsibility" between the administration and community in meeting common problems.

The question of practical application of the principles developed by Leighton is of equal importance with theoretical considerations. Effective administrators do utilize systems of beliefs and social organization to gain acceptance for their ends. They are not always conscious of what they are doing; and, since a portion of their behavior remains on the intuitive level, they frequently make mistakes which could be avoided if they were conscious of what was involved. In community situations and with peoples of different cultures, administrators, generally speaking, are particularly noted for their ineptitude. It is with this class of administrators that understanding of Leighton's efforts would be most helpful. Unfortunately, as Leighton knows only too well from experience, administrators may be willing to learn; but they resist generalized statements about problems or how to meet them. The most effective work of a social scientist with an

administrator is accomplished by helping him solve day-to-day problems in the hope that some of the principles being applied will be understood and made use of later.

Three portions of the analysis are particularly recommended for study and understanding. They are: "Systems of Belief in the Administration" (pp. 304-13); "Social Organization and the Administration" (pp. 343-49); and points 9 and 10 in the conclusion. The Appendix is a valuable case record of the organization and of some of the problems faced by those working on the staff as social analysts to administration.

SOLON KIMBALL

Michigan State College

The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey. By JOHN F. EMBREE. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945. Pp. vii+308. \$2.25.

Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure. By JOHN M. MAKI. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. Pp. xii+258+vi. \$3.00.

The Japanese Nation is by way of an experiment in ethnography, in that it describes the culture not of a small preliterate cultural group but of a large modern nation. The scope of the book is comprehensive, covering everything from the production of sweet potatoes to the manufacture of battleships, from marriage and funeral ceremonies to state Shinto and the national constitution. Thus, many of the topics dealt with fall far outside the usual range of ethnographic data. As is usual with works of this type, the descriptive technique is rigidly objective. All evaluative terminology is sedulously avoided; and when such terms as, for example, "conservative" are used ("Out of a total of almost four hundred members of the House of Peers, about half are of the nobility, and a fourth are imperial appointees. They exert, as might be expected, a strongly conservative influence on legislation" [p. 71]), they are used not with reference to occidental standards but rather with reference to the internal structure of Japan itself at a given period.

As is all too often the case with ethnographies, the comprehensive scope and the objective approach impose certain regrettable limitations. Lack of space probably accounts for the anticlimactic nature of such passages as the following:

[The *Zaibatsu*] have lent large sums to the government in time of war and supplied capital for the development of new territories or new enterprises favored by the government in the interests of national security [p. 56].

Since Japanese industrial development depended to a large degree on the work of farmers and since all national surpluses from foreign trade went into industrial development much of which involved profits to the *Zaibatsu* in proportion to their gigantic capitalistic girth, many Japanese have come to resent them [p. 57].

Since the dissolution of political parties in 1940 and the organization of the single-party Imperial Rule Assistance Association, the position of the prime minister has become stronger since he is no longer dependent on party affiliations for the backing of his policies [p. 70].

Of recent years the [Black Dragon] society has sponsored the Pan-Asia movement and has conceived the mission of liberating the dark races from white oppression [p. 116].

Again, objectivity in description, with its accompanying avoidance of controversial formulations, leads to anemic statements or to statements involving invidious comparisons. For instance:

If, as a result of the lack of direct representation in policy making, certain groups interested in social change feel slighted, they may join a society which believes in direct action. Then a representative of such a society may assassinate the man connected with an unpopular policy. Such an act does not necessarily indicate hatred for the man shot, but is rather an expression of disapproval of some act or policy of his group or class. . . . This sanction tends to be resorted to by conservative and reactionary groups in protest against liberal or internationalist policies [p. 108].

In general, their [the special police's] functions (and attitudes toward foreigners) are similar to those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this country [p. 98].

Ethnographies, usually of necessity, tend to concentrate on the description of basic patterns and to avoid direct historical interpretation. Characteristically, Embree is at his best in the description of the more persistent cultural and social phenomena, such as religion and the family structure; but the sureness of touch, the aura of competence, which one detects in the chapters devoted to those subjects, has a way of deserting him when he is dealing with less crystallized things—such as education, the press, and the light-metals industry.

Methodologically, Embree's book can be said to illustrate a basic presupposition of anthro-

pology—that culture is an end in itself. This is stated explicitly on page 110:

All aspects of a society's culture . . . serve some function in maintaining the total social organization. . . . For this reason, all societies, the Japanese included, resist change in their basic structures and their peoples are ethnocentric. Social solidarity demands some degree of chauvinism in the majority of a nation's members, a chauvinism which in recent Japan has sometimes taken extreme forms;

and is applied interpretatively in dealing with "thought control," the press, and the position of the emperor.

Embree's book has already begun to fill a number of needs—for an adequate textbook, for a reliable reference volume, and for a non-propagandistic popular presentation of facts. There can be no question of his scholarly qualifications, which are as well recognized as they are rare. But it does seem unfortunate that he accepted the conventional canons of ethnographic writing rather than attempting to formulate his data in terms of dynamic, though as yet speculative, concepts of a type which some anthropologists in the past decade have found stimulating.

Social scientists other than anthropologists will doubtless feel on more familiar ground with *Japanese Militarism* than with *The Japanese Nation*. While much of the range of facts of the two books overlaps, the handling of the facts presents some instructive contrasts.

If Embree's basic presupposition is that culture is an end in itself, then Maki's may be said to be that political structures and historical events are means to ends—ends of the type of democracy and dictatorship. Where Embree's description is couched primarily in terms of internal structure, Maki, wherever possible, relates events in a context of international, as well as intranational, relationships. Where Embree describes Japan on a single time-level, Maki's treatment is historical. While many of Embree's chapters are close to being *disiecta data*, held together by a title, each of Maki's chapters can be read as a unified essay.

Maki first selects certain major institutions, such as the political and economic oligarchies, the idea of the emperor, and antiforeignism, and traces their historical development. The major thesis advanced is that there has been a high degree of continuity, in institutional structure but more significantly in ideology, throughout Japan's recorded history. The

authoritarian state existing in Japan before the war and the diplomatic moves leading up to the war are treated as the final development of these long-term tendencies. The thesis is extensively documented by historical data and by an acute analysis of the events of the 1930's. The final chapter, on the "Future of Japan," maintains this long-term point of view and consequently has not lost its timeliness.

While Maki's book is presented not as an exploratory work but as a summary of what the author considers verifiable, social scientists who read it closely will find many passages in which problems meriting further thought are raised. To mention only one, Maki's occasional remarks on the character of the revolutionary episodes in Japanese history indicate that they have special characteristics which differentiate them from their European counterparts. The book can thus be very useful in setting up a framework in terms of which many problems of Japanese sociology and political economy can be explored.

A. M. HALPERN

University of Chicago

Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress. By RAPHAEL LEMKIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. xxxviii+674. \$7.50.

The most valuable part of this painstaking compilation is the collection of "Laws of Occupation," of statutes and decrees issued by German military authorities and their vassals in nineteen Nazi-occupied countries and territories. The collection does not claim completeness, and most of the pieces are reprinted in excerpts; but they cover every major aspect of life under enemy rule: the fundamental decrees of incorporation or governmental organization, those pertaining to administrative procedure and police, organization of law and courts, status of property, management of finances and labor, treatment of the Jews and other minorities, including "genocide," the policy of destroying nations. The bulk of the book, some 380 pages, is filled with these reprints, while the rest interprets their contents first briefly by major fields of policy (pp. 7-95) and then by countries (pp. 99-264).

Dr. Lemkin's approach is essentially legal but is very ably supplemented by the popularized explanation and illustration of the

economic, administrative, or social meaning of the Nazi measures. These interpretative sections suffer, to some extent, through the legalistic inclination of the author. He is satisfied, on the whole, with presenting the German "laws" and with interpreting their "meaning" in a general way, without fully analyzing the actual administrative procedures, to say nothing of the circumstances and problems the occupation authorities faced in each individual case. This is in contrast to a sociological method such as distinguishes Ernst Fraenkel's excellent study of military occupation in the Rhineland of 1918-23 (reviewed in the September, 1945, issue of this *Journal*). What Dr. Lemkin describes and discusses is the formal framework of Nazi administration rather than its factual content. Even so, his pioneering contribution in collecting the material and setting up a useful frame of reference for the future exploration of the Hitlerite system of management in occupied lands deserves full credit.

However, the author's objective is not limited to research. Over and over again, he points out violations of the Hague conventions, of international law, and of the "rights of man" committed by the German statutes. Little attempt is made to consider how far the violations actually were carried out; whether there were precedents or other extenuating circumstances; and whether there was any "justification" by the emergency of a "total" war and blockade, or on the grounds of "security" and "reprisals." German arguments, if mentioned at all, are dismissed summarily. In other words, the learned Polish jurist has written what amounts, in effect, to a prosecutor's brief, with the text of Nazi ukases serving as documents, rather than an impartial—and thereby much more damaging!—inquiry. No comparison worth mentioning is made with the technique of other occupying powers (e.g., the Soviets in the Baltic, 1939-40), but obvious hints are interspersed to indicate the line of argument along which the culprits should be convicted, sometimes at the price of stretching legal reasoning so as to fit the purpose of a perfectly understandable but extra-legal intent to punish or to revenge.

The case is typical of the conflict between the impassionate pursuit of a scientific goal and the purposeful political approach. It is the case of the ethically indignant prosecutor who unconsciously assumes the role of the judge—so common among students of law doubling as

"social scientists." The field of international law, in its vague incompleteness and its lack of positive authority, is especially fit for the confusion of ultimate standards. Dr. Lemkin's case is a tragic one, too. His highly refined legal apparatus which is to serve against the Nazis could be turned on the Allies as well. Almost every one of the nine groups of international crimes he charges to the Nazis has been duplicated recently, in one instance or another, by Allied occupational authorities. Cases of starving war prisoners (in French camps) and of tolerating looting, the policy of wholesale confiscation of private property and of arbitrary changes in the occupied countries' constitutions and administrations, offer as many examples. Allied practices include, in effect, even the worst of Nazi excesses—"genocide," the mass extinction of civilians, as the fate of millions of Germans driven, under inhuman conditions, from their homes in east-central Europe. Of course, there is this substantial difference: that the Nazis shamelessly displayed their intentionally planned misdeeds, while the western Allies stumble into illegal practices and cover them with humanitarian or other formulas.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago, Illinois

Backgrounds of Conflict: Ideas and Forms in World Politics. By KURT LONDON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1945. Pp. xvi+487. \$3.75.

Among the numerous comparative studies of the clashing political systems in World War II, Kurt London's book deserves to be extolled as one of the most informative and delightful publications. London has given us a commendable demonstration that a political and historical presentation can be authentic and fair without being impartial; that it can be popular without sacrificing factual content.

Beginning with a historical sketch of the rise of Prussia, the author reviews the ideological antecedents of the Nazi philosophy from Kant through Hegel and the romanticists to Oswald Spengler and Haushofer. Comparatively broad space is devoted to a good summary of the Nazi Weltanschauung, the organization of the Nazi party, and its system of control over Germany. The description of fascism and its prehistory is briefer and more in the nature of a digest. Sociological orientation is most evident

in the enjoyable chapters dealing with the transformation of feudal Japan, the changing role of Shintoism, and the development of Japanese imperialism. Some eighty pages are devoted to a broad outline of the Soviet system; Marxism; changing Soviet policies toward education, religion, and the family; the organization of the Communist party; and Soviet foreign policy. The remaining three sections deal with Vichy France, the British Commonwealth, and the United States. Their treatment is more condensed and is offered without the broad historical perspectives present in the previous sections of the book. A good selective bibliography follows each section.

In the introductory chapter the author characterizes the first world conflict as an imperialistic war fought for limited objectives, which did not include the destruction of the social system of enemy countries, while he interprets the second world conflict as an ideological war fought to convert the opponent by indoctrination or brute force. Thus the Nazi ideology explains both Nazi Germany's economy and her war objectives.

One need not overlook the importance of the ideologies in the last conflagration to wonder whether this contrast is not overdrawn. It is perhaps the author's overemphasis on the Nazi and Fascist ideology which explains the comparatively broad (and most competent) treatment of the origins of the Nazi ideology, while relatively little attention is paid to the evolution of German foreign policy from the rise of the Pan-German party to Hitler. To the present reviewer, the Nazi ideology, while important as a motive power, seems to reflect rather than explain the changing objectives and strategy of German imperialism. This minor criticism notwithstanding, the publication should be welcomed by both the layman and the student of political systems as an example of expert and circumspect interpretation. The end of the war will not reduce the value of the book.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

New Perspectives on Peace. Edited by GEORGE B. DE HUSZAR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. viii+261. \$2.50.

This is one of the books on peace which has not become outdated, nor will it soon be ren-

dered useless by the passage of time. Its plan is to present the problems of peace from the standpoints of geography, history, anthropology, economics, sociology, law, education, psychology, philosophy, and religion, instead of merely from retrospective and static legal points of view, which is the usual approach to the field of international relations. The various contributions of the specialized chapters are all by University of Chicago professors, and the sponsor is the Walgreen Foundation.

In a masterly introductory chapter on "The Problems in Perspective" the editor exposes the errors of the prevailing conceptions of peace as negative, static, wishful, and doctrinaire rather than realistic thinking. He makes a strong plea to functionalize the geographic and legal efforts at peacemaking by creating and utilizing an informed public opinion in this field. To this end he urges that the study of international relations be fertilized by data from economics, sociology, psychology, and education especially. His arguments for the reorientation of the study of international relations in the direction of sociology and social psychology are by far the most cogent and convincing to be found anywhere in print. In fact, this first chapter is in itself a historic document in the archives of the social sciences.

The book is a not altogether successful attempt to realize the editor's conception of a functionalized approach to the study of one aspect of international relations—that of peace—by including the relevant data and outlook of each of the social sciences. The fault of the book—which the editor doubtless fully realizes—is that it lacks adequate synthesis in spite of his own excellent introductory statement of principles. Each special writer attempts, with varying degrees of pertinence, to bring the data of his own particular discipline to bear upon the problem of a lasting peace. But the result is, to some extent, an *ex parte* presentation, and there is no one to give a harmonized view of the whole. As the editor says, this would require much labor and a long time. It is the sort of task which the present writer attempted in an elementary way in his *War and Its Causes*. Despite this obvious defect, the book under review is one of distinguished and lasting value in the discussion of the conditions of peace.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace. By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945. Pp. iii+143. \$2.00.

The expansion of Europe—the development of physical science, the spread of invention, the advance in technology and productive efficiency, the increase in population and the migration of men, the improvement in means of transportation and techniques of communication, the development of rational and pragmatic attitudes and secular points of view, and the various related and dependent phenomena that define modern civilization—brought real or potential benefits to all areas and all peoples. But, to the present, the expansion of Europe has often been at the expense of other peoples and cultures. Its pace has been rapid and its processes socially uncontrolled; its benefits have often gone to the exploiters rather than to the people. The groups too backward to understand, too weak to resist, or otherwise unable or unwilling to adjust have been swept aside or reduced to economic dependence and political and cultural subordination. And the clash of interests of the expanding nations has resulted in destructive wars and endless human misery.

In this thin essay Mr. DuBois gives scant attention to the impersonal factors that determine the nature of European civilization and direct the course of its development. There is no disposition to deny that European expansion has brought great benefits to other peoples of the world, but there seems to be no adequate recognition of the fact that the present status and aspirations of the colonial peoples is an inevitable stage in the process of cultural contacts and relations. The interest is elsewhere. The author is concerned with the present inequalities in the economic, political, and social order that have resulted from the socially undirected evolution of European expansion and with the dangers to world peace that are inherent in the undemocratic conditions and policies. It is an appeal for the inclusion of the "lesser peoples" in a democratic world and a warning of the disasters to follow their exclusion. In a brief initial chapter on Dumbarton Oaks the basic criticism is focused on the fact that there is no adequate provision for the participation of the colonial peoples. In following chapters he reviews the colonial system with attention on the present status and attitudes of

the colonial peoples, the obstructed aspirations of the small nations and the minority groups within the larger nations, and the subordination and cultural exclusion of the colored peoples in the United States and other areas of European culture.

The point of view of the essay is political and moral rather than scientific and objective. The social reality is seen less as a current expression of impersonal forces than as a construction of selfish men. The author is appalled by the extent of human stupidity, and he is crucified by the human wreckage of ruthless exploitation. He is desirous that democracy be a reality rather than a shibboleth. But the standpoint he takes seems to offer little basis for the mitigation of conditions and the removal of abuses other than by incantation and appeals to the exploiters and their political servants. In the end he finds the only motive for reform in religion: "... a realistic program for making the world better now ought to combine the efforts of church and science, of missionary effort and social reform."

E. B. REUTER

Fisk University

Social Policy in Dependent Territories. Edited by the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. Montreal: International Labour Office, 1944. Pp. i+185. \$1.50.

The Exploitation of Foreign Labour by Germany. Edited by the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. Montreal: International Labour Office, 1945. Pp. ii+286. \$2.00.

Both of the books under review are excellent studies of social conditions of laborers on abnormally low living standards. It is not surprising, perhaps, that there exist many parallels between the social position of the colonial laborer and the foreign "slave" laborer drafted for service in Germany and German-occupied territories during the war. The parallel is not drawn in either of the two studies, but it forces itself on the reader of the two volumes. But, besides this parallel, there are significant differences in the two studies. Whereas the one describes the utter exploitation and almost complete dehumanization of workers in Germany and outlines the steady deterioration of living standards as the war progressed, the other shows what avenues can be opened to

raise the low levels on which colonial workers are still living.

The book on social policies in the colonies gives a historical account of labor relations in dependent territories during the interwar period and concludes with an analysis of several of the more recent problems in colonial social policies, notably the impact of trade-unionism, racial discrimination, social security, and migratory labor. The study contains in two appendixes the texts of recommendations and a resolution concerning social policy in dependent territories.

These two documents are extremely liberal and, if generally applied, would lead to social services and living standards which are not achieved in many independent countries, such as the Balkan countries or certain Latin-American republics. Even though the realization of the conditions specified in the recommendations and the resolution can hardly be expected in the near future, the policies and aims stated represent a model toward which the administration of countries under the trusteeship provisions of the San Francisco Charter should be patterned.

In contrast to the hopeful outlook in the field of colonial social policy, the picture painted by the volume on the exploitation of foreign labor by Germany is bleak. The study covers the war period only, and more specifically the time after the defeat and occupation of France and the Low Countries. The book presents an accurate and well-written account of conditions among foreign laborers in Germany and German-occupied territories. The evidence used is carefully analyzed and admirably collected. The chief sources of reference are official German publications, German newspapers, and broadcasts. It would have been interesting to include references from the underground press, but, for obvious reasons, the largest part of this material will come to light only in the future. It would be an appropriate task to check the reaction to German labor policies in the underground press as it becomes available.

The scope of the volume is wider than is indicated by its title. It contains, in addition to an analysis of labor and social conditions of foreign workers exploited by German organizations, an account of the whole structure of labor relations and industrial policies within the German war economy. The Foreword mentions that the study was prepared by Mr. John H. E. Fried of the International Labour Organization

staff. It is regrettable that the policy of the I.L.O. apparently forbids that his name as author of this comprehensive and excellent study be mentioned on the title-page. For any student of present economic and social conditions in Europe this book by Mr. Fried is an indispensable source.

BERT F. HOSELTZ

University of Chicago

Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics: Studies in Land Utilization and Agricultural Colonization in Southwestern Asia. By KARL J. PELZER. New York: American Geographical Society, 1945. Pp. viii+290. \$5.00.

This scholarly volume is intended to provide factual knowledge on the land problems of the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies. It does that and much more, for it goes beyond the gathering of data which can be presented in tables and seeks to interpret aspects of the life and customs of dependent peoples without which the best-laid plans for reforms are doomed to failure.

As a part of this background, Dr. Pelzer discusses the type of agriculture practiced by the more primitive inhabitants of southeastern Asia. He finds them slashing and burning the forests and planting the newly cleared land for two or three years until soil depletion and the incursion of rank grass makes new clearings necessary. Then the old fields lie fallow for years, and the jungle returns, finally to be cut again.

Such a system, which he calls "shifting cultivation," requires ample lands; but with pressure of peoples from overpopulated districts and the introduction of cash crops the cutover plots are used longer and more frequently. The result is erosion and land exhaustion; grasslands replace the forests, and frequent fires prevent reseeding. Thus, in time, the environment is changed and part of the population is forced to migrate.

A condition much like that produced by "shifting cultivation" was brought about by the introduction of European ideas of clean plantations, where rubber, tea, and similar crops are grown. This leads to quick runoff and erosion, while tin mines pollute the waters which serve the rice lands. With the advent of the war between Japan and China, reforms were attempted in Malaya in order to supply needed

food. Cover crops cut down erosion; new wet lands were developed, and measures were taken to protect them. The period before total war was too short to effect major changes, but the experiment gives promise for the future.

In contrast to "shifting cultivation" is the "sedentary" or wet-land agriculture of the southeastern Orient. Broad stretches of lowlands yield immense crops of rice, while terraced hillsides have extended this type of agriculture over much of the mountain districts of Java, some adjacent islands, and to the Bontoc-Ifugao districts of Luzon. Wet-land rice permits dense population, which, in turn, is reflected by changes in social organization and technical developments.

A mounting population results in migrations into regions with agricultural possibilities, but here difficulties are encountered. Such expansion is possible in the Philippines, where at least half the land is suitable for agriculture and where only 14 per cent was in cultivation in 1938. Migration would seem to be the ready answer, but the Malayan pattern of village life makes this difficult unless whole settlements are moved or set up at one time. The attempts of the Philippine and Netherlands Indies governments to develop new agricultural communities form an interesting and important part of the volume.

Forces to be dealt with in settling problems of land use are many. The high percentage of tenancy in the Philippines has led to exploitation of the masses. Closely tied to this are tenant loans, high rate of usury, and virtual peonage in some areas.

Much of the undeveloped lands of the Philippines is public property, the sale and use of which to aliens is so limited that foreign capital is discouraged. Protests against the low economic level of the farmers have led to several attempts to open the public lands for settlement. Here difficulties were presented by the blocking of legislation by large landowners, by the resistance of pagan tribes to newcomers, or by the fear of the Christianized peoples of the Mohammedanized Moro.

These are but part of the many aspects of pioneer settlement in the Asiatic tropics presented in readable form and substantiated by technical details in a series of appendixes.

It is the privilege of any author to do some speculating, and Dr. Pelzer indulges to a limited degree. He speculates concerning the origin of agriculture and expresses the belief that root

crops preceded grains in southeastern Asia. This he thinks is borne out by the use of terraced fields and root crops in the marginal areas of the Pacific. Northeastern India is given as the probable source of rice—a grain long domesticated, judging by its many varieties.

He says that seedbeds and wet-land rice are related to density of population, as evidenced by the density among the Bontoc and Ifugao, who use rice terraces, as opposed to the near-by Tinguian, who do not (p. 13). The latter statement is the one real error the reviewer has noted in the volume. The Tinguian do possess terraced fields and have had them for a long time. The reason for calling this to notice is that it has a bearing on all the speculations noted.

It may be that root crops preceded grain in southeastern Asia; but, if so, it probably was before the movement of such mountain groups as the Igorot and Ifugao to Luzon. Superficially their rice culture resembles that of the Tinguian in that both have seedbeds and terraces, but in most other details they are quite different. The methods of harvesting, storing, and threshing are different, as are the religious and magical rites connected with the crops.

Bontoc and Ifugao appear to have their nearest connections with certain tribes in the Naga Hills of Assam, while the Tinguian tie in closely with the now Christianized tribes of the Philippines, the Javanese, groups in Sumatra—all of whom are classed as Malayan. The Tinguian terraces may have been borrowed from the Igorot, since until late times they were the only Malayan people in the Philippines who made terraces. Two groups—the Murut and Dusun—of North Borneo have terraced fields, but no more appear until Java, Sumatra, and the east-and-west line of islands of the Indies are reached. Here, again, the terraces seem to be added to an old, widespread Malayan agricultural pattern. All this emphasizes the hold of custom, which often delays the acceptance of superior methods and tools. Density of population may be related to terraced wet-land agriculture; but this density may be due primarily to assured food supply, rather than being the cause of better methods.

Despite possible debate on origins and diffusions, the essential facts are presented against a background of understanding which makes this volume of interest and value to all students of pioneer areas.

FAY-COOPER COLE

University of Chicago

Falmouth, Massachusetts. By MILLARD C. FAUGHT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 190. \$2.75.

Faught studies, in Falmouth, Massachusetts, the problems of a resort community which are, as he defines them, the socially modified economic relations existing between natives and resorters. Falmouth is an old resort community. The relations between the two clearly defined groups, one of which is present during only a portion of the year, were set early in a pattern of sharp cleavage between the wealthy and exclusive summer residents, on the one hand, and the independent, provincially minded, and clannish Cape Codders, on the other. Economic relations do not necessarily lead to mutual understanding. Although recently resorters of a less exclusive sort have had more contact with the local residents, particularly among the younger people, the natives, for the most part, continue to view their guests merely as a "cash crop"—which they are—while the visitors, who must pay taxes without representation, tend to feel that they are being unduly exploited. Actually, however, both parties appear to be profiting by the arrangement. Faught, viewing the situation not only as a student of social affairs but also as a businessman, suggests, after analyzing the bases for these feelings, ways in which a more objective organization of the "resort industry" might lead to even greater profit, as well as better relations on both sides. This transformation of the Cape Codder into an efficient businessman will, to the regret of some outsiders, probably take place in time.

According to his objectives, Faught has done a thorough and conscientious job. The principal methods used were the survey and the questionnaire, but individual points of view were obtained through personal conversation. Faught is careful to say that Falmouth was not selected as a "typical" resort community, since he feels that "as a vacation area New England is so variegated as to preclude the possibility of any one community serving as a representative sample of the whole region." By his attitude he avoids the dangers of debatable "unqualified conclusions." But social science profits not so much by study of specific situations as by the contributions made to the establishment of general hypotheses. Anyone who has lived in a resort community, whether in New England, the Middle West, or abroad, will find in his own experience, if he troubles to analyze it, certain basic resemblances to the situation in

Falmouth: An analysis by the author of these elements, even if tentative, would add to the significance of his study.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Chicago, Illinois

A Chinese Village: Taitou, Shantung Province.

By MARTIN C. YANG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xii+275. \$3.00.

Social scientists, as Linton states in his Foreword, "know that the best way to acquire an intimate knowledge of any culture is and always will be to be reared in it." Yang wrote *A Chinese Village* in this country, but he describes the community in which he was born and brought up and with which he maintained close contacts even after he left to go away to school. An acquaintanceship with the methods of rural rehabilitation in this country, as well as training in cultural anthropology, has given him a sound basis for the analysis of his own early background.

Taitou, being in the north, has an economy based on the use of millet and wheat rather than rice. Landholdings tend to be larger than in the southern rice area, and the average farm family is also somewhat larger. Industry, even village handicrafts, is of slight importance, and in this particular area, at least, there has been little concentration of land into a few hands. Yang discusses agriculture and standards of living and even includes an appendix on the development of farm implements, but he is less concerned with the economic organization of the village than he is with its basic social structure. This he illumines not merely by describing the formal relationships but by showing human nature operating within the forms of traditional Chinese culture. In the chapter on "Inter-familial Relationships" we see not only how the mother of a family, theoretically subordinated and actually much secluded, enjoys compensations in the freer and more intimate relations she has with the children as compared with the father but also how she comes in time even to dominate the household. "Components of a Family" reveals the relationships not only of the living and the dead but also of the unborn, the land, the homestead, the ox, and the donkey, even of the inherited tools, to the family. "Village Conflicts" gives an excellent analysis of "face" as it is interpreted by the villagers and shows the complexities which Christianity

(in the form of both Catholicism and Protestantism) has brought to the village. "The Story of Tien-sze," a life-history which one suspects is autobiographical, tells of the hardships of poverty and stern parental control in the life of a boy who escapes the traditional mold and at last raises both his family's position in the world and his own by becoming a teacher in a university. Yang closes with a discussion of "The Village of the Future," in which, he hopes, sanitation, health, and methods of farming may be improved without disrupting the basic familial structure. For greater efficiency in farming he suggests working out a system of repartitioning the land so that all the pieces owned by one family may form a single unit rather than be widely scattered. Other needed reforms, such as better schools, localized industries, credit and other co-operative organizations, and medical services, would be facilitated, he feels, by the absorption of the traditional village organization, which existed simply to prevent change, into a larger community organization made up of the inhabitants of the near-by market town with its entire constellation of villages.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Chicago, Illinois

Asia for the Asiatics? By ROBERT S. WARD.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+205. \$3.00.

Ward's observations of the process of military occupation of Hong Kong by the Japanese were made from the peculiar observational standpoint of a prisoner of the occupying power. He has collected in this book a wealth of detailed information on the measures adopted by the occupying forces and their effect on the local population.

The occupation of Hong Kong is divided into two major phases. Initially, there was chaos fostered by the occupying forces for the purpose of convincing the natives of the desirability of collaboration. The second phase was that in which Japanese control of the social, political, and economic life of the Hong Kong colony was imposed. In the latter part of this period, control was nominally returned to some degree to the hands of the natives, but infiltration into positions of power by Japanese personnel had proceeded to such an extent that actual control remained largely in Japanese hands. The proc-

esses by which this control was established over such things as police functions, food distribution, commerce and industry, finance, transportation, and public health are related in great detail.

Perhaps because Ward has concentrated on the processes of occupation, the sections of his book dealing with the objectives of the occupation are not quite on the same high level. It is made clear, both implicitly and explicitly, that the military occupation of Hong Kong was in no sense regarded as a temporary and terminable operation but rather as a phase of, or prelude to, colonial exploitation. Ward, however, sometimes interprets the short-term objectives of specific actions, not as contributing to the purposes of the occupation but rather as imputing to the occupying power certain disreputable motives.

Of particular interest is Ward's description of Japanese propaganda activities, which he describes as based on the attempt to demonstrate to the Asiatic peoples that, since they were all of one race, conquest by Japan was really liberation and rule by Japan was self-rule. The major point made in this connection is that, although the contradiction in the Japanese theory may be apparent to the conquered peoples, the residual desire created for independence constitutes a factor in the politics of eastern Asia which must materially affect the future actions of the dominant powers in the area.

A. M. HALPERN

University of Chicago

The City Is the People. By HENRY S. CHURCHILL. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 1945. Pp. i+186. \$3.00.

Despite the title, this is not primarily a book about people in cities: I can find only six passages in which the people are the chief focus. Nevertheless, students of social problems of cities will do well to read it. They will be rewarded and entertained because it is a pungent reflection of an observant and critical mind.

Churchill is an architect who early came under the influence of the late Henry Wright (to whose memory the book is dedicated) and of the late Sir Raymond Unwin; he is a socially minded architect who is concerned with communities, and he has had a hand in the design of significant large-scale housing projects. He has an urbane and wide-ranging mind.

As designer, he has stubbed his toe against the hard facts of public finance and taxation. He sees at one point that ultimately all taxes come out of the earning capacity of the people (p. 157), but at other points he is troubled because most families cannot pay for their public services "and they are very largely subsidized by the wealthy, the industries and the resources of the state" (p. 103)—whatever the latter may be. Indeed, he throws up his hands after several pecks at the problem and concludes that "our present real estate tax system makes no sense at all and puts the question of municipal finance right up to the tax experts." I sympathize with his exasperation.

It is not for the light it throws on unsolved social problems of cities that this book is to be commended to social scientists. I commend it rather as one of the most vivid manifestoes I have read of civic design and civic aesthetics as themselves factors of social significance. Whenever Churchill deals with these factors, he writes with a sure touch—pungently, stimulatingly. His introductory chapters—"Antecedents," "Precedents"—trace the history of town planning freshly. His stress on the three-dimensionality—nay, the four-dimensionality—of civic design is stimulating. His choice of El Greco's dramatic view of Toledo as Frontispiece sets the key for the intensity of his own feeling. The inevitable accompaniment is over-generalization, detailed inaccuracy, and lack of close-knit organization; but in this framework they are not fatal defects.

The other merit of this book is its realistic understanding and portrayal of the planning process. We cannot foresee the full development of the airplane: "Nevertheless, the situation must be met as it exists, even if it proves to be all wrong in twenty years. Physical planning cannot anticipate unprecedented developments in other technics" (p. 96). Accordingly, he is more concerned with trends than with form, and particularly with processes.

Despite occasional sputtering at things he dislikes in lieu of constructive analysis, Churchill is stimulating throughout. His last words may well be quoted as representative: "The art of city planning is four dimensional, consisting of length, breadth, height and imagination. If it is good enough, it gets built into the culture of a nation."

CHARLES S. ASCHER

New York City

Social Ecology. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1945. Pp. viii+364. 10s. 8d.

The reviewer opened this latest volume by Dr. Mukerjee with eagerness, in part because of the author's reputation but also because of the publisher's claim that it constitutes "the first systematic work in Social Ecology" and because, at the same time, the reviewer felt that the lack of adequate systematization in this field is one of the major gaps in sociological theory. The sense of anticipation was sustained through reading the Preface, in which the author says (p. vii) that "the time has certainly come for the clarification of the essential principles of social ecology" and (p. viii) that he has "endeavored in this volume to present the major ecological concepts and processes which may help in refashioning the framework of Sociology." The disappointment was keen, therefore, when the volume failed to make much advance in the direction of either the systematization or the clarification of ecological theory beyond the point already reached in previous publications.

This vigorous criticism does not mean that the volume has no merit. On the contrary, like many other of Mukerjee's publications, it presents interesting contrasts between oriental and occidental cultures, and it provides flashes of illumination on a variety of topics whose number and range attest the breadth of the author's knowledge. He should be commended for avoiding a common pitfall in ecological theory which pictures the ecological order as a natural, noncultural level of human relations. Instead, he recognizes clearly that ecological organization in human communities cannot be understood apart from culture. Some parts of the volume include summaries or critical evaluations of a considerable variety of previously published materials on social ecology. Most of the contributions contained in this volume are incidental, however, if its central task is conceived to be the systematization and clarification of the theory of human synecology (social ecology).

Social ecology, according to Mukerjee, plays a dual role in relation to sociology. From one point of view it includes sociology as one of its parts. Here it follows the broad pattern outlined by Bews for human ecology, which makes this discipline include the study of all aspects of the environment-function-organism triad. In social ecology the triad is restricted to region-occupation-society, but it still retains the broad

synthesizing point of view which insists that no part can be adequately understood except in relation to the whole (pp. vii, 1, 2), and it presumably includes all disciplines that study this areal complex. At the same time, however, social ecology is conceived as a narrower field of study, one which affords the basis for refashioning sociology as a more exact, quantitative discipline. It uses the facts of regional environment and occupation as indices for quantifying the more elusive aspects of social relations (pp. 221, 222, 268). Although these contradictory conceptions are mixed together in this volume, somewhat to the confusion of the reader, the latter has received greater emphasis. It is this latter point of view which we now examine more critically.

The author proposes the use of "ecological indices" as the major device for quantifying the study of human culture (p. 221). He suggests, for example, the use of such indices as "human aggregation (density of population), technology (horse power), social stratification (social proximity and distance), social mobility (including tempo of life), and pecuniary valuation" to "measure certain deep and subtle forces which move persons in a society but which otherwise sociology cannot lay hold of" (p. 221). He says, further, that "no doubt a fixed quantitative relation between a measurable ecological index like density . . . and a non-measurable social one like urbanism cannot be posited, but that the combination of the several ecological indices indicates the degree of approximation towards a definite social type and trend can be demonstrated" (p. 221). He then suggests mathematical formulas for measuring culture types in terms of the three principal co-ordinates—density, mobility, technology (pp. 222–23). It is interesting to note that these "mathematical" formulas contain "*nonmensurable factors*."

In criticism of this main thesis, the reviewer would point out that an index cannot be used, as the author suggests, to make nonmensurable social factors exact and quantitative. An index, as a device for quantitative study, requires that, as a quantitative change occurs in it, a proportional change must also occur in the object to be studied by means of it. Therefore, in order to know that an "index" is truly an *index*, some aspect of the phenomenon to be studied must also have been quantified, and this aspect must bear such close quantitative relation to the total complex that the latter also changes in proportion to it. In other words, an index cannot be

used to make exact and quantitative any items which have not themselves previously been quantified. This does not mean, however, that after both the social and the ecological factors have been quantified, the former cannot serve as an index to the latter, provided a proportional relationship exists between them. Under such conditions, however, the social factor may serve as index to the ecological one as truly as the reverse. If this criticism is correct, then the author's plea that social ecology offers the chief basis for refashioning sociology as an exact, quantitative science is not justified.

The emphasis by Mukerjee on *status* (including interrelations among statuses) and *mobility* (changes in status) as the primary data of sociology (p. 159) may be sound but is not new. In any event, acceptance of this emphasis does not impute to social ecology any unusually significant relation to sociology.

One illustration in support of the criticism that adequate systematization of ecological theory has not been achieved may be permitted: In the beginning of chapter i, the author says: "The major ecological processes are:—Distribution, Mobility, Competitive-Co-operation, Stratification, Succession, Invasion." On page xi, however, he gives a somewhat different list of processes that are studied by social ecology, namely, "competition, co-operation, conflict, accommodation, and succession." His chapter headings, in contrast, emphasize the processes of competition, specialization, aggregation, circulation, and mobility. Throughout the volume he discusses still other processes, such as concentration and co-ordination (pp. 81-82), expansion (pp. 90-95), and invasion (pp. 104-5). Nowhere are all these processes related to one another in a clear, systematic statement.

The reviewer reports with regret, therefore, that, whatever merit the volume may possess, it cannot be recommended as a clear or systematic statement of the theory of social ecology.

JAMES A. QUINN

University of Cincinnati

Through a Dean's Open Door. By HERBERT E. HAWKES and ANNA L. ROSE HAWKES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. xv+242. \$2.50.

For more than fifty years the doctrine symbolized by "Mark Hopkins on a log" received some mention in both secular and religious

theories of education, but it has been only within the last decade that colleges and universities have given it much consideration in actual practice. Even today the institutions of higher learning which place the individual student above regulations, standards, and administrative machinery are painfully few. However, among those schools which have carried forward a significant personnel program, Columbia College, Columbia University, New York, has long been outstanding. Largely responsible for that development, as well as for the ambitious personnel and guidance program now taking shape under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education, was the late Dean Hawkes.

Although Dean Hawkes was a distinguished mathematician, his greatest contributions were to the resuscitated emphasis on the student as a whole. The genesis of this book, intended as "a guide for students, parents and counselors," was an invitation from the American Council on Education in 1937 to Dean and Mrs. Hawkes, the latter of whom was formerly dean of women at George Washington University, urging them to prepare a volume "outlining the problems of college students from the nontechnical, non-pathological point of view, with particular emphasis on the average student." *Through a Dean's Open Door* is the tangible result of that request, though the work of writing was not begun until 1941. With the exception of the last chapter, "The College and the Student," written by Mrs. Hawkes, following the death of her husband last spring, the project was a joint enterprise, which makes the finished product doubly significant.

Here, in simple, experience-rooted language, is the story of the practical application of a philosophy which incorporates Montaigne's dictum: "We have not to train up a soul nor yet a body, but a man, and you cannot divide him." The student's intellectual capacity and achievement, emotional makeup, physical condition, social relationships, vocational aptitudes, moral and religious values, economic and aesthetic resources are all demonstrated by anecdotes culled from Dean Hawkes's thirty years of counseling.

While this book is admittedly popular, pastors, teachers, and social workers will find in it a fresh point of view. Moreover, it definitely shows that personnel service of this kind represents a field of expanding opportunity for those who deal with youth on either the secondary or the college level. The chapter on "Re-

ligion" will be found especially helpful, as it reflects a new collaboration between education and religion.

At only one point would the writer of this review feel inclined to take issue with the authors, namely, in their careless, if not deliberate, use of the term "instinct" (p. 211) in the chapter on "Discipline." Dishonesty, for example, can never be an instinct; it must be understood as a social derivative. Any other view of human conduct tilts the Pandorian lid, releasing a whole train of half-truths concerning the nature of human nature.

H. LEE JACOBS

Fort Dodge, Iowa

Between Two Wars: The Failure of Education, 1920-1940. By PORTER SARGENT. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1945. Pp. 10+616. \$5.00.

In the various editions of *The Handbook of Private Schools*, Porter Sargent has supplied in-

formation on the current practices and professions of the educational shaman, in addition to a formal listing and classification of the institutions. The annual volumes have carried extensive reviews of the current educational writing. Because of its outspoken opinions, intellectual integrity, and impatience with educational sham and stupidity, the *Handbook* has come to have a unique and honored place in American educational writing.

In the present volume, except for brief introductory and closing chapters, the material is taken from the 1920-40 editions of the *Handbook*. It presents what seemed to be most important in each year of publication. The material is here provided with extensive notes and recent documentation that bring the various issues up to date. The whole is an extremely interesting commentary on the educational folkways of the period.

E. B. REUTER

Fisk University

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MAURICE HALBWACHS,¹ 1877-1945

GEORGES FRIEDMANN

Translated by JOHN H. MUELLER

ABSTRACT

Maurice Halbwachs, an internationally known French sociologist, died in the concentration camp at Buchenwald. He maintained throughout the German occupation an active interest in political affairs. As a sociologist he had been especially influenced by Durkheim, and, like him, interpreted social behavior in terms of collective representations. But he was more empirical and less dogmatic than his famous teacher. Following studies of wants and standard of living of workers, he discovered that different collective representations characterize each social class. His final work (1941), on the legendary topography of the Holy Land, interprets mythological geography in terms of the devotional needs of the universal Christian community, changing as they change.

The negative selection, so methodically carried out by the Nazis, was without any doubt one of the most frightful traits of World War II. Until then, the great conflicts, including even that of 1914-18, took their tragic toll indiscriminately among the participating masses either in actual battle or by attrition. In the present instance, however, in the occupied territories it was the superior in character, wisdom, and loyalty who, in eagerly continuing the struggle, thereby themselves became marked men;

and the enemy was unfailingly able to destroy this élite, to what extent and by what methods we now know, alas! Scientists, who are certainly not by profession men of action, found themselves drawn into the resistance movement by their moral fiber, their sense of justice, and the valiant assistance which they rendered to the fighters and to their kin. Under such circumstances, Maurice Halbwachs, professor in the Collège de France, was arrested by the Gestapo in Paris in July, 1944, and died February, 1945, in the camp at Buchenwald.

¹ Professor Maurice Halbwachs held the following positions, among many other honors: member of the Superior Council of General Statistics of France (1937-39); president of the French Institute of Sociology (from 1938 until his death); vice-president of the French Psychological Society (1943); secretary-general of *Annales sociologiques* (from 1935 until his death); professor of sociology in the University of Strasbourg (1919-35); visiting professor in sociology at the University of Chicago (1930); professor of sociology at the Sorbonne, Paris (1935-43); and professor of social psychology at the Collège de France (1943 until his death).

For a time his friends were hopeful for his return. They were unwilling to believe that a family, which had already been cruelly struck three times, could receive another blow. But Maurice Halbwachs was not able to endure the hardships so methodically amassed against him. One of his sons, whose arrest preceded his own by a short time and whom he discovered in camp, was present during his lingering agony. To the volume

of suffering, to the destruction of noble and proud young lives, which inflicted upon so many survivors wounds from which they will never recover, is now added our country's loss of a great scholar who graced both French and foreign thought. He was a man of rare attainment, with a heart whose sensitivity rivaled its generosity. It is fitting and just to memorialize him now.

During the dark period of the occupation, on each of my secret trips to Paris, Maurice Halbwachs invited me to visit him. He would often accept extraordinary risks without even being mindful of danger. I would find him in his study, on the Boulevard Raspail, cheerfully and simply furnished as befitted his own character, in company with his courageous wife. One could sense that he was mentally distressed by the trials of his country and of humanity; but his face was always calm, his speech measured and grave, always manifesting the same courage and alertness. He maintained, not only in his private conversations but also in his Sorbonne classes and in his writings, a spirit of honest and liberal research in a field, namely, the social sciences, in which such an attitude under the prevailing conditions of oppression leads one into many dangers. His courses as well as his publications evidenced the fact that he persisted in his scientific and humanistic activity in teaching and research. One felt that in this scientist, who was also a modest man, there resided a serene power which no exterior pressure could deflect from its course. Maurice Halbwachs, throughout the war, upheld admirably those human values which must always govern action. Accordingly, all who found themselves tossed about by the vicissitudes of life and by secret struggles rediscovered in him each time an endless source of reassurance. He personified, so to speak, those qualities which it was necessary to defend and preserve.

But we must not assume that he shielded himself from the world and from its cruel realities. He would have found that impossible. From his vantage point in Strasbourg,

where he had taught at the University since 1919, he watched the transformation of the German Republic and the birth of Hitlerism and had denounced the systematic development of that terrible enterprise. Since 1940, he had lost his brother-in-law, Georges Basch, who did not choose to survive the disgrace of the armistice, and his parents-in-law, Victor Basch and Mme Basch, aged eighty-four years, who were assassinated by the Germans under particularly cruel circumstances; upon which he undertook an inquiry on the spot, at Lyons, to demand justice. What such procedures can cost, one can readily imagine!

His type of mind was not satisfied to pursue, in its fluctuating details, the military and political activity superficially by newspapers and radio. He also liked to keep himself informed by collecting and analyzing the trends of public opinion. Our explorations, which we used to make together, extended into a broad and penetrating analysis of world conditions, of the current forces, and of the prospects of the war effort. In these conversations one was constantly aware of his profound humanism which the war had only strengthened. When many other scientists, prominent in their fields, gradually tended to become hardened, thereby incurring the risk of falling prey to a dangerous indifference to the political, social, and, consequently, moral condition of the day and to the practical implications of their knowledge, the scientific mentality of Maurice Halbwachs was permeated with a rare sense of social responsibility.

He was taken from us at the moment when, having been appointed to the chair of social psychology in the Collège de France and relieved of all university responsibilities, he was on the point of dedicating himself entirely to research in that difficult field where psychology and sociology overlap, a field in which there is still so much to be done and in which his comprehensive grasp, untrammelled by systems, would have been priceless. Although he still had much to contribute, the work which he has

left us is very considerable and may be considered one of the most important, in its concrete results, in the sociology of the twentieth century. It is so provocative that we cannot presume to discuss more than a few aspects of it at this time.

Maurice Halbwachs, born at Rheims in 1877, enjoyed for three years at the Lycée Henri IV the instruction of Henri Bergson, who exerted upon him a great influence. "I must admit," he writes, "that it was an indelible influence." At his graduation from L'École normale, he was attracted by the works of Leibniz, and he subsequently dedicated to this prodigious thinker, who was the last of the encyclopedic minds of modern times, a small volume,² which succinctly presented the various facets of a subtle and versatile mind, without attempting (as have certain other more significant works of Couturat, Russell, and Baruzi) to delve into their more fundamental aspects. Halbwachs had labored at Hanover on the manuscripts of the author of the *Monadology* and was to have collaborated on the long-anticipated international edition of the Leibniz works had the war of 1914 not prevented its publication. He participated only in the preparation of the catalog of the Leibniz manuscripts.

Soon, however, the social sciences were to attract and retain his interest. He worked with Simiand, Lévy-Bruhl, and especially Durkheim, with whom he collaborated in *L'Année sociologique*. He prepared a legal dissertation which comprised two studies, one in social morphology and the other in political economy,³ and finally inaugurated his series of great works in social psychology with his thesis on *La Classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie* ("The Working Class and the Standards of Living").⁴

This last work carried the subtitle: "Re-

search in the Hierarchy of Wants in Contemporary Industrial Society." Here may be discerned one of the constantly recurring themes in his works: extensive research on the economic wants in our industrial civilization. Beginning with this work, Halbwachs has been distinguished by his sense of the concrete, by his reluctance to dogmatize—which was only too often the preoccupation of Durkheim. Only after a direct appeal to empirical reality did he allow general ideas, hypotheses, theories, and laws to emerge. We do not deny the early methodological imprint of Durkheim, which certainly is strong. But, having been immersed in reality, this young sociologist emerges with a flexible mind forever emancipated from a "system."

In order to study the wants and expenditures of workers, Halbwachs used in his study two important German statistical works dating from 1909, one of which was prepared by the Imperial Office of Statistics, the other by the Union of Metal Workers. These inquiries on family budgets, for all their dry statistics, penetrate more deeply into the daily life of the workers than the picturesque monographs of *Le Play*. After a terse analysis of the sources, Halbwachs develops a precise method which enables him to establish the means of observing how the members of a social group manage their budgets. Here already appears the Halbwachs version of the Durkheimian theory of collective representation. The individual perceives not merely that he must accede to his needs of the moment but that he must anticipate the needs of the future and curtail his current demands accordingly. In this forecast he is influenced by the behavior of the other members of the group. The classification of needs into four large categories (food, clothing, housing, miscellaneous) derives also from the social environment. Now comparative statistics show that wage-earners spend, on the average, less for housing than do the other social classes with the same income; specifically, they expend less for this item in their budget

² *Leibniz*, in the series of "Philosophes" (Paris, 1907); new ed., revised and edited (Paris, 1928).

³ Reissued under the title: *La Population et les tracés de voies à Paris depuis cent ans* (Paris, 1928)

⁴ Paris, 1913.

than those employees of other classes whose income is not necessarily higher than their own. Halbwachs observes that when wages rise, more money is spent on food, but very little more on rent. That is to say, of all the economic needs of the wage-earner and in the social circumstances associated with his job, that of housing is most weakly felt. The position occupied by a person in society will thus permit us to predict by and large how he will rank the items in his budget. We observe here that Halbwachs interprets personal needs in accordance with the theories of collective representation.

The dominating factors, he declares, are not the needs of a given person, not even the most urgent, but rather the concepts held by the group itself, the ideas of what is appropriate to a family considered as a type.⁵ Class and family feelings are here found by the sociopsychological observer to be intimately blended.

To this scientific study of the hierarchy of wants of the working class is attached a curious theory, provocative but to us controversial, of the place of the worker in contemporary capitalist society. According to Halbwachs, such a society, in order to perform the function of transforming raw materials into finished products, presupposes a definite organization of persons—the working class—which, in order to fulfil its task, is bound to its materials, and its members thereby tend to become automatons detached from the rest of the group.⁶ To be sure, the modern factory develops collective work (the production line) and a certain solidarity among the labor force in the factory. But this is not the true sociability which consists, above all, of mutual enjoyment of social relations such as might be displayed in intimate family life—in a home; in other words, the factory in the current industrial structure destroys in the worker every taste for "home." Here, again, the contrast between psychological atti-

tudes, needs, and tastes of the worker and his place in the production line is clearly set forth by the sociologist.

Twenty years later in *L'Evolution des besoins dans les classes ouvrières* ("The Evolution of Wants in the Working Classes"),⁷ by extending the area of observation to other times and places, Halbwachs corroborates the principal conclusions of his 1913 thesis. Research in England, Germany, the United States, and France, published by the International Labour Office, permits us to form an idea of the trends in the matter of budgetary behavior which prevail among analogous social classes in the leading Western nations. If, for example, we let the average floor space of the worker's lodgings equal 100, it is 154 for the salaried groups. The well-known survey of Ford factory workers in Detroit, which shows a significant proportion of home appliances (such as radios, pianos, household labor-saving devices, washing machines, furnaces, and sweepers) demonstrates, to be sure, a certain variability in the play of these factors; for needs are only tendencies arising out of the social life and developing with it, with almost infinite possibilities.⁸ One notices here a marked disposition in Halbwachs to make relative and subjective the concept of "wants."

However, do not the workers, who are constantly tempted to compare their own material conditions with those of the other social classes, express *also*, through their wants, certain objective elements, when, for example, they experience a real sense of deprivation of food and clothing relative to the standard of living of the middle classes or the bourgeoisie? The currents of collective thought do play a considerable role, as Halbwachs had well understood, but they include also elements that are objective. However that may be (and in an exhaustive study one ought to discuss the theory of the worker absorbed in "materi-

⁵ *La Classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie*, p. 416.

⁶ "Matière et société," *Revue philosophique*, July-August, 1920, pp. 120-22.

⁷ Paris, 1933.

⁸ *L'Evolution des besoins . . .*, p. 152.

als," "the machine," "isolated from society"), these works of Halbwachs constitute a remarkable advance beyond the Durkheimian orthodoxy which had remained too dogmatic and abstract. Halbwachs differs from his teacher and improves upon him when he stresses the importance of knowledge of the contemporary industrial society, the bearing of the production process upon the mentality of the individuals, their interests, their social behavior, and their wants. In this respect he at the same time approaches the Marxist sociology.

The study on *Les Causes du suicide* ("The Causes of Suicide")⁹ also carries forward, and sheds additional light on, the classic study of Durkheim on the same subject. Thus, Durkheim declares that Catholics have a lower suicide rate than do Protestants "because the society of which they form a part is more integrated, that is to say, because the members are more intimately attached to one another." This integration, for Durkheim, is, above all, of a religious nature. Halbwachs demonstrates that this view is not sufficiently penetrating. Catholicism is, in general, more prevalent in rural areas, Protestantism (which is characterized by individualistic sentiments, by a taste for initiative and for mundane activity) is more common in urban centers. Thus, behind this religious solidarity of Catholic groups, the analyst finds a number of other traits which derive from the character of life in rural civilization, where customs and traditions are handed down. Thus it is to these types of life (a complex in which Catholicism is itself one element, no doubt important, but only a fragment) that one must turn to discover, in their profundity, the social causes of suicide and its variations in time and space. By the same token, one can explain why suicide, though widely prevalent among Protestants, is rare in England. He must seek the explanation of this paradox in the ensemble of the traits of British culture. We must put religion

back into society (an original contribution of Halbwachs), i.e., into the social and psychological climate which confers upon it, in the respective countries, its own physiognomy and consequently its characteristic effectiveness.

We find in all his works a flexibility in his sociological method, an absence of Procrustean system, and a rich variety of realistic points of view. Recently he supplemented his volume on *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* ("The Social Framework of Memory"),¹⁰ which had enjoyed in its day a considerable reputation, with an unusual essay on *La Topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte* ("The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land"),¹¹ "a study in collective memory" which appeared in the midst of war and consequently has not been discussed to an extent befitting its originality and significance. After a survey of the geographical terrain of Palestine, the author studies the development of geographical aspects of episodes in the life of Jesus. The legendary topography of the Gospels has, in effect, undergone strange transformations. There had been at the beginning, at the time of the formulation of the Gospels, a system of geographical sites established within the framework of Jewish traditions; there was another after the conversion of Constantine, a period during which the Passion story became the central feature of the Christian faith; still another developed after the Crusades which is featured by a rich efflorescence of consecrated places. The revised geographical orientation conforms to the needs and devotional manners originating in Europe (for example, the theme of the "Way of the Cross"). Pilgrims wished to find, locate, and perceive by their own senses, on the spot, the whole iconography of their cathedrals: "It is the universal Christian community which takes possession of the sacred places and endeavors to reproduce the image which it created from afar during the course of centuries."¹²

⁹ Paris, 1930.

¹⁰ Paris, 1925.

¹¹ Paris, 1941.

¹² P. 204.

The disturbing fact which, if it were definitely admitted, would furnish significant corroboration of this mythological thesis of Christian origins is that, in all Palestine, one cannot find any authentic vestige of the historical existence of Jesus. The synagogue of Capernaum, where Jesus is said to have preached (one of the solid supports of the historical thesis), is today dated by the archeologists at the earliest, in the second and third century of our era.¹³

All in all, this fascinating and strictly objective study yields the conclusion that the Holy Places present, in different epochs, various forms which betray the imprint of the Christian groups which fashioned them in conformity with their aspirations and needs. This study illustrates in the concrete the principle of collective memory of a social group which Halbwachs had already studied in the abstract. Furthermore, this book, though not conceived for the purpose, takes its place with those great works, from David Strauss and Renan on, which are dedicated to the problems of Christian origins, and it yields much more than its title would suggest. In this indirect manner (for such was not the purpose of the author), the facts of collective memory and their sociological interpretation succeed in illuminating the mythological explanation of the Christ legend.

Toward the end of his life, Halbwachs became increasingly absorbed in social morphology and demography. Having developed an early interest and facility in statistics in the social sciences, he applied this method to the study of population. In Volume VII of *L'Encyclopédie française*, he presents the results of long years of research and a sociological interpretation

¹³ Renan, though he could not have known of the more recent archeological research, had already commented on this topic as follows: "It seems that in topography, as in history, an inscrutable purpose was bent on concealing the traces of the great Founder. It is doubtful whether we will ever succeed, in this thoroughly devastated area, in determining the locations where humanity would like to come to kiss the imprint of His footsteps" (quoted by Prosper Alfarc, *Les Manuscrits de la "Vie de Jésus" d'Ernest Renan* [Paris, 1939]).

(which supplements, without being inconsistent with, the biological explanations) of birth rates, and especially of sex ratios at birth. It seems to be established that the age composition of a group explains, at least partially, the sex ratio at birth; and it is not, then, pure chance that a certain proportion of boys are born in a society. This illustrates again the necessity of co-operation between the different sciences of man in the study of social facts.

Taking the point of departure from human wants, whose internal relations in the different social milieus he succeeded in unraveling, he continued and considerably developed the still rudimentary and abstract study of the social morphology of Durkheim. Behind the facts of morphology, Halbwachs often discovers the economic structure and particularly the powerful influence of the "group" which is, in reality, "social class." Thus, in studying *les mobiles dominants qui orientent l'activité individuelle dans la vie sociale* "the dominant motives which orient the activity of the individual in society")¹⁴ he looks for them successively in the peasant class, the bourgeoisie, the working classes of big industry, and, finally, the middle classes: "Each one of these social categories," he writes, "determines the behavior of the members included within it; each imposes definite motives of actions, and confers upon its members its own characteristic imprint with such force that the persons belonging to a different social class—although they live in the same milieu and the same epoch—sometimes give the impression that they belong to an altogether different type. Thus the motives of man and his predisposition seem to us, in the majority of cases, entirely relative to his social status."¹⁵

We have been able to present only an inadequate sketch of the valuable achievements of this eminent scholar. They are

¹⁴ The title of a remarkable treatise published in the "Enquêtes sociologiques de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles" (Institut de Sociologie de Solvay [Brussels, 1938]).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

varied in their concrete problems, and their subjects are at once limited but significant. One feels, nevertheless, the importance of the results and the originality in methodology. Utilizing as a stimulant rather than as a rigid formula the vigorous thought of Durkheim, receptive to all the new departures of science and, in particular, to those of American sociology, Maurice Halbwachs was also, like Henri Pirenne and Marc Block, one of the great contemporary scientists whose research, through its vitality and without any theoretical preconceptions, coincides in certain lines of development with Marxist sociology.

Maurice Halbwachs was always rigorously honest in the use of his methods of scientific research, because he displayed that same quality in his whole conduct. Intellectual integrity was only one aspect of a moral quality with which it coexisted. In memorializing a man and his work in these pages, we can offer no more than a farewell and a promise. Neither in his scientific work nor in his daily life did Maurice Halbwachs ever stretch a word beyond its thought content and feeling. We can only repeat: he was a man, true and good, in every sense of the term. But he would have liked us to take up the struggle, each with the means at his disposal and with all our might, so that some day we shall see the triumphant spread in society, as well as in science, of the values of truth, justice, and humanity, all of which he has so worthily served in a distraught world, and of which, finally, his life, his work, and his death are such worthy testimony.

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INSPECTEUR-GÉNÉRAL DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT
TECHNIQUE
PARIS, FRANCE

MAX WEBER'S INTERPRETATION OF CONDUCT AND HISTORY

REINHARD BENDIX

ABSTRACT

The problem of the basic unit of sociological analysis is discussed with reference to the relation of method and meaning in history. Max Weber's theory and method raise certain questions which have a bearing on this problem. The discussion deals with Weber's interpretation of the "social" in its relation to his view of historical causation. It deals, further, with his method of historical inquiry, his view of the relation between history and sociology, and the significance of his theory and method for his interpretation of history.

Recent discussions of sociological theory show that the problems raised by men like Simmel and Durkheim are still far from settled.¹ The question is whether sociological analysis should be primarily concerned with individual behavior or with the coercive forces which compel the individual to conform to a collective pattern of conduct. Max Weber, in constructing his system of sociology, was concerned with solving this dilemma. The following discussion makes an attempt to examine Weber's solution of this problem critically.

I. WEBER'S VIEW OF THE "SOCIAL FACT"²

The locus of the "social."—According to Weber the fundamental unit of social analysis is individual conduct. This conduct is endowed with meaning by the individual as he orients himself with reference to the conduct of others. Human conduct, as the locus both of meaning and of the "social," is the subject matter of sociology, as Weber understands it. All social institutions, groups, and classes, as well as the development of any of these, are, therefore, thought constructs,

which serve as useful tools for the analysis of social phenonema.

For the heuristic interpretation of conduct by sociology these configurations are nothing but sequences and relationships of the specific actions of *individual* human beings, since only these actions are for us the understandable embodiment of meaningfully oriented conduct.³

For example, when we speak of such notions as the "legal system," we refer to a thought-construct. An investigation which would seek to ascertain the causal relation between this "legal system" and the "material conditions" of a given historical period would have to show this causal nexus in individual conduct. Consequently, Weber's imposing system of sociological concepts, as presented in the first part of his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, is conceived as an attempt to account for all social configurations of human history in terms of individual conduct.

Implications of Weber's concept of the "social fact."—Concepts of collectivities have meaning only as methodological devices. They have an empirical reference in the sense and to the extent that individual conduct with reference to others gives them substance.⁴ Some critics have pointed out that this reduction of collectivities to individual conduct disregards the problem of the "alter

¹ Cf. the special issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV (May, 1939), and especially the analysis of the contributions by Louis Wirth, "Social Interaction" (pp. 965-79).

² For the sake of brevity I follow throughout Weber's own practice according to which all commonly used words are put in quotation marks, whenever their ordinary meaning is not accepted. It is usually obvious from the context why this is done.

³ Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen, 1925), p. 6 (cited hereafter as "WuG").

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; and *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre* (Tübingen, 1922), pp. 200-201 (cited hereafter as "WL").

ego" or the social bond.⁵ This criticism seems justified because Weber does not take into account how social cohesion arises. How is it possible that "collectivities" can be constituted by individual conduct, although any number of specific individuals are "dispensable" without affecting the "collectivity" itself? How does the individual come to believe, for instance, in the "reality" and legitimacy of the state? And how many individuals must abandon such beliefs, before the "state" itself disintegrates?⁶

Weber declares that only the conduct of individuals, as it is oriented toward others, is a "historical fact," i.e., a datum which can be empirically ascertained. It is, of course, true that "collectivities" have to be inferred from such data. However, for that reason Weber denies that these "collectivities" have any reality apart from individual conduct. This inference is, I believe, mistaken. It is based on a concept of conduct which ignores the fact that subjective meaning can be an individual trait and at the same time originate in customs which the individual takes over without much, if any, modification. An "institution" such as the "state" could not exist if the conduct of individuals were not oriented toward its perpetuation. But this conduct is not strictly individual, nor is it confined to reciprocal interactions with others. Rather, this conduct is meaningful, partly because the individual has endowed it with meaning but partly, also, because this meaning has been inculcated into the individual through primary and secondary group relations. In my estimation it is unwise to limit the subject matter of sociology by assuming that all meaning is not only given in individual conduct but is also predominantly the result of individual spontaneity.

This limitation which Weber imposes on sociology helps to explain difficulties which he encountered in his typology of human conduct. If the meaning of conduct originates only with the individual, then those

types of conduct are excluded in which meaning is taken over from the social environment. Weber includes the "traditional" type of conduct in his typology only in the sense that certain forms of behavior are *consciously directed* toward the perpetuation of traditional values, but not in so far as it refers to the vast number of habitual, everyday activities. Furthermore, he points out that "affective" or "emotionally expressive" conduct is likewise not consciously endowed with meaning by the individual. Conduct is so endowed only when it is consciously directed toward the fulfilment of a task or order, whatever the consequences (evaluative-rational) or when it is a strictly "rational" form of behavior, in which the person weighs means, ends, and possible corollary consequences one against the other (purposive-rational).⁷ Weber assures us that the use of "rational conduct" as the principal ideal type is only a methodological device in the sense that all other types of conduct are considered as deviations from it.⁸ This is done for the sake of clarity, because "all reflection on the basic elements of meaningful human action is first of all bound to the categories of 'means' and 'ends.'"⁹ Weber himself admits, however, that important areas of conduct are thereby excluded. The traditional and affective types of conduct are considered by him as "marginal" in the sense that it is difficult to show in this case of predominantly unwitting behavior how the individual has given meaning to his conduct.¹⁰

Thus individual conduct comes into the purview of sociology only as long as all meaning emanates from individual consciousness rather than from tradition and unconscious habituation. This interpretation of human conduct has two important consequences for Weber's sociological theory: (1) collectivities do not exist; and (2) the subject matter of sociology is limited to the rational forms of individual conduct.

⁵ Cf. Alfred Schütz, *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt* (Vienna, 1932).

⁶ *WuG*, p. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 9; also *WL*, p. 405.

⁹ *WL*, p. 149.

¹⁰ *WuG*, p. 12.

II. THE PROBLEM OF METHOD IN HISTORICAL INQUIRY

If the unit of social analysis is individual conduct, then it follows that all historical data are chaotic, because there is no "organizing principle" in conduct other than the meaning which the individual attaches to it. Since meaning originates in the individual, it would appear to be accidental if different individuals have the same meaning in mind (should "act alike") as they orient their conduct toward others. In view of this multiplicity of meaning in human actions, Weber discards all monistic explanations of historical causation; he admits, however, that the Marxian concepts (e.g., "material conditions" in relation to the "ideological superstructure") are of great analytical value.¹¹ In his view it depends on the specific historical instance, whether "material conditions" or "ideas" are of greater causal significance. Consequently, examples of each type of explanation may be found in Weber's work. He suggests, for instance, that western European monotheism seems to have originated in the desert countries of the Near East, where harvests are not produced by rain but by artificial irrigation. Here it was likely that the concept of a God arose, who had "made" earth and man out of nothing: "just as" the irrigation economy of an almighty king had created a harvest on the desert sand.¹² On the other hand stands Weber's analysis of ascetic Protestantism and its influence on the development of capitalism in western Europe as an example of the opposite case, in which "ideological" factors influenced the "material conditions."

Thus the singularity of each historical sequence (of individual actions) is so incomparable to any other that all general rules about the causal nexus between "material" and "cultural" life are mere speculation.¹³

¹¹ *WL*, pp. 166, 205.

¹² *WuG*, p. 256.

¹³ *WL*, pp. 168-71; and *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1920), I, 82-83. Although Weber thus recognized the importance of the problem of "ideology," which Marx had posed, he did not accept the latter's interpretation. In fact,

This uniqueness of historical events posed, however, a difficult methodological problem for Weber, because he was concerned with relating historical analysis of the causation of unique events to the construction of a comparative historical sociology.

Methods of causal analysis.—Any historical analysis of an "event" of the past (be it the Battle of Marathon or the development of Calvinism) seeks to ascertain its causal significance for subsequent events or developments. This may be done, according to Weber, by using the methodological device of "objective possibility." We assume that a certain development of thoughts and actions (e.g., Calvinism) had not taken place. On the basis of this assumption we try to construct a hypothetical sequence of actions, which might have occurred according to our knowledge of the historical setting and of the regularities of human social conduct. We may find that history would have taken a different course, if Calvinism had not developed. Therefore, we ascribe to its occurrence causal significance to the extent to which our theoretical construction has shown a different development due to its hypothetical nonoccurrence. In addition, an "internal analysis" (interpretation of meaning) seeks to ascertain those circumstances of the event which in the main accounted for it. Finally, the principle of "causal adequacy" is applied by ascertaining the probability that under like circumstances a similar development would take place. The three principles of "objective possibility," "internal analysis," and "causal adequacy" together constitute Weber's method of "causal imputation."¹⁴

This method of "mental experimentation," as it has been called,¹⁵ cannot be dis-

he regarded his work on the sociology of religion as a "positive criticism of the materialistic conception of history" (cf. Marianne Weber, *Max Weber* [Tübingen, 1926], p. 617; see also Heinrich Rickert, "Max Weber und seine Stellung zur Wissenschaft," *Logos*, XV [1926], 228; and *WL*, p. 205).

¹⁴ *WL*, pp. 286-90.

¹⁵ Cf. Gordon Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (prepared for the

cussed here. But it raises the question of how the historian decides which unique event to investigate and, further, whether historical generalizations are possible on this basis.

The significance of values in historical inquiry.—The selection of the research problem is determined by the values or interests of the historian, according to Weber. These values vary with changes in the historical situation and the problems to which they give rise. New historical "perspectives" are, therefore, constantly arising. While our interests make it possible for us to select what is historically significant for us, it is to be noted that these interests or values function only as *selective* criteria. Such selection is always necessary, since all earlier events have contributed to the genesis of all later events. It depends, therefore, on the preferences of the historian.

In Weber's view this is the only role of values in the methods of historical inquiry. Different historians would have to arrive at identical results, *if* they select the same research problem:

It is not the statement of historical "causes"—given the "object" to be explained—which is "subjective"; it is rather the delineation of the historical "object" itself, which is "subjective," since in this case values are decisive, which are subject to historical change.¹⁶

It is futile to argue about the interests which prompt the historian to select one problem rather than another, because these interests are based on ultimate value-orientations which cannot be "changed" by discussion.

Weber's insistence on the merely selective function of values in historical research is not without difficulty. He himself has pointed out that some interests may prove more fruitful for historical research than others. Moreover, in selecting a subject matter for analysis, we single out those events, which *we* regard as significant. Such prefer-

ences as to subject matter are cumulative in the sense that the selection of other scholars of the past and the present tends to influence our own choice. Consequently, "our" values do not only enable us to select our field of historical interest. *In effect*, they contribute, albeit inadvertently, to the causal significance of those factors which have been selected for study. For instance, if the element of "calculability" in capitalism is selected for analysis, it means that unwittingly we have given it a certain "eminence" in the hierarchy of all possible causal factors. This need not detract from the validity of the final results at which the investigation arrives. But it is difficult to see how the selection of the subject matter can be prevented from imparting to the factors studied an importance which may or may not jibe with their "actual" significance.¹⁷

But, apart from these difficulties, which are always surmountable to a degree, these problems still remain: (1) whether the causal analysis of the historian lends itself to scientific generalization (Weber denied this possibility since the historian is concerned with the explanation of unique events); and (2) whether the historical analysis presupposes some form of generalized knowledge (Weber asserted that the causal analysis of unique events requires a prior knowledge of the regularities of human conduct). The rationale of these views can best be shown by analyzing Weber's view of the relation between history and sociology.¹⁸

III. SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY

Causal and comparative analysis.—Weber's two major interests are causal historical analysis, on the one hand, and comparative

¹⁷ Cf. the interesting discussion of this problem by Erich Rothacker, "Theorie und Geschichte," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, LVI (1932), esp. 5-17.

¹⁸ It should be emphasized that the conclusions, which, in my estimation, follow from these theoretical and methodological views, do not as such invalidate Weber's historical research. There exist, in fact, a number of incompatibilities between Weber's research and his theory. This essay is confined, however, to a discussion of some basic postulates of Weber's sociological theory.

Committee on Appraisal of Research) (Bull. 49) (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942), p. 171.

¹⁶ *WL*, pp. 261-62.

sociological "casuistry,"¹⁹ on the other. History is concerned, as we have seen, with investigating the causes of unique events. In selecting an area of research the historian follows his interests (and, therefore, passes a value-judgment), but he does not thereby prejudice his inquiry. Nevertheless, he is handicapped in his research, because he does not know which aspects of his subject matter especially call for an explanation (i.e., which aspects are "unique"). The reason for this handicap lies, according to Weber, in the fact that the historian must bring to his causal analysis of unique events a *prior* knowledge of the regularities of human conduct. Such knowledge alone will enable him to use the method of "mental experimentations," which was discussed above. The historian could never tell, for instance, what might have happened had the Battle of Marathon not been successful for the Greeks. Moreover, he could never estimate the probability that under like circumstances a similar battle would again have resulted in a Greek victory—unless he could approach his material with a prior knowledge of the regularities of human conduct.

In Weber's view it is this knowledge which sociology provides. For him sociology was an attempt to ascertain these regularities by means of a comparative analysis, which took the entire known history of mankind for its province. "Regularity" means that certain types of conduct, or certain beliefs concerning the legitimation of authority, or certain kinds of leadership, could be formulated in such a way as to encompass the entire range of possible forms of behavior. These formulations would be derived from a comparative approach to world history, and they could, in turn, be used for the interpretation of history, because they furnish us with the knowledge of how men can typically be expected to behave under different circumstances. Sociology is, therefore, a supplementary discipline in the sense

¹⁹ The term "casuistry" is employed here in the sense in which Weber uses it. He means by it a system of ideal types, which encompasses all regularities of human social conduct. These ideal types are derived from a comparative study of world history.

that it furnishes a comparative knowledge of human conduct on the basis of which the historian is able in each instance to distinguish the common from the unique aspects of human behavior.²⁰ In this sense, then, it may be said that history seeks to explain the unique, while sociology attempts to establish a complete "inventory" of human behavior in order to provide us with a knowledge of the range of recurrent types of individual conduct.

Sociology and history in Weber's work.—Weber's procedure in selecting his field of interest, such as the Protestant Ethic and its role in the "process of rationalization,"²¹ fits this description of the relation between history and sociology. Characteristically, he never speaks of "rationalization" as the "content" of the western European "historical development." He speaks of it rather (1) as the object of his own specific value (or interest) orientation; and (2) in the sense that it is the over-all designation of an ascetic mode of conduct, which uniquely distinguishes the "way of life" of western Europeans from the "way of life" prevailing in any other civilization. The latter proposition is reached on the basis of a universal

²⁰ Cf. Weber's letter to von Below of June 21, 1914, published by the latter in his *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1925), p. xxiv. The following translation is an excerpt from this letter: "In the winter I shall start to have a rather voluminous contribution to the *GdS* printed, which will treat the form of political associations *comparatively* and systematically, even in view of the danger of incurring the anathema 'Dilettanti compare.' I think what is specifically characteristic of the medieval city, i.e. what *history* in particular *should* present to us (upon this we are absolutely agreed) can really be developed only through the statement of what was lacking in the other (ancient, Chinese, Islamic) cities—and in this way with everything. Then it is the concern of history to explain causally this specific characteristic. . . . This *very* modest, *preparatory* work can be done by sociology as I understand it."

²¹ Weber uses this term to designate the over-all substitution of rational and empirical for sacred and magical modes of thought. At times he refers to this change as the "disenchantment of the world," by which he means that the people of western Europe and America have lost the sense for the magical and the supernatural.

historical comparison, and it is this unique aspect of our civilization which calls for an explanation.

But here Weber the historian seems to come into conflict with Weber the sociologist. The historian selects his subject matter on the basis of his interests, without claiming for it on that ground any causal historical significance. But the sociologist claims that he is able to discover the "unique" aspects of a historical configuration and that this "uniqueness" indicates its historical significance. This implies that the historian selects the object of his inquiry on the basis of his value orientation, while the sociologist can ascertain that which is to be explained by the historian by nonevaluative methods. Thus we seem to arrive at the view that the historian will seek to explain the development of western European "rationalization," without assessing its over-all causal significance, while the sociologist will tell us that this development is the most significant aspect of western European history.²²

How does sociology arrive at its formulation of the universal regularities of human conduct in the face of the incomparable singularity of each historical instant? And how does it use these formulations in its attempt to distinguish the universal from the unique in any historical constellation? The sociologist—like the historian—selects his area of inquiry arbitrarily. But beyond that he must rely on empirical evidence in his attempt to discern what is "universal" and what is "unique" among the "chaotic" data of history. This raises the question, however, as to whether the sociologist only needs to select his topic, e.g., the attitudes toward "rational conduct," and then the unique

features of the medieval European or the Chinese approach will emerge from a universal comparison. Can this be done without the aid of a theory of society, which involves more than the use of value-judgments merely for the selection of a research problem? I think not, and I do not think that Weber was without such a theory. His "procedure" contains, rather, substantive (i.e., not merely methodological) judgments or evaluations. The whole enterprise of his sociological "casuistry" is based on his interpretation of the nature of "social facts." This interpretation led him, as we have seen, (1) to deny that collectivities exist; (2) to assert that all historical data are unique constellations of individual behavior patterns; (3) to conceive of historical data as receiving their "organization" through the historian; (4) to assign to the historian the task of establishing the causation of "unique" events; and, finally, (5) to conceive of sociology as a comparative study of meaningful individual behavior in all societies and throughout time.

This comparative study would eventually result in a knowledge of the universal regularities of human conduct. These could be formulated in a system of ideal types which would encompass the historical range of these regularities and which would furnish the scientist with unambiguous conceptual tools. This summary of Weber's views on the nature of the sociological discipline leads directly to an understanding of his interpretation of history.

IV. WEBER'S INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

The ideal-type method.—In view of the uniqueness of each set of historical data, it is impossible for the social scientist to develop concepts which fit a given kind of conduct or a given form of domination in all instances or in all particulars. Nevertheless, he is in need of unambiguous concepts. Such concepts or ideal types can be constructed only at the cost of simplifying the complexity of historical data and at the cost of exaggerating their uniformities. Thus economics constructs a mental image of a *homo*

²² Cf. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York, 1937), pp. 529 ff. Despite his considerable caution on this point Weber did not entirely escape the difficulties of his own methodology. He insists again and again that the Protestant Ethic was only one of many factors making for the development of modern capitalism. Yet his own work on the comparative sociology of religion was undertaken in order to show that this one factor was the decisive one, since its absence in other civilizations is, in the main, responsible for their failure to develop modern capitalism.

oeconomicus whose behavior is exclusively rational and purposive; the complexities of economic behavior are reduced by way of exaggerating its rational component. Any concrete form of behavior may then be analyzed in terms of the degree to which it approximates or deviates from this ideal type of the economic man.

But, in applying this ideal-type method to the analysis of past events, Weber arrives at a specific interpretation or philosophy of history.²³ Take the case of the relation between king and clergy in thirteenth-century England at the time of the Magna Carta. In order to ascertain in what way this relation differs specifically from other relations between king and clergy under "feudalism," it is, first of all, necessary to construct an ideal type of "feudalism." That means that Weber would be interested to see how the relation between king and clergy in the thirteenth century deviates from the hypothetical (i.e., the simplified and exaggerated) form of this relation which has been constructed as part of the ideal type of "feudalism." It is, then, the task of the historian to explain this "unique deviation" from the ideal type.

These ideal types were formulated originally in order (a) to get clear-cut concepts and (b) to arrive at generalizations about human conduct despite its "uniqueness" in each historical constellation. But ideal types are not historical generalizations, which would be stated in the following form: Given circumstances *X*, behavior *Y* is likely to occur. Rather, they comprise, as Weber has formulated them, one possible typology of conduct from the point of view of a means-ends scheme of interpretation, i.e., one possible classification of recurrent forms of human conduct. By suggesting these ideal types as conceptual tools (for the historian) rather than as generalizations, Weber himself is only consistent: if historical data are "unique," then no historical generalization

²³ This is related to, but not identical with, the nexus between Weber's theory of the "social fact" and his interpretation of history. This involves a theory of society, whereas the ideal type is a methodological device.

is theoretically possible. But Weber is inconsistent when he claims that his ideal types provide the social scientist with unambiguous concepts. Such concepts, should be free from value-judgments, according to Weber; yet his own construction of these concepts involves an interpretation of history.

This interpretation is contained in the view that all social changes of the past should be regarded as "changes" toward or away from an ideal type. Accordingly, the idea of a "historical development" is a thought-construct to Weber. One cannot study "it" because there is no empirical reference other than *past* individual conduct. In this fashion, Weber envisages the past as an infinity of causal sequences of individual conduct,²⁴ because he has no theory of social change. He conceives of social changes, rather, in terms of a succession of specific historical events. This interplay of an infinity of unique factors assumes "direction" only because the sociologist creates the illusion of a development by viewing events of the past as so many different, unique approximations to a series of ideal types.

Determinism and contemporary politics.—

These corollaries of Weber's methodology have their counterpart in the political implications of his interpretation of history.

As a sociologist he had found that "rationalization of life" was the distinguishing characteristic of western European "development." In constructing an ideal type on the basis of this aspect of human conduct, Weber considered past events as "approximations" to this ideal type. The "direction" or "development" of history owed its existence, therefore, to the discriminating scholar, who sees the "development of ascetic rationalism" in the sense that the conduct of more and more people comes to be oriented in terms of this "unique" characteristic of western European civilization.

²⁴ Not all these sequences are historically relevant, however. Our selection of what is historically relevant reduces the number of sequences which will be considered, and these selections are, in turn, limited by the number of possible value-orientations on which they have been or might be based.

Clearly, the merit of this approach lies in interpreting "trends" and "collectivities" in terms of what they mean in the conduct of individuals. But this method has its dangers as well. In Weber's case the construction of an ideal type of "rationalization" transforms the history of Western civilization into changes toward or away from this ideal type. These are the changes in meaning, in the wishes, expectations, and understandings which individuals in a historical setting associate with their conduct. A struggle may occur between these individuals, because their ideas and ideals conflict, but the outcome of this struggle will be predetermined:

It is to be stated once and for all that a concrete success cannot be viewed as the result of a struggle between causal factors which tend to bring this result about and other causal factors which work in the opposite direction. Instead it should be interpreted in the sense that the entirety of all the conditions, toward which the causal regress of such a "success" leads us, had to "cooperate" in this, and in no other way, in order to bring about this and only this concrete success. The incidence of the success has, therefore, been determined for any empirical and causally analyzing science "from the beginning of time," rather than from one definite instant.²⁵

This outspoken determinism, together with Weber's view of the "social fact," seems to make individual, social conduct at one and the same time an epiphenomenon and the matrix of social life. Only individual conduct, as it is meaningfully oriented toward others, has reality. Yet the outcome of any struggle between individuals acting in history does not depend upon this struggle and the individuals who fight it. Instead, this outcome is the result of a great number of causal sequences (of which the struggle and the individuals are only a small part), whose coincidence and "result" cannot be changed by the struggle of the contending "forces." Here we have, I think, the "ideological implications" of Weber's methodology.

²⁵ *WL*, p. 289.

The past consists of an infinity of events which, in conjunction, inevitably lead to the present. But since the future is predetermined and since the struggle of individuals cannot change the "course of events," therefore the future of society cannot be affected by the spontaneous aspirations of men. It is the tragedy of human life that we must continue our efforts in the service of ideals, while we know that these efforts—among an infinity of factors—affect the events but cannot change their predetermined course. While we pride ourselves that we can change the course of history by the conflicts between men, to which human ideals and deliberations lead, Weber assures us that these "spontaneous" actions are merely cogs in the wheels of history.²⁶

V. CONCLUSION

The "process of rationalization" is the central concept in Weber's research, as well as in his philosophy of history.²⁷ On the one hand, this process has led inevitably to the disenchantment of the world and to the subjugation of man to the mammoth organizations of industry and government. It is, on the other hand, an opportunity for men to act in awareness of the responsibilities which their actions involve.²⁸

Weber uses the ideal type of "rationalization," therefore, not just as a "standard" against which the "deviations" of historical events are "measured." For him it is, rather, a strange mixture of ethical principles, cul-

²⁶ I believe that this orientation could be made understandable in the context of an analysis of Germany under the Kaiser. It may be remembered that Weber was both an ardent liberal and an ardent nationalist (cf. J. P. Mayer, *Max Weber and German Politics* [London: Faber, 1943]; and my "Rise and Acceptance of German Sociology" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago), pp. 214-63.

²⁷ See Karl Loewith, "Max Weber und Karl Marx," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, LXVII (1932), 76-79, 83-93.

²⁸ Weber contrasts this "ethics of responsibility" with an "ethics of conviction," i.e., with the actions of men, whose guiding principle is conformity with a belief, whatever the consequences.

tural pessimism, and the hope for a precarious chance of human freedom. Political actions, when seen from a strict means-ends point of view, become atomized. They have become, in fact, a "struggle without hope" in the sense that we cannot discern their significance among the infinite number of events and in the sense that their effect, whatever it be, is predetermined. Contemporary politics becomes a matter of short-run *Realpolitik*, history has become static, and the future of our civilization cannot be different from the present.²⁹

It is pertinent to contrast this view of modern civilization with that of Karl Marx.³⁰ Weber saw in the predominance of rationality a precarious chance of human freedom. Marx saw in the same circumstance a symbol of human enslavement and degradation and the promise of a future in which men would use their reason to reorganize society according to a "settled plan." Weber interpreted the future of our society as not significantly different from the present. Marx, on the other hand, allowed for the spontaneous actions of men, although

their effect on history was limited by the over-all sequence of basic economic transformations. To Marx the capitalist society was the stage of the final antagonism, which will eventually come to a head in a revolutionary overthrow of this society. At the root of these divergent attitudes lies a vastly different estimation of the role of human action in the process of history.

It may be that such estimates or evaluations cannot be dissociated from historical inquiry. Perhaps it is inevitable for the historian to evaluate his contemporary historical setting before he can approach the interpretation of the past. The significance of chance, of the struggles and aspirations of men, for the process of history are problems which cannot be dismissed from historical research as matters of speculation. Historical research may not be possible without an implicit or explicit philosophy of history. Such a philosophy may seek to obtain an empirical foundation by a study of the contemporary historical setting. Since we seem to obtain our philosophy of history from our impressions of contemporary experience, it would be helpful to make these impressions explicit and systematic. It is an open question whether such efforts can eliminate the speculative element in historical inquiry.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

²⁹ Cf. Max Weber, "Zur Lage der bürgerlichen Demokratie in Russland," *Archiv für sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XXII (1906), 346 ff.

³⁰ Cf. Loewith, *op. cit.*, in which this contrast is discussed in detail.

ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

FRITZ WITTELS

ABSTRACT

The economic explanation of history leaves a gap which psychology has to fill. An explosive part is played in historical events by unconscious defense mechanisms against bisexuality, father or mother fixation, sadism, masochism, exhibitionism, and other instincts. The content of radicalism may suddenly swing to the opposite extreme: leftists might change to radical conservatives and vice versa, because of a blind inner urge. Revolutions, the origin of religions, cannot be explained by economic (materialistic) reasoning alone. Not only the "how" of historical developments is created by exceptional men but also the "what."

Historians are guided by the dominant ideas of the periods in which they live. Historiography is the science of discovering these ideas and describing them. The Bible, for example, ascribes all events to God; he is the source of all history. Plutarch and Carlyle believed that great men were the locomotives of history. Nationalistic historians believed in the superiority of their own nations and produced detailed studies intended to reveal a specific national soul. Auguste Comte thought that history should be a natural science with its own laws, on the basis of which future historical events could be predicted, just as astronomy can predict an eclipse of the sun. These are different forms of historiography. Marx's conception of history was economic. Our purpose here is to contribute a psychoanalytic view of history.

Schopenhauer has said that philosophers are like wild beasts which devour one another with their systems and are incapable of living peacefully together. Similarly, in every period, historians have claimed that their guiding principles were the only valid ones. This is equally true of the theologians, the hero-worshippers, the believers in Reason, the nationalists, the liberals, and the romanticists. But no one has made more exclusive claims than did Karl Marx. His economic conception of history, also referred to as the "materialistic" or "dialectical" conception, is supposed to be the last word of true science. To our way of thinking, history cannot renounce any of the principles that have successively inspired it, without losing some of its truth. Each of these

principles issued from valid historical sources and brought to light facts that would not have been discovered without them.

According to the materialist theory of history, there are no persons who make history individually. In the Preface to Marx's *Capital* we find this famous sentence: "Capitalists and landowners . . . are not persons but personifications of economic categories." Elsewhere Marx declares that "history is a continuous remolding of human nature," according to the prevalent mode of production and the circulation of goods. Great men emerge when for materialist reasons the time becomes ripe for their emergence. They could not emerge before, and when their time comes they, too, must come; they are impelled by forces that are entirely outside them and depend upon material factors. Little room is left to psychology and the recognition of individual peculiarities and greatness. According to this view, if the Germans had not sent Lenin to Russia in a sealed car and if Lenin had not been a great man, the laws of production would have given birth to another Lenin and the result would have been practically the same, but perhaps a few years later.

This point of view can be illustrated by a conversation between a Communist and a liberal before the German invasion of Russia in June, 1941. The Communist said that he was not interested in the struggle against Hitler, because the present war was a war between two imperialist groups; if they ruined each other it would hasten the inevitable triumph of communism. He was against Hitler, he explained, but no more

than he was against England; in both cases, he felt, we were dealing with representatives of capitalist reaction. He saw no advantage in crushing Hitler, being convinced that the capitalist system in its present, that is, the last imperialist, phase was bound to produce new Hitlers until it was abolished; hence the system had to be combated, not its temporary personifications. The liberal replied that if he himself was lying on the ground and an assassin was holding a knife over him, he had to do everything possible to disarm the murderer without delay, even though other murderers might be expected to follow him. He pointed out that people like Hitler and his gang were not frequent; or, more accurately, they are perhaps born frequently but are usually locked up in prisons, instead of being put at the helm of a nation. But even should capitalism often produce them, one must fight against these immediately dangerous representatives of the system—for dear life. Otherwise one would not survive to change the pernicious system.

Our purpose is not to take sides in such discussions but to study the difference between the economic conception of history and another conception which is concerned also with the individual and his private life and sees in them, too, constructive forces of history, without, for that reason, denying the validity of the materialist method.

Aside from Russia, where the materialist method is officially taught, its enormous importance has not yet been sufficiently impressed upon the public. Amid the confusion of hero-worship, political propaganda, and more or less dishonest ballyhoo, an appreciation of the economic substructure of all history is easily lost and must be constantly rediscovered and reemphasized. Only thus can the world, including our own American world, be transformed from a political democracy into an economic democracy. But the economic theory of history becomes a dangerous half-truth unless we also study the individuals who make history. True, even they must act according to the economic imperatives of their time. But they must

also conform to the imperatives of the unconscious powers within themselves. The economic theory of history can and must be completed by psychoanalytic methods.

Years ago I had the opportunity of analyzing a leftist radical agitator. We discovered that he was particularly rebellious against his father-image or had, as we call it, a badly settled Oedipus complex. When my agitator realized this, he went to his comrades and told them, under the impact of his discovery, that he now understood something that they did not. They had transferred their rebellion against their fathers to society; in other words, he told them, they were neither heroes nor builders of a better future, as they thought, but neurotics. He got a friendly reception—as one may well imagine. His comrades replied: "Don't you see the condition of our society? The exploitation, the cruelty, dishonesty, and decline of all higher values? Don't you see the necessity to fight against all this and to build a new world? What we need is a revolution. Your Oedipus complex does not interest us, the psychoanalytic interpretation of our activity does not either. If you try to weaken us by psychology, we will expel you."

Who was right in this controversy? Obviously, the two parties are both right and wrong, according to the place where the controversy is fought out. At political meetings or in the councils of his party, my patient is wrong. They have no room there for psychology but only for the preparation of action as best they know and feel. In psychoanalytic institutes, however, the study of the unconscious drives must take precedence over political discussion. The point of intersection of these two activities is the one in which a radical politician reveals nervous instability, because the unconscious forces of his Oedipus complex have chosen the political arena only in order to rationalize, in the form of a seemingly heroic attitude, unresolved primitive conflicts of the little boy, conflicts that have long since become irrational. Psychoanalysis can render valuable service to the militant radicals by helping them to separate the chaff from the wheat,

that is to say, to protect healthy workers who have reached the level of objectivity from narcissistic neurotics who have collapsed internally. If my patient gave up his radical ideas after the discovery of his negative father fixation, his comrades did not lose much by losing him. Radical and revolutionary groups must be warned against neurotic dangers even more than other groups.

Before the discoveries of psychoanalysis, the enormous part played in glorious or fateful deeds by latent homosexuality, sadism, exhibitionism, and all kind of defense mechanisms against them was unknown. Were our discoveries recognized as they deserve to be, it would be possible to guard ourselves better against unstable politicians and statesmen, and the politicians themselves could control themselves better. The unconscious basis of passionate radicalism often becomes dangerous for the cause.

Years ago I pointed out how often there is only a weak connection between radicalism and party orientation. The two can be separated. Psychologists know this and are not surprised when a Fascist becomes a Soviet partisan or vice versa. Mussolini began as a Socialist, was sentenced for blasphemy in his youth, and expelled as a radical from southern Tyrol (then Austrian) and even from Switzerland, a democracy.

I have personally observed several such abrupt transitions. Some time ago there lived in Vienna a woman whose business ability was outstanding; she founded a bank and directed it successfully for many years. Her son, too, was active in the financial field, but with less success. During the Austrian monarchy he became the publisher of a fashion magazine and achieved the title of Imperial Councillor for this innocuous occupation. During the first World War—when he was more than sixty years old—to the surprise of all his friends he founded a Socialist newspaper, which he steered into Communist channels after the war. Never before in Vienna had bank presidents and other capitalists been so violently attacked as in his newspaper. He was so furiously radical that even the Communist party had no

use for him. Yet this newspaper became a thriving business; in his old days, its publisher finally achieved financial success (as his mother had) and, moreover, gratified his latent feeling of revenge against the ideas of his mother, which he had shared with her in his younger years. Here we have a case of conversion from the Right to the Left, determined by unconscious conflicts.

This publisher had a strongly radical editor-in-chief, S. W., an unusually gifted journalist who helped toward the success of the newspaper. He developed into a prominent champion of the revolution. One day it was discovered that he had blackmailed several industrialists, and he was sentenced to five or six months' imprisonment. Everyone thought that he would now leave public life. But instead, immediately after his release, he founded a new newspaper entirely devoted to the persecution of his former comrades: he had become a totalitarian, a radical of the Right. This change took place in W. suddenly—a Paul develops from a Saul in the experience of a moment. Psychoanalysts know that such moments are prepared in the unconscious for long years before the dam is broken through, in accordance with the psychodynamic laws discovered by Freud and his school.

It was said of W. that he was a plain scoundrel and that there are many such. Others said that he was embittered against his comrades, who had abandoned him during his trial. This does not explain the peculiar feature of so many radicals who can and must swing spectacularly from one extreme to another. We have seen a number of American Communists who went to Russia and returned violent enemies of the system they formerly worshiped. There may be a rational explanation for this attitude, for they tell us that they found Russia completely different from what they had expected. But this does not account for the tireless passion with which these people, who had obviously been mistaken, then work against their former comrades. Someone who is conscious of having committed a colossal blunder might be expected, at least for a time, to

consider silence the better course of action. But this goes against the psychology of the radical; for him the main thing is to be radical.

In 1919 there was a short-lived Communist interlude in Munich, during which an Austrian scholar was appointed people's commissar in the Red government. A few years later we saw the same scholar in the company of black-cowled monks. He lectured on the transformation of the wine into Christ's blood in the holy Mass; called himself a faithful servant of the church; and, if formerly he had intended to end misery by abolishing capitalist profits, the only reason he now refrained from cursing the materialist conception of history was that his new creed forbade him to curse. An evangelic conversion led this radical from bloody red to deepest black. There was not much doubt as to the sincerity of his new faith—nor had there been any doubt as to the sincerity of his former ideas.

Thus we obtain the following psychologic law: The connection between the radical *élan* and its objective is unreliable, far less firm than might be expected, considering the vehemence displayed. Radicalism is an end in itself, its mental representation can readily be changed. Despite its practical importance, this law is easily forgotten. Practical men in everyday life sometimes know it. An enthusiastic patriot who was wounded several times in the first World War petitioned for a post in the Censorship Office; the director of this office declared that the enthusiast was unsuitable for the job. "If this man reads the enemy press," he explained cynically, "we may have to lock him up for high treason."

Psychoanalysis distinguishes between genital and pregenital libido. The latter is narcissistic and not really attached to any object. In the case of genuine object libido the center of gravity is situated outside the ego, the object no longer releases the ego, under certain circumstances the object even consumes it. In other cases the center of gravity lies in the ego, the object is used only to reflect the ego and is rejected if for any

reason it can no longer gratify the narcissistic regression.

Just as elsewhere in life, we find among the radicals the two opposite poles: hysterical and obsessive types. The hysterical type occasionally becomes enthusiastic about radicalism; but he cannot remain radical, for he does not take anything seriously. The obsessional type, once radical, must remain radical and in his obsession grows more radical with age. Examples of this opposition are Brutus and Cassius, Danton, and Robespierre, perhaps also Goering and Hitler, in so far as it is possible to have a distinct view of one's contemporaries. Danton helped bring about the Revolution, made inspiring speeches, and with his leonine eyes gazed at the masses he had aroused to revolutionary frenzy. But after a time he was fed up, the Revolution bored him, the odor of blood filled him with disgust. In contradistinction to him, Robespierre studied for a long time and after careful pondering reached the conviction that the only way out was to guillotine a hundred thousand aristocrats. This had to be done; not fifty thousand, but a hundred thousand; he could prove it. What hateful frivolity to let the Revolution stop halfway! The first fifty thousand would have bled in vain if the second fifty thousand did not bleed after them.

The obsessional type hates the hysteric type wherever he finds him. The hysteric type spoils all his ideas. Since there are always many neurotics among radicals, the hysterical must always clash with the obsessional neurotics—they represent two worlds that do not understand each other. Here we have one of the reasons why so many revolutions fail. If contemporary events were not the subject of such violent controversies, we might also be able to understand the opposition between Trotsky and Stalin; or, if not to understand it completely, at least to cast some psychological light on it. Occasionally, the two worlds unite for creative action: Martin Luther, who hurled his inkpot at the devil, united with the scholarly Melanchthon. In this case the one man had

sufficient discipline in his ecstasy and the other sufficient religious enthusiasm in his obsessional science to permit that synthesis of compulsion and freedom which is necessary for permanent creation.

In a letter of 1890, Friedrich Engels² modified the materialist conception of history in the words:

.... The determining element in history is *ultimately* the production and reproduction in real life. If somebody twists this [assertion] into the statement that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase. The various elements of the superstructure in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*.

In other words: the *what* of historical changes is ruled by economic laws; the *how* depends on people and their psychology. This was not a small concession to us. Before Engels made this pronouncement, the Marxists were much more rigid, and to some extent still are. They call all extra-economic incentives "ideology," meaning by this term the fallacious interpretation of economic incentives as noneconomic. We are confronted with the mechanistic rigidity of the nineteenth century of which we are the heirs. To Marx, great men were "accidents," accelerating or delaying the economic course of development. He was well aware of the ruthless element in human nature and considered destruction absolutely necessary. However, the destructive instinct is not the only one in us, in great men, in history. Genius with its entangled structure of instincts and inspirations builds lasting events and institutions. Great men, sometimes sinister demons, have often interrupted the dialectics of history. Not only the "how" of historical development is created by exceptional human beings and their psychology, but also the "what."

Pascal coined the phrase that history would have taken a different course if Cleo-

patra's nose had been half an inch longer. To others the tragedy of Antony is only an expression of the clash between the East and the West, a thesis and antithesis from which arose the synthesis of Hellenism begun by Alexander the Great and continued by the Romans. But to psychologists the conflict between the coolly calculating Octavian and the impulsive brawler, Antony, is a clash between a compulsive and a hysterical type. In such clashes the earthbound compulsive is usually victorious. Little influenced by unconscious erotic drives, he, indeed, follows the economic line. But the impulsive type, too, has his merits: without him nothing great happens; he is the pioneer, little likely to be guided by the economic-materialist demands of his time.

If one wants to be dialectical only, he can hold that Alexander himself, who led the Greeks to Asia, was unimportant as a person, and one can study only the materialist understructure of Alexander's conquests. But would not history have taken a different course if Alexander, motivated as he was by his Oedipus complex, had not drunk himself to death at a youthful age, which he probably did under the impact of dark feelings of guilt? His father had been assassinated by his mother's orders, and it is very likely that Alexander himself had had a hand in this matter. If he had lived to be old and had had the time and ability to organize his world-empire on a firm basis, who knows whether the Roman Empire would ever have existed? We cannot develop these speculations here. But it seems certain to us that the premature death of great men is not explainable by economic factors. The ideas of these men; their organizing energy, courage, and leadership; the mission they represented, often went down with them. Some of these ideas are resurrected, as Freud attempted to show in his *Moses*. But resurrection does not always take place; and when it does, it is certainly not always on an economic basis.

Zionism can be very well explained by economic causes, although the Marxists for other economic reasons consider the movement a mistake. According to them, ag-

² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1936).

gressive anti-Semitism can be abolished more thoroughly by other methods. Once I asked an enthusiastic Zionist why such an exposed corner of the world—a regular danger spot; a stony, almost waterless country; settled by hostile Arabs—has been chosen as the future Jewish homeland. He looked at me in surprise and said: "But it is *our* country; we have no other." Here, the Jewish tradition spoke out, the religious and national philosophy of a people that has suffered for centuries and has been kept together by their Book. Theodore Herzl, the Zionist leader, tells in his *Memoirs* that when he considered accepting a British offer to open up Uganda in Central Africa for the Jews, he was almost killed by his followers as a traitor. This is another example of economics and psychology working at cross-purposes.

One more example pertinent to our theme is the birth of religions. It is quite clear that

popular misery in India and Palestine produced the religious philosophies which we know as Buddhism and Christianity. It may even be added that the founders of these religions are legendary figures, and that it is not known with certainty whether they really existed or not. If they were invented by their followers, their doctrines are, a fortiori, explained by economic factors. And yet—to limit ourselves to Christianity—there is an idea here, invented by a religious genius, without which eternal bliss could not have arisen from earthly misery. Are you poor? You cannot be poor enough; the poorer you are in this world, the more gloriously will you enter Heaven. Without this religious flash, the people would have remained miserable, dirty, unworthy of human beings, and hopeless, as in so many other countries which were just as miserable as Palestine and yet did not give birth to a Christ.

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SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF HORNEY AND FROMM

ARNOLD W. GREEN

ABSTRACT

The neo-Freudian psychoanalysts have adopted a "cultural orientation" in their study of neurosis in modern society, which suffers from a lack of systematization and from easy assumptions regarding the universality of total-cultural influences within a given culture. What emerges is a confused *mélange* of historical developments, family influences, group activities, conflicts of values—all descriptively unsorted and unweighted. The work of Karen Horney and Erich Fromm is criticized as to sociological relevance and adequacy.

Although ritual obeisance is still being paid Sigmund Freud by all psychoanalysts, a left-wing group of practitioners has, in fact, abandoned much of his theory. Turning from biology, the neo-Freudians have adopted the social sciences, sociology in particular. Through a critical analysis of the work of Karen Horney and Erich Fromm, the two outstanding proponents of the new orientation, this paper is an evaluation of the effort to explain neurosis in cultural terms.

I

Karen Horney views neurosis as no category to separate the sheep from the goats; neurosis is a matter of degree, for to some extent conflicting cultural ideologies are incorporated in all personalities.¹ But what is a neurosis? And who is neurotic? In the first place, neurosis is described as "overt deviation from a statistical norm." Thus frigidity was normal in the nineties, while a modern frigid woman may be suspected of a neurosis. There are, however, two qualifications made: (1) Neurosis cannot be conceived as a simple-deviation from a statistical norm because the man who flouts the cultural imperative to succeed at all cost to other self-goals may be at peace with himself, may suffer no anxiety. (2) No simple addition or subtraction of overt deviations can measure neurosis because the neurotic has a temporally extended *character development*, which is not dependent upon any isolated experiences, actions, or symptoms.

¹ *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1937).

The neurotic is a person who develops certain *trends*, and his entire life-experience deepens these trends.²

² The development of this clinical orientation—a departure from the Freudian attempt to discover the significant single instance—is perhaps Horney's outstanding contribution. In comparison with other fields, it is most difficult perhaps in personality study to establish *a* as the cause of *b*. Freud always insisted that God was the father of the family of orientation, nothing more, nothing less—a curious conception indeed from the sociologist's point of view. Why was little Hans's wolf *merely* his father and not all that was large and threatening in his immediate environment? Horney is probably correct in insisting that the proper clinical study of the neurotic is the defensive trends he develops.

Human experience is made up neither of an isolated series of episodes nor of exact recapitulations of previous experiences. The meaning of a new experience or of a modification of an experience continued in time is transmuted for the person in terms of the total meaningfulness, at the various levels of consciousness, of all previous experiences: thus we can avoid what Köhler called the "nothing but" fallacy. Of course, if the orthodox Freudians insist that little Hans's fear of horses is his fear that his father will castrate him and that artistic creation is *nothing but* a recapitulatory interest in playing with one's own feces, they cannot, on their own grounds, be disproved.

This is not to question the determining effect of single traumatic experiences, but even these have a context. In Koestler's *Arrival and Departure*, Peter's catching his brother on a boat-hook in a sense caused his masochistic need for punishment, but his relationship with his parents, particularly his father, was such that his corroding sense of guilt was carefully nurtured.

Horney's statement of the case has even more therapeutic than theoretical importance. If the trend and not the single determining instance is what the analyst should discover, then therapy may become something which does not consume the patient's pocketbook and lifetime.

The neurotic, then, is defined as a person who attempts to cope with life under "difficult internal conditions" with a "diffuse basic anxiety toward life in general." Lack of precision is admitted. In the first place, no matter what the "individual character difficulties" are, "... these have been engendered . . . ultimately through cultural conditions . . .," because not in all cultures would neurotics use moral perfection or utter helplessness on others as safety devices.³ The only way of distinguishing their neurotic from their "normal" use is "their one-sided compulsive and indiscriminate application."

It is further advised that normal might be distinguished from neurotic on the basis of compulsive and indiscriminate behavior as applied to "normal" trends in the culture, i.e., to attempt to secure recognition for achievement might be considered normal in our culture, but if this success drive becomes a devouring passion at the expense of all other activities and satisfactions, such an ambition might be labeled "neurotic." The difficulty here, it is admitted, is that arbitrary judgments might be set up of "good attitudes towards the self" and "free use of energies" in a social contest in which a large group or a whole people were acting "neurotically." This would be awkward because "... 'neurotic,' however we may define it, has the connotation of impairment of function. But the group as a whole and an individual belonging to such a group may function well within the given cultural limitations. . . ."⁴

This quotation constitutes an admission of failure to differentiate between "individual" and "cultural" neurosis in sociological terms. Horney's final conclusion only makes this more evident: "The decision whether or not to call an individual neurotic must ultimately be based on merely practical criteria, such as the degree of being handicapped or the degree of suffering."⁵ But this

is still supposed to allow a bridge to be drawn between the "anthropological" or "socially oriented" view of neurosis as deviation from average conduct and the clinically oriented view, by adding the clinical proviso that "... the deviation does not primarily concern the manifest behavior but the quantity or quality of basic anxiety as well as that of the deviation developed for the sake of security."⁶

Since sociologists have discovered that deviant social types within highly organized subcultures (e.g., the professional beggar) tend to develop integrated, adjusted personalities, Horney seems well advised to have dropped any attempt to correlate neurosis with overt behavior. From the clinical point of view, the foregoing "practical" definition of neurosis is fairly adequate.⁷ Nevertheless, to view neurosis in terms of anxiety deviation establishes no bridge between culture and neurosis.

One will seek in vain for a statement in Horney's writings of how cultural trends become personality trends. There is no recognition of social structure as such, and the discussion of general-cultural conflicts of values is completely removed from her excellent description of a general type of family which engenders neurotic trends and symptoms. (These may, incidentally, be labeled "middle-class." Horney makes no differentiations according to class.) There are two most important questions left unanswered: (1) Since in modern society no individual participates in the total cultural complex totally, but primarily in a series of population segments grouped according to sex, age, class, occupation, region, religion, and ethnic group—all with somewhat differing norms and expectations of conduct—how do these combine in different ways to form varying backgrounds for individual

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ It could be revised to state that the neurotic is a person whose anxiety, guilt, and feelings of inferiority make painful his attempts to establish self-satisfactory roles and goals. His roles and goals serve as the bridge between cultural and clinical factors.

³ Karen Horney, "What Is a Neurosis?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1939), 431.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

⁵ *Ibid.*

etiologies of neurotic trends?⁸ To what extent do these various population segments share the imputed conflict of general-cultural values? (2) How do cultural factors become incorporated in the personality? Why do some become neurotic and not others under the same general-cultural conditions? Nowhere does Horney come any closer to combining cultural and individual factors than this: "A similar answer can be given to the question as to why only some persons become neurotic, and not all, when they live under the same difficult cultural conditions. The persons who succumb to a neurosis are those who have been more severely hit by the existing difficulties, particularly in their childhood."⁹

Horney has simply failed to do what she claims. As was noted above, Horney made the unqualified statement that, no matter what the individual character difficulties might be, they were ultimately determined by cultural conditions (and, for Horney, "cultural" conflicts are limited to ideological conflicts). But in another context appears this statement: "In regard to neuroses . . . the conflicting trends constituting them are determined ultimately by disturbances in human relationships."¹⁰

⁸ This is asking a great deal, and the job would probably require several volumes. The only legitimate exception to be taken here is with Horney's assumption of a single unit, "culture," which is treated as a residual category in her etiological descriptions. Culture becomes a constant from which individual experience develops its own trends. Various neurotic symptoms and trends are described as more or less self-contained dynamisms, with no further reference to "culture" as such. In the middle-class general family type described as engendering neurotic trends, *the parents are themselves neurotic, as symptomatically defined*. As for differentiating according to population segment, the only one Horney introduces is a sexual differentiation (see "Feminine Psychology," *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* [New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1939], chap. vi, pp. 101-19).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178. A virtual duplication of this statement may be found in a previous publication (see "Culture and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, I [1936], 230).

¹⁰ *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*, p. 78.

II

Erich Fromm's position in many ways parallels Karen Horney's; and his view of the fundamental antagonism between person and culture is even more arbitrary than Horney's. Culture, however, is viewed not so much as a system of conflicting values as a historical struggle to gain freedom from the "shackles" of such social institutions as the church, government, and capitalism. Fromm's main theoretical formulation is a psychological extension of Max Weber's analysis of the Protestant Ethic. Briefly, man's medieval primary ties were irretrievably broken; individualism and the middle class slowly emerged. Lutheranism and Calvinism brought religious freedom, which was accompanied by a new powerlessness and anxiety. Compulsive activity and work as a duty developed to allay feelings of doubt and insignificance. While "Western man" freed himself from certain specific authorities, he developed only a pseudo-self and acted out roles he assumed were his own but which actually were imposed upon him.¹¹

No theory is ever "wrong" or "right," only more or less adequate to explain a given body of fact. The Protestant Ethic, with all it implied, was of unquestionable significance as a causal link in the development of the modern obsession with work and success. But in itself it is inadequate to explain that development, and it is certainly inadequate to explain, *as a directly channeled historical development*, any putative psychological condition of "modern man."

In the first place, the adequacy of an imputed causal chain to explain a given body of fact as of a given moment in time is not impaired by shortening the chain, i.e., using a shorter time scheme.¹² Conversely,

¹¹ See Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941).

¹² In fact, the historical sequence has significance only for immediately successive links in any imputed chain (see Robert M. MacIver, *Social Causation* [Boston: Ginn & Co., 1931], particularly the "Simplified Diagram of an Historical Sequence," on p. 190).

the farther back the imputed chain starts, the more do intervening factors change the character of the original factors introduced at the arbitrary starting-point. While the Protestant Ethic formed a common background for the development of social structure and value systems in Britain, Germany, and America, subsequent changes in all three national cultures have deviated sufficiently not only to justify but to compel further, and time-shortened, explanations of those national cultures and their psychological effects. For example, in neither Germany nor Great Britain did a frontier psychology ever develop, with its emphasis upon independence and self-help and its intensification of personal competition. The rise of modern capitalism in this country transmuted those values almost entirely into striving for success, but this became a significantly different phenomenon from anything comparable in the other two national cultures.¹³ Where was the "automaton" on the American frontier? And how can we conceive of a definitive and final break of all primary bonds with the end of the medieval period when eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America exemplified the rural-familial way of life?¹⁴ Foster

¹³ See Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change," *Psychiatry*, VIII (1945), 79-101. Parsons points out that, while Germans are more obsessed with status than Americans, attempts at status fulfilment in Germany are largely aimed outside the internal class structure, while individual competition for achievement within the class structure has characterized this country. This, in itself, has many implications for different sociological explanations of neurosis within the two national cultures. For a temporally limited explanation of the value of success in this country see Arnold W. Green, "Duplicity," *Psychiatry*, VI (1943), 411-24.

¹⁴ See W. E. Woodward, *The Way Our People Lived* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1944). Even for the present day, such a thesis is inadmissible. No matter how fractured modern social structure or how splintered modern values, in the socialization process the person incorporates other models and other values from his immediate environment—indeed, his very conception of himself—and thus is related to some area of the total social structure and value system.

Rhea Dulles' *America Learns To Play* depicts a national-cultural transformation of recreation values, from the seventeenth-century "detestation of idleness" to the twentieth-century belief in the right of every citizen to hedonistic enjoyment. Today, how much does Middletown's rock-bound faith in "Magic Middletown" counteract the sense of worthlessness and insignificance? In a period of contracting capitalism, with increasing emphasis upon consumption outlets and state-guaranteed economic security rather than upon expanding production, saving, and individual responsibility, the compulsion to work may be expected to change radically in character.

From the standpoint of this analysis a more important point than Fromm's use of historical materials is that he, like Horney, implicitly conceives of culture as a unity, operating as a universal stimulus in a simplified stimulus-response relationship. Complex cultures do not lend themselves easily to the explaining of behavior in general-cultural terms. Since individuals interact within a small segment of a differentiated society and are inculcated with the specialized values of their various segments as well as with the general-cultural values, extreme caution is required in the use of such a concept as "modern man."

As for defining neurosis and establishing a bridge between a cultural and an individual etiology—problems already discussed in reference to Horney's work—a much greater confusion is encountered. In another context Fromm drops the general-cultural explanation of neurosis and asserts that neurosis arises from individual experience of personal relationships: "What appears as a feeling of guilt . . . is actually the fear of displeasing those of whom one is afraid."¹⁵ And " . . . the scars left from this defeat [in the family] in the child's fight against irrational authority are to be found at the bottom of every neurosis."¹⁶

¹⁵ Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 382.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, the family mediates the "social character of their society or class" to the child,¹⁷ apparently the cultural "normal." To some extent Fromm solves this seeming dilemma by viewing the neurotic as one who struggles against normality, and the individual normal as one who has accepted the cultural normal. But if the neurotic is neurotic because he deviates from the cultural normal, and at the same time is neurotic because he does not deviate sufficiently from the cultural normal, the etiological picture becomes chaotic. A fundamental antagonism between individual and society is expressed, which is even more extreme than that of Freud, who advised a young male patient to be continent, but under protest.

Fromm envisages a complete separation of values, social structure, and neurotic symptoms as Horney defines them. Two views of "normal" or "healthy" are adopted: "... there is a discrepancy between the aims of the smooth functioning of society and of the full development of the individual. This fact makes it imperative to differentiate sharply between the two concepts of health. The one is governed by social necessities, the other by values and norms concerning the aim of individual existence."¹⁸ And modern psychiatrists are reputed to make this error: "... the person who is normal in terms of being well-adjusted is often less healthy than the neurotic person in terms of human values."¹⁹ Concerning the "pathology of normalcy [*sic*]," he considers the analyst's task to be "... to recognize that the individual's ideal of normalcy may contradict the aim of the full realization of himself as a human being."²⁰ There is more than a semantic difficulty here. To cut the neurotic off from the starveling limb which relates him to the

total social structure is not therapy but the most cruel disservice. And neither the analyst nor the patient has the political power to uproot the tree.

III

One would be in error in supposing that Fromm's pitting such imprecise and value-laden terms as "healthy" and "realization of self" against "pathological normalcy" stems from confusion. Indeed, it makes a great deal of sense in that his therapy is not primarily aimed at relieving neurotic symptoms but rather serves to introduce a program of social reform.

A review of that program must be prefaced by an evaluation of the possibilities of using Fromm's therapy in the present. According to Fromm, the giving-up of spontaneity and individuality in a compulsive conformity to arbitrary authority results in a thwarting of life; "positive freedom" is to be promoted which consists in "the spontaneous activity of the total, integrated personality."²¹ There "is no higher power than this unique individual self." Further, "... there is only one meaning of life: the act of living itself."²²

²¹ *Escape from Freedom*, p. 258. Horney's proposed therapy is an exact replica of Fromm's (see *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*, p. 11).

²² *Escape from Freedom*, p. 263. Indirectly, in *Escape from Freedom*, Fromm contradicts this statement. A system of morality is implied with the phrase "... man should not be subject to anything higher than himself . . .," i.e., men *should not* manipulate others for ends extrinsic to the relationship itself. But this would have to be learned as a *rule of behavior* and respected as something apart from any given interactional context, else one man's spontaneity be an invitation to another's exploitation. This paradox emerges: Where men interacted "spontaneously," a greater deliberation over which course of action to adopt in each relationship would be necessary than in a caste society in which all relationships are rigidly defined. Actually, no organized society could exist where men oriented their behavior anew in each relationship, while at the same time the relationship referred to nothing outside of the other's "unique personality." Fromm is far from meaning what he says, since he also claims that men must on occasion sacrifice their lives, "which can be the utmost assertion of our individuality."²

¹⁷ *Escape from Freedom*, p. 287.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁰ "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," p. 384.

This is patently absurd. No society of which we have any knowledge has ever resembled the Garden of Eden: men have lived, and can live, only for various ends—the clan; the guild, the family; to kill, to succeed, to spread the Word of God, to renounce the world in monastic seclusion—but certainly not “to live.” But more important than this, a therapy of “spontaneity” shows a lack either of knowledge or of understanding of the kind of social conditioning “modern man” undergoes, and particularly “middle-class modern man.”²³

A description of that conditioning may be summarized as the systematic suppression of impulse to insure that the available channels of vertical mobility remain open. Revising a felicitous phrase of the Lynds, members of the middle class are trained to live *at* the future and to regard their friendships, associations, hobbies, and intellectual interests in terms of their potentiality as means to attain ends of wealth, prestige, and social status. And middle-class man is increasingly finding his occupational position not as an independent shopkeeper, business, or professional man but as a minor functionary in vast, bureaucratically organized²⁴ corporations and government bureaus, where one must learn complex tech-

²³ It will suffice here to define “middle-class modern man” as a sociopsychological ideal type whose attitudes and values are welded into a lifetime of striving toward an improvement of personal socioeconomic position within the class structure. His position is one of psychological vulnerability: he is protected from the stresses and strains of a period of rapid social change, which is currently contracting the channels of vertical mobility, neither by the relative acquiescence of status by “lower-class man” nor the assured status of “upper-class man.” Fromm has some insight into the modern objective cultural restrictions upon a spontaneity therapy (“Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis,” p. 381), but “inner compulsions” remain essentially imposed by a functioning society and are not viewed as a set of interiorized social ends and goals which relate the person to social structure.

²⁴ For insight into the psychological demands of placement in a bureaucratic organization see Robert K. Merton, “Bureaucratic Structure and Personality,” *Social Forces*, XVIII (1940), 560-68.

niques of avoidance, withdrawal, and approach—all of which require a studied manipulation of others’ personalities and a schooling of one’s own reactions so as not to antagonize but to please.²⁵ Within a personnel hierarchy (large city hospital, prison, army, government bureau, university, business corporation) lower space may approach upper only through the mediation of middle space. These are in no sense neurotic manifestations but objective cultural demands which the individual must meet if he is to marry,²⁶ raise a family, participate in social organizations made up of members of his

²⁵ For an analysis of personality manipulation, see Green, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Significantly, Thoreau never married. It seems doubtful that any wife would have appreciated his spontaneous ruminations with nature while his bean-patch went unhoed. But Fromm said that man must become an integral part of life through work and love. There is only one way for a modern member of the middle class to implement a philosophy of spontaneity, and that is to step outside the success schema altogether. Yet this would mean renouncing almost all present associations and insulating the self with a way of life for which virtually no support could be found within the present social structure and scheme of values. Such drastic action may be necessary in individual instances, but as a general approach to therapy it is hardly advisable.

On the other hand, therapists who accept the “spontaneity” dictum, while at the same time affirming the desirability of success, involve themselves in curious contradictions. On p. 160 of John Dollard’s *Victory over Fear* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942) appears this statement: “If you can see no reason for fear but are still afraid there is only one way out. *Do what you are afraid to do.* Carry out the dangerous act in exactly that situation in which you are most afraid.” And on p. 175: “Possessions stand between us and the worst pains and rigors of life; high position is a guarantee against misery.” But it is precisely the efforts to secure possessions and status that result in the most morale-sapping fears which members of the middle class experience—fear of failure, fear of inability to “win friends and influence people,” fear of economic depression, fear of antagonizing the boss. Carrying out the feared dangerous act might mean telling someone in authority exactly what one thought of him, but at what price to possessions and status? Certainly, there is no easy answer for the therapist, and most certainly no general advice that he can offer.

own class, occupy a recognized position in his community—all of which have become his self-expectations, early assimilated from the expectations of family, friends, teachers, Boy Scout masters, and clergymen. Any labeling of these expectations as "pseudo-selfness" and "imposed authority" does not dispose of the fact that they occupy the core of middle-class personalities. Any attempt to uproot them not only would intensify anxiety but would also require actual withdrawal from the current area of social interaction. Unfortunate as it may be, life for the middle class is comprised largely of a conscious reckoning of personal means-ends relationships projected into the future; and the conception of self in the present tends to reflect whatever successes were scored through those relationships in the past. The career becomes "subjectively . . . the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him."²⁷

Exactly with whom is one's behavior to be spontaneous? With one's employer? With one's army officer? With one's clients? By acting spontaneously now, one may be insuring the loss of opportunity to do so in the future. The middle-class career may be conceived as a series of carefully preserved relations with a long line of superiors, any one of whom is in a position seriously to endanger the ultimate goal. Dale Carnegie has written the book which best illuminates the spirit of our era.

It is by turning his projected therapy into a program of social reform that Fromm avoids answering the question of how "spontaneity and freedom" are to be released in patients today:

Only in a planned economy in which the whole nation has rationally mastered the economic and social forces can the individual

share responsibility and use creative intelligence in his work. All that matters is that the opportunity for genuine activity be restored to the individual; that the purposes of society and of his own become identical, not ideologically but in reality. . . .²⁸

The currently fashionable proviso is added that planning from the top must be "blended with active participation from below," combining "centralization with decentralization," since "man should not be subject to anything higher than himself."

This is the first planned *economy* dedicated to "the actual freedom, initiative, and spontaneity of the individual." If "spontaneous freedom" is to have any reasonably demonstrable referent, it must mean the opportunity of expressing and implementing a wide diversity of ends, something which no planned economy could tolerate. Combining centralization with decentralization is pure word magic, as is the hope of participation from below in the planning. A modern economy which is "planned," i.e., controlled by a power hierarchy to insure that machinery and men produce and distribute according to a predetermined national schedule, must, of internal necessity, exact conformity at all points. If could not possibly operate with a permitted expression and implementation of a wide diversity of ends. And once political pronouncement instead of the open market determined the points of juncture in the economic sphere, the power hierarchy of necessity, perhaps even apart from personal desire, would be forced into an imposition of values and goals outside the economic realm.

Meanwhile, there is no need of waiting for any restructuring of society. Much can be done in psychotherapy within present cultural limitations, and the sociologist may contribute. It will not be along the lines of general-cultural analyses, however, but in more intensive studies of the actual proc-

²⁷ Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (1937), 409-10.

²⁸ *Escape from Freedom*, p. 273.

esses of socialization. The sociologist's knowledge of the social pressures which become incorporated as conflicting self-goals, to which persons of different sexes, ethnic groups, races, classes, and regions are subjected, in conjunction with the clinician's techniques for probing out individual neurosis etiology, should, if combined, become a valuable co-operative endeavor.

And whatever new therapeutic goals are devised, it does not seem likely that they will follow the lines established by Horney

and Fromm. Those goals are not applicable today; no therapist is in any position to advise exactly what political activity the neurotic should engage in to help establish a better culture for the future. Irwin Edman may have been right when he said that not a new argument but a new society would cure the soul of man. The modern neurotic, however, will not live to see the dawn of that day. In the meantime, he is entitled to whatever help can be afforded.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE FOCUSED INTERVIEW¹

ROBERT K. MERTON AND PATRICIA L. KENDALL

ABSTRACT

The focused interview is designed to determine the responses of persons exposed to a situation previously analyzed by the investigator. Its chief functions are to discover: (1) the significant aspects of the total situation to which response has occurred; (2) discrepancies between anticipated and actual effects; (3) responses of deviant subgroups in the population; and (4) the processes involved in experimentally induced effects. Procedures for satisfying the criteria of specificity, range, and depth in the interview are described.

For several years, the Bureau of Applied Social Research has conducted individual and group interviews in studies of the social and psychological effects of mass communications—radio, print, and film. A type of research interview grew out of this experience, which is perhaps characteristic enough to merit a distinctive label—the “focused interview.”

In several respects the focused interview differs from other types of research interviews which might appear superficially similar. These characteristics may be set forth in broad outline as follows:

1. Persons interviewed are known to have been involved in *a particular concrete situation*: they have seen a film; heard a radio program; read a pamphlet, article, or book; or have participated in a psychological experiment or in an uncontrolled, but observed, social situation.
2. The hypothetically significant elements, patterns, and total structure of this situation have been previously analyzed by the investigator. Through this *content analysis* he has arrived at a set of hypotheses concerning the meaning and effects of determinate aspects of the situation.
3. On the basis of this analysis, the investigator has fashioned an *interview guide*, setting forth the major areas of inquiry and the hypotheses which locate the pertinence of data to be obtained in the interview.
4. The interview itself is focused on the *subjective experiences* of persons exposed to the pre-analyzed situation. The array of their reported responses to this situation enables the investigator

- a) To test the validity of hypotheses derived from content analysis and social psychological theory, and
- b) To ascertain unanticipated responses to the situation, thus giving rise to fresh hypotheses.

From this synopsis it will be seen that a distinctive prerequisite of the focused interview is a prior analysis of a situation in which subjects have been involved.

To begin with, foreknowledge of the situation obviously reduces the task confronting the investigator, since the interview need not be devoted to discovering the objective nature of the situation. Equipped in advance with a content analysis, the interviewer can readily distinguish the objective facts of the case from the subjective definitions of the situation. He thus becomes alert to the entire field of “selective response.” When the interviewer, through his familiarity with the objective situation, is able to recognize symbolic or functional silences, “distortions,” avoidances, or blockings, he is the more prepared to explore their implications. Content analysis is a major cue for the detection and later exploration of private logics, personal symbolisms, and spheres of tension. Content analysis thus gauges the importance of what has not been said, as well as of what has been said, in successive stages of the interview.

Finally, content analysis facilitates the flow of concrete and detailed reporting of responses. Summary generalizations, on the other hand, inevitably mean that the informant, not the investigator, in effect provides the interpretation. It is not enough for the interviewer to learn that an informant regarded a situation as “unpleasant” or “anxiety-provoking” or “stimulating”—summary judgments which are properly suspect and, moreover, consistent with a variety of interpretations. He must discover precisely what “unpleasant” denotes in this context; what further feelings were called into play;

¹ This article will be identified by the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, as Publication No. A-55. We are indebted to Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer and Dr. Carl I. Hovland for permission to draw upon materials for the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, Army Service Forces. To Miss Marjorie Fiske and Miss Eva Hofberg, colleagues in the bureau, we are grateful for assistance in the preparation of material.

what personal associations came to mind; and the like. Failing such details, the data do not lend themselves to adequate analysis. Furthermore, when subjects are led to describe their reactions in minute detail, there is less prospect that they will, intentionally or unwittingly, conceal the actual character of their responses; apparent inconsistencies will be revealed; and, finally, a clear picture of the total response emerges.

The interviewer who has previously analyzed the situation on which the interview focuses is in a peculiarly advantageous position to elicit such detail. In the usual depth interview, one can urge informants to reminisce on their experiences. In the focused interview, however, the interviewer can, when expedient, play a more active role: he can introduce more explicit verbal cues to the stimulus pattern or even *re-present* it, as we shall see. In either case this usually activates a concrete report of responses by informants.

USES OF THE FOCUSED INTERVIEW

The focused interview was initially developed to meet certain problems growing out of communications research and propaganda analysis. The outlines of such problems appear in detailed case studies by Dr. Herta Herzog, dealing with the gratification found by listeners in such radio programs as daytime serials and quiz competitions.² With the sharpening of objectives, research interest centered on the analysis of responses to particular pamphlets, radio programs, and motion pictures. During the war Dr. Herzog and the senior author of the present paper were assigned by several war agencies to study the psychological effects of specific morale-building devices. In the course of this work the focused interview was progressively developed to a relatively standardized form.

The primary, though not the exclusive, purpose of the focused interview was to provide some basis for *interpreting* statistically significant effects of mass communications. But, in general, *experimental studies of effects* might well profit by the use of focused interviews in research. The character of such applications can be briefly illustrated by examining the role of the focused interview at four distinct points:

1. Specifying the effective stimulus
2. Interpreting discrepancies between anticipated and actual effects
3. Interpreting discrepancies between prevailing effects and effects among subgroups—"deviant cases"
4. Interpreting processes involved in experimentally induced effects

1. Experimental studies of effect face the problem of what might be called the *specification of the stimulus*, i.e., determining which x or pattern of x 's in the total stimulus situation led to the observed effects. But, largely because of the practical difficulties which this entails, this requirement is often not satisfied in psychological or sociological experiments. Instead, a relatively undifferentiated complex of factors—such as "emotional appeals," "competitive incentives," and "political propaganda"—is regarded as "the" experimental variable. This would be comparable to the statement that "living in the tropics is a cause of higher rates of malaria"; it is true but unspecific. However crude they may be at the outset, procedures must be devised to detect the causally significant aspects of the total stimulus situation. Thus Gosnell conducted an ingenious experiment on the "stimulation of voting," in which experimental groups of residents in twelve districts in Chicago were sent "individual non-partisan appeals" to register and vote.³ Roughly equivalent control groups did not receive this literature. It was found that the experimental groups responded by a significantly higher proportion of registration and voting. But what does this result demonstrate? To *what* did the experimental group respond? Was it the non-partisan character of the circulars, the explicit nature of the instructions which they contained, the particular symbols and appeals utilized in the notices, or what? In short, to use Gosnell's own phrasing, what were "the particular stimuli being tested"?

According to the ideal experimental design, such questions would, of course, be answered by a series of successive experiments, which test the effects of each pattern of putative causes. In practice not only does the use of this procedure in social experimentation involve prohibitive problems of cost, labor, and administration; it also assumes that the experimenter has been successful in detecting the pertinent aspects of

² "What Do We Really Know about Day Time Serial Listeners?" in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (eds.), *Radio Research, 1942-43* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944).

³ Harold F. Gosnell, *Getting Out the Vote: An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

the total stimulus pattern. The focused interview provides a useful near-substitute for such a series of experiments; for, despite great sacrifices in scientific exactitude, it enables the experimenter to arrive at plausible hypotheses concerning the significant items to which subjects responded. Through interviews focused on this problem, Gosnell, for example, could probably have clarified just what elements in his several types of "nonpartisan" materials proved effective for different segments of his experimental group.⁴ Such a procedure provides an approximate solution for problems heretofore consigned to the realm of the unknown or the speculative.⁵

2. There is also the necessity for *interpreting* the effects which are found to occur. Quite frequently, for example, the experimenter will note a *discrepancy* between the observed effects and those anticipated on the basis of other findings or previously formulated theories. Or, again, he may find that one subgroup in his experimental population exhibits effects which differ in degree or direction from those observed among other parts of the population. Unless the research is to remain a compendium of unintegrated empirical findings, some effort must be made to

interpret such "contradictory" results. But the difficulty here is that of selecting among the wide range of *post factum* interpretations of the deviant findings. The focused interview provides a tool for this purpose. For example:

Rosenthal's study of the effect of "pro-radical" motion-picture propaganda on the socioeconomic attitudes of college students provides an instance of *discrepancy between anticipated and actual effects*.⁶ He found that a larger proportion of subjects agreed with the statement "radicals are enemies of society" after they had seen the film. As is usually the case when seemingly paradoxical results are obtained, this called forth an "explanation": "This negative effect of the propaganda was probably due to the many scenes of radical orators, marchers, and demonstrators."

Clearly *ad hoc* in nature, this "interpretation" is little more than speculation; but it is the type of speculation which the focused interview is particularly suited to examine, correct, and develop. Such interviews would have indicated how the audience actually responded to the "orators, marchers, and demonstrators"; the author's conjecture would have been recast into theoretical terms and either confirmed or refuted. (As we shall see, the focused interview has, in fact, been used to locate the source of such "boomerang effects" in film, radio, pamphlet, and cartoon propaganda.⁷)

In a somewhat similar experiment, Peterson and Thurstone found an unexpectedly small change in attitudes among high-school students who had seen a pacifist film.⁸ The investigators held it "... probable that the picture, 'Journey's End,' is too sophisticated in its propaganda for high school children."

⁴Significantly enough, Gosnell did interview citizens in several election districts who received notices. However, he apparently did not focus the interviews in such fashion as to enable him to determine the significant phases of the total stimulus pattern; see his summary remark that "interviews ... brought out the fact that [the notices] had been read with interest and that they had aroused considerable curiosity." And note his speculation that "part of the effect [of the mail canvass] may have been due to the novelty of the appeal" (*op. cit.*, pp. 29, 71). Properly oriented focused interviews would have enabled him to detect the points of "interest," the ineffectual aspects of the notices, and differences in response of different types of citizens.

⁵The same problem arises in a more complicated and difficult form when the experimental situation is not a limited event but an elaborate complex of experiences. Thus Chapin studied the gains in social participation which can be attributed "to the effects of living in the [public] housing project." As he recognized, "improved housing" is an unanalyzed "experimental" situation: managerial policies, increased leisure, architectural provision for group meetings, and a host of other items are varying elements of the program of "improved housing" (see F. S. Chapin, "An Experiment on the Social Effects of Good Housing," *American Sociological Review*, V [1940], 868-79).

⁶Solomon P. Rosenthal, "Change of Socioeconomic Attitudes under Radical Motion Picture Propaganda," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 166, 1934.

⁷Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Studies in Radio and Film Propaganda," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series II*, VI (1943), 58-79; Robert K. Merton and Patricia Kendall, "The Boomerang Effect—Problems of the Health and Welfare Publicist," *Channels* (National Publicity Council), Vol. XXI (1944); and Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Patricia Kendall, "The Listener Talks Back," in *Radio in Health Education* (prepared under the auspices of the New York Academy of Medicine) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

⁸Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933).

Once again, the plausibility of a *post factum* interpretation, would have been enhanced, and entirely different hypotheses would have been developed had they conducted a focused interview.⁹ How did the children conceive the film? To what did they primarily respond? Answers to these and similar questions would yield the kind of data needed to interpret the unanticipated result.

3. We may turn again to Gosnell's study to illustrate the tendency toward *ad hoc* interpretations of *discrepancies between prevailing effects and effects among subgroups* ("deviant cases") and the place of focused interviews in avoiding them.

Gosnell found that, in general, a larger proportion of citizens registered or voted in response to a notice "of a hortatory character, containing a cartoon and several slogans" than in response to a "factual" notice, which merely called attention to voting regulations. But he found a series of "exceptions," which invited a medley of *ad hoc* hypotheses. In a predominantly German election district, the factual notice had a greater effect than the "cartoon notice"—a finding which at once led Gosnell to the supposition that "the word 'slacker' on the cartoon notice probably revived war memories and therefore failed to arouse interest in voting." In Czech and Italian districts the factual notices also proved more effective; but in these instances Gosnell advances quite another interpretation: "the information cards were more effective than the cartoon notices probably because they were printed in Czech [and Italian, respectively] whereas the cartoon notices were printed in English." And yet in a Polish district the factual notice, although printed in Polish, was slightly *less* effective than the cartoon notice.¹⁰

In short, lacking supplementary interviews focused on the problem of deviant group responses, the investigator found himself drawn into a series of extremely flexible interpretations instead of resting his analysis on pertinent interview data. This characteristic of the Gosnell experiment, properly assessed by Catlin as an exceptionally well-planned study, is, a fortiori, found in a host of social and psychological experiments.

4. Even brief introspective interviews as a supplement to experimentation have proved useful for discerning the *processes involved in experimentally induced effects*. Thus Zeigarnik, in her well-known experiment on memory and in-

terrupted tasks, was confronted with the result that in some cases interrupted tasks were often forgotten, a finding at odds with her modal findings and her initial theory.¹¹ Interviews with subjects exhibiting this "discrepant" behavior revealed that the uncompleted tasks which had been forgotten were experienced as failures and, therefore, were subjectively "completed." She was thus able to incorporate this seeming contradiction into her general theory. The value of such interpretative interviews is evidenced further in the fact that Zeigarnik's extended theory, derived from the interviews, inspired a series of additional experiments by Rosenzweig, who, in part, focused on the very hypotheses which emerged from her interview data.

Rosenzweig found experimentally that many subjects recalled a larger percentage of their successes in tasks assigned them than of their failures.¹² Interviews disclosed that this "objective experimental result" was bound up with the emotionalized symbolism which tasks assumed for different subjects. For example, one subject reported that a needed scholarship depended "upon her receiving a superior grade in the psychology course from which she had been recruited for this experiment. Throughout the test her mind dwelt upon the lecturer in this course: 'All I thought of during the experiment was that it was an intelligence test and that he [the lecturer] would see the results. I saw his name always before me.'"

Without such supplementary data, the hypothesis of repression which was introduced to interpret the results would have been wholly conjectural.

This brief review is perhaps sufficient to suggest the functions of the focused interview as an adjunct to experimental inquiry, as well as in studies of responses to concrete situations in everyday life.

OBJECTIVES AND PROCEDURES

A successful interview is not the automatic product of conforming to a fixed routine of mechanically applicable techniques. Nor is interviewing an elusive, private, and incommunicable art. There are recurrent situations and problems in the focused interview which can be

⁹ On the problems of *post factum* interpretations see R. K. Merton, "Sociological Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), esp. 467-69.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 60, 64, 65, 67

¹¹ B. Zeigarnik, "Das Erledigte und unerledigte Handlungen," *Psychologische Forschung*, IX (1927), 1-85.

¹² Saul Rosenzweig, "The Experimental Study of Repression," in H. A. Murray, *Exploration in Personality* (Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 472-90.

met successfully by communicable and teachable procedures. We have found that the proficiency of all interviewers, even the less skilful, can be considerably heightened by training them to recognize type situations and to draw upon an array of flexible, though standardized, procedures for dealing with these situations.

In his search for "significant data," moreover, the interviewer must develop a capacity for continuously evaluating the interview as it is in process. By drawing upon a large number of interview transcripts, in which the interviewer's comments as well as the subjects' responses have been recorded, we have found it possible to establish a set of provisional criteria by which productive and unproductive interview materials can be distinguished. Briefly stated, they are:

1. *Nondirection*: In the interview, guidance and direction by the interviewer should be at a minimum.
2. *Specificity*: Subjects' definition of the situation should find full and specific expression.
3. *Range*: The interview should maximize the range of evocative stimuli and responses reported by the subject.
4. *Depth and personal context*: The interview should bring out the affective and value-laden implications of the subjects' responses, to determine whether the experience had central or peripheral significance. It should elicit the relevant personal context, the idiosyncratic associations, beliefs, and ideas.

These criteria are interrelated; they are merely different dimensions of the same concrete body of interview materials. Every response can be classified according to each of these dimensions: it may be spontaneous or forced; diffuse and general or highly specific; profoundly self-revealing or superficial; etc. But it is useful to examine these criteria separately, so that they may provide the interviewer with guide-lines for appraising the flow of the interview and adapting his techniques accordingly.

For each of these objectives, there is an array of specific, effective procedures, although there are few which do not lend themselves to more than one purpose. We can do no more here than indicate the major function served by each technique and merely allude to its subsidiary uses.¹³ And since these procedures have been

¹³ This paper is based upon an extensive manual of procedures for the focused interview. It is our hope that it represents an addition, however slight, to the growing number of critical self-examinations of method by sociologists and psychologists which

derived from clinical analysis of interview materials rather than through experimental test, they must be considered entirely provisional. Because, in the training of interviewers, it has been found instructive to indicate typical errors as well as effective procedures, that same policy has been adopted in this paper.

THE CRITERION OF NONDIRECTION

The value of a nondirective approach to interviewing has become increasingly recognized, notably in the recent work of Carl Rogers and of Roethlisberger and Dickson.¹⁴ It gives the subject an opportunity to express himself about matters of central significance to him rather than those presumed to be important by the interviewer.¹⁵ That is, in contrast to the polling approach, it uncovers what is on the subject's mind rather than his opinion of what is on the interviewer's mind. Furthermore, it permits subject's responses to be placed in their proper context rather than forced into a framework which the interviewer considers appropriate. And, finally, the informant is ordinarily far

lead to closer scrutiny of prevailing procedures. We refer to works such as Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942); John Dollard, *Criteria for the Life History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935); Gordon W. Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942); Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945); and Florence Kluckhohn, "The Participant-Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (1940), 331-43.

¹⁴ Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-28; F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), chap. xiii.

¹⁵ Thus meeting the objection raised by Stuart A. Rice: "A defect of the interview for the purposes of fact-finding in scientific research, then, is that the questioner *takes the lead*. That is, the subject plays a more or less passive role. Information or points of view of the highest value may not be disclosed because the direction given the interview by the questioner leads away from them. In short, data obtained from an interview are as likely to embody the preconceived ideas of the interviewer as the attitudes of the subject interviewed" (S. A. Rice [ed.], *Methods in Social Science* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931], p. 561).

more articulate and expressive than in the directed interview.¹⁶

Direction in interviewing is clearly incompatible with eliciting unanticipated responses. Private definitions of the stimulus situation are rarely forthcoming when directive techniques are used. By their very nature, direct questions presuppose a certain amount of structuring by the interviewer. Direct questions, even though they are not "leading" in character, force subjects to focus their attention on items and issues to which they might not have responded on their own initiative. (This is a basic limitation of those questionnaires or schedules which provide no opportunity for subjects to express a lack of concern with items on which they are questioned.) For instance, informants who had seen a documentary film dealing with the war in Italy were asked: "Did you feel proud or annoyed when you saw how the Americans were helping in the reconstruction of Naples?" A directed question of this type at once prejudices the possibility of determining just how the subjects structured the film. The film might have been experienced impersonally as merely "interesting information." The question implies that Americans were actually taking part in the reconstruction, although some informants found the film vague on this point. Even had the subjects recognized that Americans were engaged in reconstruction, they may have learned only from the question that others were also engaged in the same work. Their replies reflected some of these implications and suggestions, which had colored their own interpretation of the film and ruled out the possibility of indicating misapprehensions. A single direct question inadvertently supplies many biasing connotations.

Nondirective techniques sometimes prove ineffective in halting irrelevant and unproductive digressions, so that the interviewer seemingly has no alternative but to introduce a direct question. But in a focused interview the limits of relevance are largely self-defined for the subject by the concrete situation. Not only are digressions less likely to occur, but, when they do occur, they are more easily dealt with by nondirective references to the concrete situation. In other words, the focal character of the ex-

perience results in a maximum yield of pertinent data through nondirective procedures.

Procedures.—The interrelations of our criteria at once become evident when we observe that nondirection simultaneously serves to elicit depth, range, and specificity of responses. For this reason the tactics of nondirection require special consideration.

The unstructured question.—Unstructured questions are intentionally couched in such terms that they invite subjects to refer to virtually any aspect of the stimulus situation or to report any of a range of responses. By answering a query of this type, the subject provides a crude guide to the comparative significance of various aspects of the situation.

In the focused interview, then, an unstructured question is one which does not fix attention on any specific aspect of the stimulus situation or of the response; it is, so to speak, a blank page to be filled in by the subject. But questions have varying degrees of structure. Several levels of structure may be distinguished as a guide to the interviewer.

1. *Unstructured question (stimulus and response free)*

What impressed you most in this film?

or

What stood out especially in this radio program?

(This type of query leads the subject, rather than the interviewer, to indicate the foci of attention. He has an entirely free choice. Not only is he given an opportunity to refer to any aspect of the stimulus pattern, but the phrases "impressed you" and "stood out" are sufficiently general to invite reports of quite varied types of responses.)

2. *Semistructured question*

Type A: *Response structured, stimulus free*

What did you learn from this pamphlet which you hadn't known before?

Type B: *Stimulus structured, response free*

How did you feel about the part describing Jo's discharge from the army as a psychoneurotic?

(There is obviously increased guidance by the interviewer in both types of query, but the informant still retains considerable freedom of reply. In Type A, although restricted to reports of newly acquired information, he is free to refer to any item in the pamphlet. In Type B, conversely, he is confined to one section of the document but is free to indicate the nature of his response.)

3. *Structured question (stimulus and response structured)*

¹⁶ Rogers (*op. cit.*, p. 122), reporting an unpublished study by E. H. Porter, states that in ten directive interviews, the interviewer talked nearly three times as much as the subject. In nine non-directive interviews, on the other hand, the interviewer talked only half as much as the subject.

Judging from the film, do you think that the German fighting equipment was better, as good as, or poorer than the equipment used by Americans?

or

As you listened to Chamberlain's speech, did you feel it was propagandistic or informative?

(Through questions of this type the interviewer assumes almost complete control of the interview. Not only does he single out items for comment, but he also suggests an *order of response* which he assumes was experienced. This leads to an oral questionnaire rather than a free interview.)

Although the fully unstructured question is especially appropriate in the opening stages of the focused interview, where its productivity is at a peak, it is profitably used throughout the interview. In some instances it may be necessary for the interviewer to assume more control at later stages of the interview, if the other criteria—specificity, range, and depth—are to be satisfied. But even in such cases, as we shall see, moderate rather than full direction is fruitful; questions should be partially rather than fully structured.

Imposing the interviewer's frame of reference.

—At some points in almost every protracted interview, the interviewer is tempted to take the role of educator or propagandist rather than that of sympathetic listener. He may either interject his personal sentiments or voice his views in answer to questions put to him by subjects. Should he yield to either temptation, the interview is then no longer an informal listening-post or "clinic" or "laboratory" in which subjects spontaneously talk about a set of experiences, but it becomes, instead, a debating society or an authoritarian arena in which the interviewer defines the situation.

By expressing his own sentiments the interviewer generally invites spurious comments or defensive remarks, or else inhibits certain discussions altogether. Any such behavior by the interviewer usually introduces a "leader effect," modifying the informant's own expression of feelings. Or should the interviewer implicitly challenge a comment, the informant will often react by defensively reiterating his original statement. The spontaneous flow of the interview halts while the subject seeks to maintain his ego-level intact by reaffirming his violated sentiments. In the following example the interviewer has supplied the logical implications of an expressed point of view and then has, in

effect, asked whether the subject is willing to abide by these implications.

INTERVIEWER: You say we should make a democracy out of Germany. In a democracy, the people have the right to choose their own leaders.....

(Note the didactic formulation in terms of *text-book definitions*. The attitudinal and affective implications of the subject's statement—the material looked for in a focused interview—have been ignored. Instead, the interview becomes an exercise in semantics.)

INTERVIEWER: Supposing we were to set up a democracy and then they wanted to choose Hitler for president?

(Here the interviewer has made invidious use of the *logical* implications of the respondent's comments. Translated, this statement reads: "Surely, you can't mean this; this is a wholly indefensible position.")

SUBJECT No. 1: *Wait a minute:* What Hitler done, he took children and we should take and mobilize this group and teach them democracy, have a constitution like the United States and make democrats out of them.

(Note the defensive and controversial nature of the phrase: "Wait a minute." The informant's self-esteem leads him to a defensive reiteration of his original view. And, grimly pursued to his last line of retreat by the interviewer, he wards off further attack by an explosive monosyllable.)

INTERVIEWER: And they wouldn't want to choose a leader like Hitler?

SUBJECT No. 1: No!

Whether the subject nominally agrees or disagrees with the interviewer's sentiments, their expression often inhibits further elaboration of comments. What is intended to draw out the informant serves only to cut off a channel of expression. Witness the following example:

SUBJECT No. 2: In America a man has the privilege of living in a democracy where, even though he may be of the middle or lower class, he may still reach for and attain positions of high office, whereas in England, the upper class or monied people selfishly hold onto the positions of leadership, never giving the middle or lower class an opportunity to gain such positions. For instance, *a coal miner could never hope to attain a position of high office.*

INTERVIEWER: What about David Lloyd George: *wasn't he a coal miner?*

SUBJECT No. 2: Yes, I guess that's true.

(What the interviewer hoped to accomplish by his challenge is not at all clear. Whatever his intentions, however, the only apparent result is the abrupt silencing of a subject, who, just a moment before, had been highly articulate.)

The interviewer's introduction of his own opinions and sentiments into the discussion,

then, seriously prejudices that free flow of expression which nondirection seeks to achieve.

On occasion, it will be the subject who seeks out the interviewer's attitudes or feelings by directing toward *him* such questions as "How do you feel about . . . ?" or "Do you think that . . . ?" This attempted reversal of roles is particularly likely to occur at just those points in the interview when continued self-exploration by the subject would be most revealing. These questions frequently reflect emotional blockage. The subject may be reluctant to explore his own feelings because they are painful or embarrassing or because they are so amorphous that he cannot easily put them into words. By directing questions to the interviewer, then, he diverts attention from himself. He hopes, at times, that the answer will provide the "correct" formulation for his own vague feelings. In other words, psychological groping finds its grammatical expression in the form of a question.

Should the interviewer respond to the manifest content of these questions, however, he at once structures the stimulus material and, in this way, introduces the problems reviewed in the preceding section. It is incumbent upon the interviewer to avoid responding to the nominal meaning of many such questions posed by subjects. Although there is no way of curbing the expression of sentiments except through self-discipline, fairly specific procedures have been developed for dealing fruitfully with such questions.

In general, the interviewer should *counter a question with a question, thus converting the implied content of the informant's question into a cue for further discussion*. In doing so, he indicates that he understands the problem and is sympathetically awaiting further elaboration by the informant. This sort of stimulation is often all that the informant needs to continue his self-exploration. The following instance illustrates this technique for leading a subject to develop his own views:

SUBJECT No. 5: Did the Germans think that the girl was working with them?

INTERVIEWER: *You mean it wasn't clear whether she was working with the Germans or not?*

SUBJECT No. 5: That's right. You remember when

(Rather than answer the informant's question which would reduce the possibility of ferreting out the way in which he structured this phase of a film, the interviewer responds to the *implied* meaning of the question: "You mean it wasn't clear . . . ?")

This provided an opportunity for the subject to indicate the film sequences which led to his confusion.)

The interview guide.—The interview guide, containing typical questions, areas for inquiry, and hypotheses based on the content analysis, is indispensable to the focused interview. It tends to make for comparability of data obtained in different interviews by insuring that they will cover much the same range of items and will be pertinent to the same hypotheses. The guide does, however, lend itself to misuse. Even when the interviewer recognizes that it is only suggestive, he may come to use it as a fixed questionnaire, as a kind of interviewing strait jacket.

The interviewer may intrude questions from his guide before it is clear that the informant has, in fact, been concerned with the matter to which the question refers. *Forcing a topic* in this way typically leads to an abrupt break in the continuity and free flow of the interview. The informant is brought up short by a question which does not apply to his immediate experience and for which, therefore, he has no ready answer. His self-explorations cease, and he often responds by a series of questions designed to have the interviewer "define his terms" or otherwise provide clues to the expected answer.

Or the interviewer may cleave too closely to the wording of questions set up in the interview guide, rather than pursuing the implications of an informant's remarks. Though it is convenient for the interviewer not to have to improvise all questions in the course of the interview, predetermined questions may easily become a liability; for, if the interviewer recognizes in the respondent's comment an allusion to an area of inquiry previously defined in the guide, he is likely to introduce one of the type questions contained in the guide. This is all well and good *if* the question happens to be appropriate in the given case. But unproductive interviews are those cluttered with the corpses of fixed, irrelevant queries; for often the interviewer, equipped with fixed questions dealing with the given topic, does not listen closely or analytically to the subject's comments and thus fails to respond to the cues and implications of these comments, substituting, instead, one of the routine questions from the guide. If the interviewer is primarily oriented toward the guide, he may thus readily overlook the unanticipated implications of the subject's remarks.

By listening to the implied content of what is said, the interviewer can the more readily improvise fruitful questions. He will recognize, for example, the familiar tendency of subjects to raise questions which cloak their own private feelings. For instance, informants, who were at the time undergoing military training, initially hesitated to express the anxiety provoked by having seen a film of American prisoners on Bataan:

SUBJECT No. 9: How about a *man* being interested in a picture, but not liking it? It might rub him the wrong way, even though he finds himself interested in it.

INTERVIEWER: Do *you* have a particular film in mind?

(By listening to the implied content, the interviewer detects the possibly projective nature of the informant's question. He can then test this provisional hunch by utilizing a counterquestion to convert the discussion into a personal report. Instead of continuing to talk in the abstract terms of "*a man*," the informant comes to betray his own feelings.)

SUBJECT No. 9: That part where they showed some of the wounded soldiers there on Bataan. I don't care to see that kind of stuff, although it was interesting in a way. . . . [And then, temporarily reverting to a projective formulation] *The public* might have a reaction to that if they were exposed to it. Although some of them realize that under battle conditions men must lose their lives or be wounded. *Some people* would say, "Look at that," and it would lower their morale.

SUBJECT No. 5: The main thing was, I think, that most of the fellows got a realization that it might be them. . . .

THE CRITERION OF SPECIFICITY

In the study of real life rather than, say, in nonsense-syllable experiments in rote memory, there is all the greater need for discovering the meaning attributed by subjects to elements, aspects, or patterns of the complex situation to which they have been exposed. Thus army trainees, in one such study, reported that "the scene of marching Nazi soldiers" in a documentary film led them to feel anxious about their ability to withstand the German army. This report does not satisfy the canon of specificity. Anxiety may have been provoked by the impression of matchless power symbolized by massed armies; by the "brutal expressions" on their faces to which the commentary referred; by the elaborate equipment of the enemy; by the extensive training seemingly implied by their maneuvers. Without further specification, there is no basis

for selecting among the several possible interpretations.

In stressing specificity, we do not at all imply that subjects respond to each and every element of the total situation as a separate and isolated item. The situation may be experienced "as a whole" or as a complex of configurations. Individual patterns may be perceived as figures against a background. But we cannot rest with such facile formulations; we have yet to detect the "significant wholes" to which response has occurred, and it is toward the detection of these that the criterion of specificity directs the interviewer's attention. It is only in this way that we are led to findings which can be generalized and which provide a basis for predicting selective responses.¹⁷ Inquiry has shown that, as a significant whole, brief scenes in a motion picture, for example, have evoked different responses, quite apart from the fact that seeing-a-film-in-conjunction-with-two-thousand-others was *also* a "configurative experience." But without inquiring into specific meanings of significant details, we surrender all possibility of determining the effective stimuli patterns. Thus our emphasis on "specificity" does not express allegiance to an "atomistic," as contrasted with a "configurational," approach; it serves only to orient the interviewer toward searching out the significant configurations. The fact of selective response is well attested; we must determine what is differentially selected and generalize these data.

¹⁷ An overcondensed case illustrates this point. Following a series of tests of documentary films, the hypothesis was advanced that audiences retain items of information presented in the form of "startling facts" of the type exploited by the Ripley "Believe-It-or-Not" column. Such items have attention value; they stand out as a figure against the ground. They have diffusion value, readily becoming part of the currency of small talk ("Did you know that . . . ?"). And they have confidence value: they are "cold facts," as idiom so aptly puts it. On the basis of such tentative formulations, which await more theoretical phrasing, it was predicted that a "startling fact"—namely, that the first American casualty in this war occurred as early as 1940—would be one of the most notable informational effects of a documentary film. This proved to be the case, with a differential of 36 per cent between the experimental and the control groups. Without focused interviews, the differential effects of different phases of such a complex situation as a forty-minute film would be difficult to anticipate.

Procedures.—We have found that specificity of reporting can be obtained through procedures in which the interviewer exercises a minimum of guidance.

It seems difficult, if not impossible, to recapture highly specific responses. Interviews on experiences of the immediate or remote past, of course, involve the problem of losses and distortions of memory. Extensive experimentation and clinical study have shown the importance of such lapses and modifications in recalled material.¹⁸ The focused interview is, of course, subject to this same liability but not, perhaps, to the same extent as diffuse interviews; for there are certain procedures in the focused interview which facilitate the accurate report of the initial experience, which aid accounts of the "registration" of the experience rather than a distorted, condensed, elaborated, or defective report based on unaided recall.

Retrospective introspection.—These procedures are all designed to lead subjects to adopt a particular mental set—which may be called "retrospective introspection." (Of course, just as the unstructured question is essential at all stages and for all objectives of the focused interview, so retrospective introspection is more than a device for facilitating specificity of reports. It is a mood which must be maintained throughout the interview if a wide range of depth responses is to be obtained.)

Mere retrospection, without introspection, usually produces accounts of what was remembered and does not relate these to significant responses. Introspection without retrospection, on the other hand, usually leads the informant to report his reactions after they have been reconsidered in the interval between the event and the interview, rather than his experience at the time he was exposed to the stimulus situation. To minimize this problem, procedures have been developed to expedite retrospective introspection by *re-presenting* the stimulus situation so far as possible.¹⁹ They seek to approximate a

condition in which subjects virtually *re-experience* the situation to aid their report of significant responses and to have these linked with pertinent aspects of it. Re-presentation also serves to insure that both interviewer and subject are referring to the same aspects of the original situation.

The most immediate means of re-presenting documentary material is to exhibit "stills" from a motion picture, to play back sections of a transcribed radio program, or to have parts of a pamphlet re-read. Although such devices do not fully reproduce the original situation, they markedly aid the subject in recapturing his original response in specific detail. Such re-presentations do have the defect of interrupting the smooth, continuous flow of the interview, at least for a moment. If they are used frequently, therefore, the interview is likely to deteriorate into a staccato series of distinct inquiries. The best procedure, then, is to combine occasional graphic re-presentations with more frequent verbal cues. But, except for the closing stages of the interview, such cues should be introduced only after subjects have spontaneously referred to the materials in point.

Each re-presentation, whether graphic or verbal, calls for reports of specific reaction. Otherwise, subjects are likely to take the re-presentation as an occasion for merely exhibiting their memory. Questions soliciting these reports take somewhat the following form:

Now that you think back, what were your reactions to that part of the film?

Whatever the exact wording of such questions, they have several features in common. The interviewer alludes to a retrospective frame of reference: "Now that you think back. . . ." He refers to introspection: "What were your reactions (or feelings, or ideas, etc.) . . . ?" And, finally, he uses the past tense: "What *were* your reactions . . . ?" This will lead the subject to concentrate on his original experience. Emphasis on such details as the components of this type of question may seem to be a flight into the trivial. Yet experience shows that omission of any of them lessens the productiveness of replies.

Explicit references to stimulus situation.—To elicit specificity, the interviewer combines the technique of re-presentation with that of the unstructured question. A typical situation requiring further specification occurs when the

¹⁸ See the survey by David Rapaport, *Emotions and Memory* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1942).

¹⁹ A mechanical device, the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer, has been developed to serve much the same purpose with certain kinds of test materials (for a detailed description of the Analyzer and its operation see Tore Hallonquist and Edward A. Suchman, "Listening to the Listener," in Lazarsfeld and Stanton [eds.], *op. cit.*).

subject's report of his responses has been *wholly unlinked* to the stimulus-situation. Repeatedly, we see the necessity for establishing such linkages, if observed "effects" are to be adequately interpreted. Thus tests in 1943 showed that documentary films concerning the Nazis increased the proportion of subjects in experimental groups who believed that Germany had a stronger army than the United States. Inasmuch as there was no explicit indication of this theme in the films, the "effect" could have been interpreted only conjecturally, had it not been for focused interviews. Subjects who expressed this opinion were prompted to indicate its source by questions of the following type:

Was there anything in the film that gave you that impression?

It soon became evident that scenes which presumably stressed the "regimentation" of the Nazis—e.g., their military training from an early age—were unexpectedly taken as proof of their exceptionally thorough training, as the following excerpts from interviews indicate:

It showed there that their men have more training. They start their men—when they are ready to go to school, they start their military training. By the time they get to our age, they are in there fighting, and they know as much as the man who has been in our service eight or nine years.

By the looks of them where they took the boys when they were eight and started training them then; they had them marching with drums and everything and they trained them for military service when they were very young. They are well trained when they are grown men.

Thus the search for specificity yielded a clue to the significant scenes from which these implications were drawn. The interpretation of the experimental effect rests on the weight of cumulative evidence drawn from interviews and not on mere conjecture.

This case serves to bring out the need for progressive specification. If the subject's report includes only a *general* allusion to one or another part of the film, it is necessary to determine the particular *aspects* of these scenes to which he responded. Otherwise, we lose access to the often *unanticipated symbolisms* and private meanings ascribed to the stimulus situation. A subject who referred to the "regimentation of the Nazis" exemplified in "mass scenes" is prompted to indicate the particular items which led to this symbolism:

What about those scenes gave you that impression?

It develops that "goose-step parades" and the *Sieg Heil* chorus are taken as symbols of regimentation:

When it showed them goose-stepping out there; it numbed their mind. It's such a strain on their mind and body to do that. Just like a bunch of slaves, dogs—do what they're told.

It will be noted that these questions refer explicitly to the document or situation which is at the focus of the interview. We have found that, unless the interviewer refers to "scenes in this film," "parts of this radio program," or "sections of this pamphlet," the subjects are likely to shift toward an expression of generalized attitudes or opinion. Indispensable as such auxiliary data may be, they do not take the place of reports in which responses are linked to the test situation. Yet it is only with difficulty that the inexperienced interviewer is weaned from his embarrassment over the seeming monotony of repeated references to the stimulus situation. Preferring variety of phrase to productiveness of interview, he becomes elliptical and resorts to implicit allusions. The ease with which this leads subjects to shift to generalized opinions is brought out in the following excerpt:

SUBJECT No. 8: The German people were armed, but they covered it up. We didn't know about it.

INTERVIEWER: Why didn't we know? [Note the absence of any reference to the film and the subject's immediate flight into a conjecture entirely unrelated to the film.]

SUBJECT No. 2: *I imagine* their country was so well policed. . . .

Specificity not only enables the investigator to ferret out meanings of different phases of the stimulus situation; it also enables him to discover differential responses to the "same" phases of that situation. Differences in prior predispositions lead subjects to "perceive" quite different aspects of the same content. Thus, Anglophobes responded to film scenes of the Dunkirk evacuation by seizing solely upon the self-interest of the British:

The evacuation of Dunkirk showed me that the British *could* do it, if they have to. They showed they could do it and were brave enough to do it *in the case where it was Britain they were fighting for*. They didn't start fighting until they got awful close to home.

But those with favorable or neutral attitudes toward the British noted that some French soldiers were also rescued:

It shows courage; you mustn't give up. These fellows were practically doomed, and up comes England and salvages them, saves the greatest number of them. The English did a marvelous job. . . . fighting their way to the coast, evacuated the whole army and the French.

Specific evidence of such selective perception enables the investigator to interpret the occurrence or absence of effects rather than accepting these as brute data or resorting to conjecture, unbuttressed by evidence.

In general, specifying questions should be explicit enough to aid the subject in relating his responses to determinate aspects of the stimulus situation and yet general enough to avoid having the interviewer structure it. This twofold requirement is best met by unstructured questions, which contain explicit references to the stimulus material.

THE CRITERION OF RANGE

The criterion of range refers to the coverage of pertinent data in the interview. Since any given aspect of the stimulus situation may elicit different responses and since each response may derive from different aspects of the stimulus situation, it is necessary for the interviewer to uncover the range both of response and of evocative stimuli. Without implying any strict measure of range, we consider it adequate if the interview yields data which

- a) Confirm or refute the occurrence of responses *anticipated* from the content analysis;
- b) Indicate that ample opportunities have been provided for the report of *unanticipated* reactions; and
- c) Suggest *interpretations* of findings derived from experiments or mass statistics.

Procedures.—The tactics considered up to this point have been found useful at every stage of the interview. But the procedures primarily designed to extend range do depend, in some measure, on the changing horizons of the interview: on the coverage already obtained, on the extent to which subjects continue to comment spontaneously, and on the amount of time available. The interviewer must, therefore, be vigilant in detecting transitions from one stage of the interview to another, if he is to decide upon procedures appropriate for widening range at one point rather than at another. He will, above

all, utilize these procedures when informants prove inarticulate.

The central tactical problem in extending range consists in effecting transitions from one area of discussion to another. In the early stages of the interview, such transitions follow easily from the intermittent use of general unstructured questions. But, as the interview develops, this type of question no longer elicits fresh materials. Subjects then require assistance in reporting on further foci of attention. From this point, the interviewer introduces new topics either through transitions suggested by subjects' remarks or, in the final stages, by the initiation of topics from the interview guide which have not yet been explored. The first of these procedures utilizes *transitional questions*; the second, *mutational questions*.

Subject transitions.—It is not enough to say that shifts to a new area of discussion should be initiated by the subject. The interviewer who is possessed of what Murray has called "double hearing" will soon infer from the context of such shifts that they have different functions for the informant and call for different tactics by the interviewer.

Of the several reasons for shifts engineered by the informant, at least three should be considered.

1. The topic under discussion may be peripheral to the subject's own interests and feelings, so that he turns to one which holds greater significance for him. In talking about the first topic, he manifests no affect but merely lack of interest. He has little to say from the outset and exhibits boredom, which gives way to heightened interest as he moves on to a new topic.

2. The informant may have talked at length about a given subject, and, having exhausted what he has to say, he moves the interview into a new area. His behavior then becomes very much the same as in the preceding instance.

3. He may seek to escape from a given area of discussion precisely because it is imbued with high affective significance for him, and he is not yet prepared to verbalize his feelings. This is betrayed by varying signs of resistance—prolonged pauses, self-corrections, tremor of voice, unfinished sentences, embarrassed silences, half-articulate utterances.

On the basis of such behavioral contexts, the interviewer provisionally diagnoses the meaning of the informant's transition and proceeds accordingly. If he places the transition in the third category, he makes a mental note to revert to this critical zone at a later stage of the interview.

If, however, the transition is either of the first two types, he may safely abandon the topic unless it arises again spontaneously.

Interviewer transitions.—Generally preferable though it is to have the transitions effected by the subject, there will be occasions, nonetheless, when the interviewer will have to bring about a change in topic. When one topic is exhausted, when the informant does not spontaneously introduce another, and when unstructured questions no longer prove effective, the interviewer must introduce transitional questions if he is to tap the reservoir of response further. He may introduce a *cued* transition, or, as the interview progresses and he accumulates a series of items which require further discussion, he may effect a *reversional* transition.

In a *cued* transition, the interviewer so adapts a remark or an allusion by an informant as to ease him into consideration of a new topic. This procedure has the advantage of maintaining the flow of the interview.

Cued transitions may require the interviewer to exercise considerable ingenuity. In the following case, avowedly cited as an extreme, even bizarre, example, the informant was far afield from the radio program under discussion, but the interviewer ingeniously picked up a cue and refocused the interview on the program:

SUBJECT NO. 1: The finest ingenuity in Germany that you ever saw. They are smart. But I think this: I don't think when this World War is over that we won't have another war. We will. We have had them since Cain killed Abel. As long as there are two human beings on this earth, there's going to be a war.

INTERVIEWER: *Talking about Cain*, he could be called something of a small-time gangster, couldn't he? Do you happen to remember anything about gangsters being brought out at any point in this program?

SUBJECT NO. 1: Dillinger. That was where. . . .

(Here, although the interviewer's association was more than a little far fetched, it served its purpose in bringing the informant back to a consideration of the radio program. Had the interviewer simply changed the subject, he would have indicated that he thought the informant's remarks irrelevant, with a consequent strain on rapport. As it was, the cued transition led the informant to develop at length his structuring of a specific section of the program. When the time for the interview cannot be extended indefinitely, the cued transition enables the curbing of patent digressions, without prejudice to rapport.)

Reversional transitions are those effected by the interviewer to obtain further discussion of a

topic previously abandoned, either because the subject had avoided it or, in a group interview, because someone had moved on to a new theme.

Whenever possible, the reversional question is cued, i.e., related to the topic under discussion. It can, for instance, take this form:

That suggests something you mentioned previously about the scene in which. . . . What were your feelings at that point in the picture?

When it does not seem possible to relate the reversional query to the present context, a "cold" reversion may be productive:

INTERVIEWER: A little while ago, you were talking about the scenes of bombed-out school houses, and you seemed to have more ideas on that. How did you feel when you saw that?

SUBJECT NO. 2: I noticed a little girl lying under a culvert—it made me ready to go fight then. Because I have a daughter of my own, and I knew how I would feel if anything like that happened to her. . . .

This latter type of reversional query is used infrequently, however, and only in instances where it seems likely that the informant has "warmed up" to the interviewing situation sufficiently to be articulate about the topic he had avoided earlier.

Mutational questions.—Toward the close of the interview, there may still remain important points to be covered. Failing an opportunity for a cued transition, the interviewer may have to introduce a mutational question, which contains an explicit reference to previously unmentioned area:

How did you feel about that part of the talk which dealt with the use of drugs in an X-ray examination?

Ideally, there should be no occasion for mutational questions. The more skilfully the interviewer uses unstructured questions, the more alert he is to cues, the more carefully he notes items to which he should revert, the less need for mutational questions. And their use should be kept at a minimum; for, as soon as the interviewer introduces a query of this kind, he selects a focus of attention which may have little saliency for the informant.

But mutational questions should be avoided for an additional reason. The interviewing novice (who uses them more frequently) often develops a feeling of desperation as he approaches the close of the interview with a long list of topics still to be discussed. In his anxiety to obtain some response—any response—he breaks

out with a rash of questions in the desperate hope that at least one will strike a responsive chord.²⁰ His efforts are not unlike those of the young child who, having planted a seed, digs it up at hourly intervals to see how much it has grown—and they are just as productive. Consider the following examples taken from our dustbin of conspicuous errors:

How did you like the combination of these various types of music in one program? Was the selection of numbers a wise one? Did it interest you? Would it make you listen to it if you were home?

Do you remember the map showing just how Germans operated in France and the explanation by an intelligence officer? Do any of the rest of you remember that part of the film? Did you find yourselves pretty well bored by that kind of discussion, or do you feel you learned something from it? If you had your choice, would you want that to be in the film or cut out?

Engulfed in this deluge of questions and discouraged by the apparent request to answer all, the informant ordinarily succeeds in answering none. The flurry of queries destroys the atmosphere necessary for a successful interview, as the interviewer is cast in the role of an inquisitor, charged with anxiety and not interested in the informant, except as a source of needed data.

In general, then, mutational questions should be used only as a last resort, and, when there is no alternative, they should be phrased as generally and unspecifically as possible.

Overdependence on the interview guide.—As we have seen, misuses of the interview guide may endanger the nondirective character of the interview; they may also impose serious limitations on the range of material obtained.

The interviewer may confine himself to the areas of inquiry set forth in the guide and choke off comments which do not directly bear upon these areas. This may be termed the *fallacy of arresting comment*. Subjects' remarks which do not fall within these pre-established areas of interest may be prematurely and spuriously interpreted as "irrelevant," thus arresting what is

at times the most useful type of interview material: the unanticipated response.

INTERVIEWER: Well, now what about the first part of the film? You remember, they had photographs of the German leaders and quotations from their speeches. . . .

SUBJECT NO. 10: I remember Goering, he looked like a big pig. That is what that brought out to me, the fact that if he could control the land, he could control the people.

SUBJECT NO. 7: He is quite an egotist in the picture.

INTERVIEWER: Did you get any impression about the German people from that?

(Here the interviewer introduces a section of the film for discussion. Before he has finished his remarks, an informant volunteers his impression. No. 7 then begins his interpretation of the section. Both remarks suggest that the informants have "something on their minds." Being more attentive to his interview guide than to the implications of the informants' remarks, the interviewer by-passes the hints which might have added further to the range of the interview. He then asks the question, from his guide, which he had probably intended to ask in the first place.)

Excessive dependence on the interview guide increases the danger of *confusing range with superficiality*. The interviewer who feels obligated to conform closely to the guide may suddenly discover, to his dismay, that he has covered only a small portion of the suggested areas of inquiry. This invites a rapid shift from topic to topic, with a question devoted to each. In some cases the interviewer seems scarcely to listen to the responses, for his questions are in no way related to previous comments. Comments elicited by this rapid fire of questions are often as superficial and unrevealing as those obtained through a fixed questionnaire. The quick "once-over" technique wastes time: it diverts respondents from their foci of attention, without any compensating increase in the interviewer's information concerning given areas of inquiry. In view of the shortcomings of rapid shifts in discussion, we suggest the working rule: *Do not introduce a given topic unless a sustained effort is made to explore it in some detail.*

THE CRITERION OF DEPTH

Depth, as a criterion, involves the elaboration of affective responses beyond limited reports of "positive" or "negative," "pleasant" or "unpleasant," reactions. The interviewer seeks to obtain a maximum of *self-revelatory*

²⁰ The inexperienced interviewer, beset by social anxiety, often reacts in the same way to the silences which occasionally follow unstructured questions. He is insensitive to the "pregnant silence." Instead of remaining silent himself for a minute or modifying his original question, he may bombard the subject with questions. This only makes the informant more inarticulate and discourages whatever comments might have been forthcoming.

comments concerning how the stimulus material was experienced.

The depth of reports in an interview varies; not everything reported is on the same psychological level.²¹ The depth of comments may be thought of as varying along a continuum. At the lower end of the scale are mere descriptive accounts of reactions which allow little more than a tabulation of "positive" or "negative" responses. At the upper end are those reports which set forth varied psychological dimensions of the experience. In these are expressed symbolisms, anxieties, fears, sentiments, as well as cognitive ideas. A main task of the interviewer, then, is to *diagnose the level of depth on which his subjects are operating at any given moment and to shift that level toward whichever end of the "depth-continuum" he finds appropriate to the given case.*

The criterion of maximizing depth—to the limited extent possible in a single focused interview—guides the interviewer toward searching out the *personal context* and the *saliency* of responses.

It is a central task of the focused interview to determine how the prior experiences and predispositions of respondents relate to their structuring of the stimulus situation.²²

Personal and social contexts provide the links between the stimulus material and the responses. It is through the discovery of such contexts that variations in the meaning ascribed to symbols and other content are understood; that the ways in which the stimulus material is imported into the experience world of subjects are determined; and that the self-betrays and self-revelations which clarify the covert significance of a response are elicited. Thus, in the following excerpt, it becomes clear that social class provided the context for heightened identification

with the British portrayed in a documentary film:

INTERVIEWER: In what way does this picture make you feel closer [to the British]?

SUBJECT No. 6: I don't come from such a well-to-do family as Mrs. Miniver's. Hers was a well-to-do family, and that picture didn't show anything of the poor families. But this one brought it closer to my class of people, and you realize we are all in it and everybody gets hurt and not just the higher class of people.

The criterion of depth also sensitizes the interviewer to variations in the saliency of responses. Some responses will be central and invested with affect, urgency, or intense feelings; others will be peripheral, of limited significance to the subject. The interviewer must elicit sufficiently detailed data to discriminate the casual expression of an opinion, which is mentioned only because the interview situation seems to call for it, from the strongly motivated response which reaches into central concerns of the informant. It appears that the atmosphere of an expressive interview allows greater opportunity for degrees of saliency to be detected than the self-ratings of intensity of belief which have lately been incorporated into questionnaires and attitude scales. But, unless the interviewer is deliberately seeking out depth responses, he may not obtain the data needed to distinguish the central from the peripheral response.

Procedures.—In following up the comments of subjects, the interviewer may call for two types of elaboration. He may ask the subjects to describe *what* they observed in the stimulus situation, thus inviting fairly detached, though significantly selective, accounts of the content. Or he can ask them to report how they *felt* about the content. Both types of elaboration are useful; but, since the latter more often leads to depth responses, it is preferable in a fairly brief interview. Consequently, we sketch only those tactics which lead to the second type of elaboration.

Focus on feelings.—It has been found that subjects move rather directly toward a report of depth responses when the follow-up questions contain key words which refer explicitly to a *feeling context*. Focusing on a fairly recent, concrete experience, subjects usually become progressively interested in exploring its previously un verbalized dimensions, and, for the most part, no elaborate detour is needed to have them express their sentiments. But the context

²¹ See Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-78.

²² Two kinds of personal context typically find expression in the focused interview. The one is the *idiosyncratic context*, highly personalized experiences which are likely to occur rarely even within a relatively homogeneous group (e.g., the American subject who remarks: "... it reminds me of the way I felt when my brother came back from the war after he had been reported dead. We were living in Russia and ..."). The other is the *role context*, experiences which are common for persons occupying a given status. Which of these types of context is of greatest concern to the interviewer depends, of course, on the purposes of his study.

for such reporting must be established and maintained. Thus the interviewer should phrase a question in such terms as "How did you *feel* when . . . ?" rather than imply a mere mnemonic context by asking "What do you *remember* about . . . ?"

Illustrations are plentiful to show how such seemingly slight differences in phrasing lead respondents from an impersonal description of content to reports of their emotional responses to this content.

INTERVIEWER: Do you happen to remember the scenes showing Warsaw being bombed and shelled? What stood out about that part of the film?

SUBJECT NO. 1: The way people didn't have any shelter; the way they were running around and getting bombed. . . .

(The interviewer's "What stood out?" has elicited only an abbreviated account of the film content. He might have proceeded to follow this line of thought—elaborations of the objective events, further details of the squadrons of bombers, and so on. But this would have been comparatively unproductive, since the interviewer is primarily concerned with what these scenes *meant* to the informant. Therefore, he shifts attention to the response level and at once elicits an elaborate report of feeling, which we reproduce in part.)

INTERVIEWER: How did you feel when you saw that?

SUBJECT NO. 1: I still can't get worked up over it yet [1942], because in this country you just can't realize what war is like over there. I'm talking for myself. I know I couldn't fight at the present time with the viciousness of one of those people. I could shoot a man before he'd shoot me, knowing he was going to shoot me. But I couldn't have the viciousness I know those people have. . . .

Restatement of implied or expressed feelings.—Once the feelings context has been established, further elaboration will be prompted by the occasional restating of the feelings implied or expressed in comments. This technique, extensively developed by Carl Rogers in his work on psychotherapeutic counseling, serves a twofold function. By so rephrasing emotionalized attitudes, the interviewer implicitly invites progressive elaboration by the informant. And, second, such reformulations enhance rapport, since the interviewer thus makes it clear that he fully "understands" and "follows" the informant, as he proceeds to express his feelings.²³

²³ Carl Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, and "The Non-directive Method for Social Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 279-83.

Comparative situations.—In certain cases the interviewer can use the partially directive technique of suggesting meaningful comparisons between the test situation and parallel experiences which the subjects are known, or can be presumed, to have had. Such comparisons of concrete experiences aid the verbalization of affect. The suggested comparison is designed not so much to have subjects draw objective parallels (or contrasts) between the two experiences as to serve as a release for introspective and affective responses.

Witness the following excerpt from an interview with inductees, who had implied that they were viewing a documentary film of Nazi military training within the context of their own current experience:

INTERVIEWER: Do you suppose that we Americans train our men in the same way [i.e., comparison with Nazi training as shown in film]?

SUBJECT NO. 6: They train them more thoroughly.

SUBJECT NO. 2: The way we are rushed through our training over here, it doesn't seem possible.

SUBJECT NO. 1: That's what enters my mind about the training we are getting here. Of course, a lot of talk exists among the fellows that as soon as training is over, we're going into the fight. I don't know any more about it than they do. The training we're going to get right here is just our basic training and if we get shipped across, I can't see that we'd know anything about it except marching and doing a little left flank and right flank and a few other things like that. . . .

(The suggested comparison provided an apt opportunity for the subjects to go on to express their anxieties about going overseas unprepared for combat. The interviewer was then able to ascertain the specific scenes in the film which had further provoked these anxieties.)

It should be emphasized, however, that this procedure is effective only when the experience drawn on for comparison is known to be centrally significant to the subject and if the comparison flows from the interview. Otherwise, comparisons, far from facilitating depth responses, actually disrupt the continuity of the interview and impose an alien frame of reference upon the informant. In such instances the interviewer becomes a target for hostility: he is asked to define his terms, state the purpose behind his question, and the like.

CONCLUSION

Social scientists have come to abandon the spurious choice between qualitative and quan-

titative data; they are concerned rather with that combination of both which makes use of the most valuable features of each.²⁴ The problem becomes one of determining *at which points* he should adopt the one, and at which the other, approach.

The passing references made to the chief functions of the focused interview can perhaps be best summarized by indicating how such qualitative materials have been integrated with quantitative data. When the interview precedes the experimental or statistical study, it is used as a *source of hypotheses*, later submitted to systematic test. A study of the social psychology of mass persuasion exemplified in a war-bond drive on the radio provides a case in point.²⁵

In the preliminary phases of this study, focused interviews were conducted with 100 persons who had heard a "marathon" war-bond drive by a radio "celebrity," Kate Smith, whose broadcasts at fifteen-minute intervals during a period of seventeen hours resulted in \$39,000,000 bond pledges. Analysis of the interviews indicated that the public image of Smith as a "patriot nonpareil" played an important role in the process of persuasion and, further, that this image was, in turn, the result of "propaganda of the deed," i.e., of publicized *acts* rather than *verbal claims*. The marathon bond drive itself was an instance of such propaganda, as the interviews revealed. To test this interpretation, a polling interview with a representative sample was conducted to determine the comparative currency of the Smith-as-patriot image among those who had and had not heard the marathon bond drive. By keeping constant listeners' relationships to Smith—"fans," "occasional listeners," and non-listeners—the hypothesis was confirmed. Among all three groups it was found that exposure to the mara-

thon served to increase the frequency of the Smith-as-patriot image which entered into the process of persuasion. In this instance the focused interview was used to develop hypotheses, the mass schedule to check them at strategic points.

In other cases the procedure has been reversed. The focused interview has served to *interpret previously ascertained experimental findings*. In one experimental study of a documentary film, an effect was found which ran counter to all expectations.

The basic theme of the film, iterated and reiterated throughout, held that Britain fought and won the crucial "Battle of Britain" *alone*, thus securing a precious year in which the United States could prepare. Nevertheless, the film produced the boomerang effect of significantly increasing the proportion of those who felt that Britain would have been conquered had it not been for our Lend-Lease supplies at the time (despite the commentator's reminder that our aid was then little "more than a trickle"). Focused interviews were conducted with sample audiences to determine, among other things, the sources and process of this boomerang effect. The interviews found that audiences responded selectively; they magnified a single ten-second clip of a few crates stamped "from the U.S.A." being unloaded on a London dock. This scene was taken to symbolize American aid and, to all intents and purposes, an American victory. Just as ethnocentrism leads subjects to perceive American stamps as larger than foreign stamps of equal size, so part of the audience seized upon and magnified the only scene in the entire film which referred to an American achievement.

Such interview evidence not only provides grounds for interpreting an otherwise unintelligible experimental result but also helps design a further experimental check on the interpretation by appropriate revisions of the film.

These brief illustrations must suffice to indicate the auxiliary role of the focused interview as an instrument of research. It is hoped that, with increasing use, its procedures will be substantially improved and its applications greatly extended.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

²⁴ See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Controversy over Detailed Interviews—an Offer for Negotiation," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VIII (1944), 38-80; and Paul Wallin, "The Prediction of Individual Behavior from Case Studies," in Paul Horst (ed.), *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941).

²⁵ Robert K. Merton, Alberta Curtis, and Marjorie Fiske, *Mass Persuasion* (New York: Harper & Bros., in press).

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE ATOM AND SOCIOLOGY

To the Editors:

The January number of the *Journal* featured an article by Professor Ogburn entitled "Sociology and the Atom." That article is timely, but the ordering of its title, and to a less degree the casualness of its tone, are misleading.

Knowledge of how to live amicably together lags behind knowledge of how to destroy one another. In accordance with sociological principles, the crisis of the war stimulated the physicists to produce the invention of the atomic bomb. It remains extremely doubtful whether the far greater crisis of the bomb itself will stimulate us "specialists in social relations" to invent a way to get on together before we commit atomic suicide. Professor Ogburn's article really calls attention to the most dangerous example of his famous "culture lag." The physical sciences have implicitly challenged the unready social pseudo-sciences. Our unreadiness betrays the presumption of our claim to the status of true science.

The physicists are terrified. They know what they are talking about. They counted by the tens of thousands the victims of the bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Their success forebodes the extinction of civilization. They do not boast. Perhaps they prefer to stand modestly aside in the presence of their fearful handiwork and exclaim with the inventors of the telegraph: "What hath *God* wrought!"

Far more casual than Professor Ogburn's article was the brief discussion of the atom at the recent Cleveland meetings of the American Sociological Society. Our traditional dignity did not permit much show of concern. We appointed a committee. The Committee on Resolutions presented only what they had received in the proper technical form. At least two group efforts to arouse the Executive Committee to more definite action were unsuccessful. At the moment we must comfort ourselves with the, perhaps, vain hope that the Ogburn committee will arouse such bodies as the Social Science Research Council or its constituent societies from their ponderous lethargy. It may be that neither the Council nor the Society is traditionally or

properly an action group. The crisis, however, demands a break with tradition. Alternatively, separate action groups might be set up. Their membership must know the social sciences, the application of which is now so urgently needed.

The methods and suggestions of the physicists seem perfectly appropriate as far as they go. They are trying valiantly to frighten us all into action. They urge the need for civilian control of atomic-bomb production, and specifically they demand international inspection. They have favored the McMahon bill. If our impression is correct, the sociologists have thought chiefly of research. Some have timidly drafted resolutions. In addition, we have suggestions like Ogburn's that the danger of atomic bombing may call for large-scale decentralization of our cities. Ogburn's plans seem to be very much of the "duck-and-run" variety; thus far, they hardly suggest the most logical role of sociology—to apply our knowledge of social relations to reduce international tension. In this situation it is not strange if the frightened physicists have not called upon us sociologists and other "specialists in social relations" for aid. The physicists seem to have a bit more confidence in at least the political branch of social science than sociologists have shown either in social science generally or in their own particular field.

To critics of our inactivity we sociologists may reply that we have not given major attention to international social relations—or to what one might call the war-peace process as a whole. Sociologists have, however, made significant studies of certain aspects of international conflict. We have found danger to world peace implicit in culture conflict, struggle for status, race theories, population pressures, discriminatory immigration policies, and the like. We sociologists know, also, that a political approach and political controls by themselves are always inadequate. We know that treaties, international law, leagues of nations, and agreements to arbitrate are vain without supporting public opinion and appropriate types of social organization.

A second explanation of our inactivity is perhaps as reasonable. Sociologists, above all people, realize how slowly and with what difficulty culture change, such as is required to reduce international tension, is achieved. On the other hand, sociologists are familiar with instances of relatively flexible cultures and with the reality of basic culture change. They are also familiar with techniques for bringing about radical changes in attitudes and even in social institutions. The removal of sources of international tension is admittedly most difficult. Nevertheless, a co-ordinated effort toward it is obviously imperative, even if it should ultimately prove to have been futile. The mighty gamble is obligatory. The system which provokes war must be changed, else war will recur.

Sociologists may, then, support the campaign to make men afraid of the atomic bomb, to provide international inspection, to get legislation even better than the McMahon bill. But, as sociologists, our main task, it seems, is to show the roots of war in the accumulation of international tensions, some of which lie in the area of our specialty. Having shown this, we shall be in a position to *use the atomic bomb crisis for such an organized large-scale development of, and application of, social science of all types and at all levels as has never before been dreamed of.* Moreover, sociologists should be as cognizant as any others of the need for widespread co-operation between the several social sciences, and between them and opinion-forming and action-producing groups. Such an effort will call for disinterested and able leadership, sacrifice of personal ambitions and departmental prerogatives, very large sums of money, meticulous objectivity combined with such speed as is consistent with it, and an integration of private and public, specialist and layman activities. The social effects of the bomb on the structure of our cities and on family and community life may conceivably be studied at leisure by visiting sociologists from Mars, as they paw over the ruins of the University of Chicago or of New York or of Moscow. Today's

challenge of the bomb is more immediate. It consists in the grave question: Do we know enough, not only of the facts of social relations, but of how to "sell" these facts and their implications to policy-makers, to prevent the destructive use of this epoch-making source of energy, so pregnant with blessing for survivors but so absolutely useless to the dead?

If such a vast co-operative effort is to be undertaken we must, it seems, put aside our disagreements. For example, the present writer feels that all personalized, moralistic, and supernaturalistic explanations of war should be abandoned. He feels that the prevention of war will be greatly furthered if a fully positive, deterministic view of war as a process can be substituted. But by no means all social scientists and very few laymen will accept this. Yet just as determinists and the contrary-minded co-operate in analyzing lesser social problems, so may we not join hands in attempting to understand and control this—the major problem of social relations of our time?

It appears, then, that we should discover the role of each of the social sciences in an integrated program to reduce international tensions provocative of war. This implies activity both at the level of meeting immediate needs and of long-time planning. *New research, co-ordination, and interpretation of existing research, formal and informal child and adult educational programs, opinion-forming efforts, legislative activity, international organization in many fields, deliberate promotion of groups for association and discussion, and other devices for developing appreciation of national cultures and the realization of common interests should be undertaken at once.* If it is ridiculous to imagine that sociology alone can save mankind in the current crisis, it is not ridiculous at least to insist that sociology is requisite to the huge co-operative effort which is so clearly called for.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD R. TAFT

University of Illinois

March 15, 1946

NEWS AND NOTES

Alfred University.—Roland L. Warren, who has returned from active service in the Naval Reserve on carriers in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, has resumed his duties as associate professor of philosophy and sociology. He is continuing a study, interrupted by the war, of a comparison of the ideologies of the "effective Left" and the "effective Right" in the United States.

Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie.—This new semiannual periodical is being established in Paris under the directorship of Professor Georges Gurvitch, of the University of Strassbourg. The editor plans to print in it important articles that have appeared during the war in the American sociological journals. A forthcoming issue will contain E. W. Burgess' "Sociological Research Methods" and Louis Wirth's "Human Ecology," two of the surveys of fifty years of development in sociological theory in the United States, which appeared in the *Journal* in the issue of May, 1945.

University of California.—Robert A. Nisbet, who recently was discharged from the Army, after service in the Pacific, is acting chairman of the department of social institutions during the absence on leave of Professor Margaret Hodgen.

George Hildebrand has accepted an assistant professorship in the department.

Canadian Social Science Research Council.—Jean-Charles Falardeau of Laval University has been appointed a member of the Council.

University of Connecticut.—Victor A. Rapport has accepted the deanship of the College of Arts and Sciences at Wayne University. Dr. Rapport left the Army, after five years of service, with the rank of colonel.

Ethel Batschelet, head of the Division of Visiting Teachers of the Hartford public school system, offered a course on introduction to social work in the past semester.

Joseph M. Loughlin of the Institute of Public Service, and formerly assistant director of welfare work for the state of Rhode Island and assistant budget director in the Department of Finance and Control for Connecticut, will teach the course on public welfare administration in the spring semester.

Duke University.—Clarence Schettler has accepted an appointment in the department of sociology.

Harvard University.—A new department of social relations has been established under the faculty of arts and sciences which will incorporate all the present department of sociology, that part of the department of psychology which has dealt primarily with social and clinical psychology, and that part of the department of anthropology concerned primarily with social anthropology. Instruction will begin in the summer term of 1946.

The personnel of the new department will include, from among the present Harvard staff: Talcott Parsons, professor of sociology and chairman of the department; G. W. Allport, professor of psychology; P. A. Sorokin, professor of sociology; C. C. Zimmerman, associate professor of sociology; Clyde Kluckhohn, associate professor of anthropology; George C. Homans, associate professor of sociology; Robert W. White, lecturer in psychology and director of the psychological clinic; Stanley G. Estes, Thelma G. Alper, and Jerome S. Bruner, lecturers in psychology; Oscar Handlin, faculty instructor in social science;

and James G. Miller, faculty instructor in psychology.

In addition, Samuel A. Stouffer, formerly professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and director of research in the Education and Information Division of the War Department, has been appointed professor of sociology and will join the department in September, 1946.

Professor Stouffer will become director of the Laboratory of Social Relations which is planned as an integral part of the new department. This will provide physical facilities for many types of psychological and social research; offer training to students in empirical, statistical, and field methods of investigation; and serve as a center for the development of various co-operative programs of research.

The Royal Academy of Science of Belgium has elected P. A. Sorokin a foreign member. The newly organized Prague Sociological Society has elected him an honorary member. The Depalma Company of Buenos Aires announces the Spanish translation of Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (translated already into two different Chinese translations, into French, German, Czech, Yugoslavian, and Japanese).

Hollywood Quarterly.—This is a new journal under the joint sponsorship of the University of California and of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. It is devoted to the question of the role to be played by motion pictures and radio in the creation of new patterns of world culture and understanding. It proposes to present solicited articles on research and thoughtful exploration as a basis for the "evaluation of economic, social, aesthetic, educational and technical trends." Articles in the first issue (October) range from an essay on "Creativeness Cannot Be Diffused" to a technical engineering treatise on "Television and Motion Picture Processes." Included in the contents of the first issue are articles by sociologists, psychologists, engineers, artists, and historians.

University of Illinois.—W. RUSSEL TYLOR, 1889-1945: W. Russel Tylor, associate professor of sociology, University of Illinois, was born in Easton, Maryland, and died, after a brief illness, in Urbana, Illinois, December 26, 1945. He received the A.B. degree from Swarthmore College and the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin, where he was assistant in sociology, 1920-23. He held positions in the University of Pittsburgh and in Knox College prior to his joining the department of sociology of the University of Illinois in 1927. In 1944-45 he served as chairman of the department.

Professor Tylor will be remembered for the wide range of his humanistic interests. His sensitive ethical outlook upon society and his Quaker background were reflected in his highly developed social conscience, for which his academic training supplied a rational and a substantive basis. During the past few years he worked staunchly for a solution to international problems. In this, as in all aspects of social relations, his outlook was enlightened and constructive.

University of Maine.—H. D. Lamson, associate professor, has compiled an extensive bibliography in sociology at the request of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China for use in restocking the war-ravaged libraries of that country. Specialists in various fields have been asked for similar lists. Professor Lamson taught sociology at the University of Shanghai for six years.

University of Maryland.—Edward W. Gregory, Jr., formerly of the University of Alabama, has been appointed professor and head of the department of sociology. Professor Gregory assumed his new position in January upon his release from active duty with the United States Navy, in which he had served as a commissioned officer in naval aviation since February, 1943.

Michigan Sociological Society.—At the annual meeting held at Michigan State College, the following papers were presented:

"Max Weber's Reflections on the United States" (in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death), Paul Honigsheim, Michigan State College; "What Do We Mean by 'Situation'?" Nelson Foote, Wayne University; "Situational Approach to Conflict and War," Lowell J. Carr, University of Michigan; "Some Needed Research in Social Psychology," Theodore M. Newcomb, University of Michigan; "The Crisis in Colonial Administration," Solon Kimball, Michigan State College; "Some Democratic Implications of Science," Frank E. Hartung, Wayne University; and "The Logic and Psychology of Science," Melvin Tumin, Wayne University.

The officers for 1946 are: president, Charles R. Hoffer, Michigan State College; vice-president, Alfred M. Lee, Wayne University; secretary, A. D. Vetesk, Jackson Junior College.

Michigan State College.—The department of sociology and anthropology has available a number of graduate assistantships which will pay recipients from \$400 to \$1,000 for nine months with exemptions from all tuition and other fees. Applications should be made to the head of the department of sociology and anthropology or to the dean of the Graduate School.

Allan Beegle, who has finished his Ph.D. thesis, entitled, "Differential Fertility in Louisiana," has been appointed as assistant professor and research assistant, replacing Associate Professor J. F. Thaden, who has been granted a year's leave of absence on account of sickness.

Orden C. Smucker of the department of social science in the basic college, who is teaching educational sociology in the department of sociology and anthropology this term, was granted the Ph.D. degree at Ohio State University in December. His thesis was entitled "A Sociographic Study of the Friendship Patterns on a College Campus."

The following manuscripts have been prepared this term by staff members for publication by the Experiment Station:

"Social Aspects to Land-Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan," Walter Firey; "Social Organization in Relation to Extension Service in Eaton County, Michigan," C. R. Hoffer; "Farmer—Suburbanite Conflict in a Township Zoning Proposal," "Farmer Co-operation in a Wartime Labor Program," and "An Example of Leadership Patterns in Promotion of a County Library," S. T. Kimball.

Using German election, occupational, and agricultural statistics and correlation analysis, Charles P. Loomis and Allan Beegle have prepared a paper for the War Department entitled "The Spread and Persistence of Naziism in Rural Areas." Professor Loomis prepared a report for the Morale Division of the Strategic Bombing Survey entitled "The Relation of Bombing to the Prevalence of Suicides in Germany's Largest Cities."

Mid West Sociological Society.—The spring convention will be held on May 3-5 (Friday to Sunday) in Des Moines, with headquarters at the Hotel Kirkwood.

University of North Dakota.—J. M. Gillette has been the head of the department of sociology since 1907 and is in his thirty-ninth year of service. He is titular head of the department of sociology and anthropology and has been research professor since the beginning of the academic year, 1943-44. His research efforts of 1944-45 were devoted to North Dakota weather and its influence on the rural economy of the state. The final paper was published in *North Dakota History*, January-June double number, 1945; a reprint appeared as *North Dakota Weather and the Rural Economy*, Bulletin No. 11, department of sociology and anthropology, the University of North Dakota. His present research is on the reasons and causes of farm enlargement in North Dakota. This will appear as Bulletin No. 12 of the department of sociology and anthropology.

An additional staff member is to be added in sociology and anthropology. T. W. Cape,

director of the Division of Social Work, has instructional work in sociology and anthropology. A. L. Lincoln, M.A. in social work, University of Oklahoma, instructs in social work courses, supervises case work, and advises in social work matters in the state at large. K. T. Wiltse, M.A. in social work, University of Chicago, is instructor in social work. Maude Barnes, juvenile commissioner in the northeast district of the state, gives a course in social work.

Ohio State University.—F. E. Lumley has retired after twenty-five years of service in the department, including a lengthy tenure as its chairman.

The staff of the department has been expanded this year by the addition of the following persons:

Kurt H. Wolff, formerly of Earlham College and a post-doctoral Social Science Research Council Fellow, was appointed assistant professor. His special interest is the sociology of knowledge, in which he is conducting a three-term graduate seminar.

Paul Hatt, formerly of Miami University, has also been appointed assistant professor and is working in the fields of race relations and ecology and offering graduate seminars in the latter field.

Bernard Desenberg, who was recently released from the Army, has been appointed instructor. He is teaching courses on the family.

Alver I. Jacobson, former instructor at Miami University, and Harold Frum, formerly of Indiana University, have both been discharged from the armed services and are appointed to instructorships.

Cecil C. North and John F. Cuber are on leaves of absence during the winter quarter, the former working on his book on social classes and the latter on his book, "Principles of Sociology."

Florence Greenhoe Robbins, with the assistance of two instructors, Mr. Seeman and Mr. Aldrich, is teaching the courses in educational sociology formerly offered by Lloyd A. Cook, who has accepted a position at Wayne University.

John Bennett returns in the spring quarter with the rank of assistant professor. He recently completed his work for the doctorate in anthropology at the University of Chicago.

Robert Harper expects soon to be released by the Army to rejoin the department as an instructor during the spring quarter.

Susan McAllister, for two years a graduate teaching assistant, has resigned to accept a position at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, as instructor in sociology.

Irene Osborne, formerly teaching assistant, has gone to Stephens College, and Carleton Currie is now at West Virginia Wesleyan.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.—William H. Sewell (on leave with the U.S.N.R. and recently returned to the United States from Japan, where he assisted in a study of the influence of bombing upon morale), has resigned his position as professor of rural sociology at the University of Wisconsin upon his separation from the Navy. His work here culminated in the development of his scale for the measurement of the socioeconomic status of farm families in Oklahoma.

Paul B. Foreman, University of Mississippi, recently a captain in the Adjutant-General's Department, United States Army, has accepted the position of professor of sociology. Dr. Foreman will direct the introductory course in general sociology and conduct advanced courses and research on conflict and minority groups.

James F. Page, professor of sociology, will spend the spring semester on leave teaching courses in criminology and race problems at the University of Arizona.

The Social Science Research Council is publishing the research memorandum, *Social Research on Health*, prepared under the auspices of the Southern Regional Committee, of which Raymond D. Thomas is chairman, in February of this year. This memorandum was written by O. D. Duncan, with the assistance of a group of social scientists mainly from southern colleges.

Université de Paris, Faculté de Droit.—René Maunier writes that he left France on a mission to Saigon, Indo-China, and was there in July, 1940, when the German Occupation of France was beginning but is now back in Paris. The third volume of his *Sociologie coloniale* was published in 1942. His article in this *Journal*, "The Definition of the City," appeared in Volume XV (1910). As president of the International Institute of Sociology, Professor Maunier expresses the hope that the cordial relations existing between the Institute and the sociologists of the United States before the war will now be resumed.

In a letter to Professor Ogburn of the University of Chicago, Professor Maunier reports the following:

Professor Marc Bloch was shot by the Germans in 1944.

Professor Guillaume Oualid succumbed to illness in southern France, in 1942, at the age of 62.

Professor Marcel Mauss has retired at the age of seventy-six. He is reported to be in Paris and in good health. His library was confiscated during the Occupation.

Pi Lambda Theta.—This organization, a national association for women in education, is again this year announcing the granting of two awards of \$400 each for significant research studies on "Professional Problems of Women." The awards are to be granted on or before August 15, 1946. Information will be furnished upon request by the chairman of the Committee on Studies and Awards, Bess Goodykoontz, United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Population Reference Bureau.—Clarence J. Gamble, M.D., director of the College Project, is in charge of the circularizing of college graduates throughout the country to ascertain if university population is replacing itself. The class of 1921 has been selected for data on completed families and the class of 1936 for data on families in the middle of the child-producing period.

Psychodramatic Institute.—The institutes of Beacon and New York have organized facilities for the enrolment of one hundred students for the course in 1946. All students are to receive instruction and training in psychodrama, sociometry, and group psychotherapy, covering, among others, the fields of: nursery school, child guidance, public school education, juvenile delinquency, speech disorders, intercultural relations, leadership training, family and marriage problems, music therapy, therapeutic films, and rehabilitation of the returned soldiers and of their families.

University of Puerto Rico.—Chancellor Jaime Benitez announces the appointment of Clarence Senior, formerly chief foreign economic specialist, Bureau of Areas, Foreign Economic Administration, as visiting professor of social science and acting director of the Social Science Research Center. Mr. Senior will make a study of the land redistribution program in addition to teaching.

Sociological Research Association.—The association met during the Sociological Society meeting in Cleveland in March. Results of the recent election by mail are: executive committee members, Samuel Stouffer, Leonard Cottrell; secretary-treasurer, Leonard Cottrell.

Sociology Club of Pittsburgh.—The club, now in its fourth year, has elected the following officers: Joseph Homer, Juvenile Court, president; Joseph H. Bunzel, Housing Association, vice-president (program); Gladys Walker White, secretary-treasurer. These, together with the past presidents, form the executive board: Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh (membership); Maurice Moss, Urban League (public relations); and Edward Montgomery, Pennsylvania College for Women.

The club plans a series of meetings on the topic, "Social Policy and Social Organization." The first speakers will be Charles S. Johnson and Herbert Blumer. Guests are always welcome, and sociologists coming

from Pittsburgh might like to contact any of the persons mentioned or the secretary; 19 Scenery Road, Wilksburg, Pennsylvania.

Temple University.—J. Stewart Burgess, chairman of the department of sociology, will continue throughout the academic year in Washington with U.N.R.R.A. Until September 1 he was consultant of the Welfare Division. Since that date he has been the principal training officer at the U.N.R.R.A. Training Center situated at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. The training is for doctors, nurses, teachers, technicians and engineers who are going to China, and includes area orientation, language study, discussions of the personal adjustment of the Westerner living in the Orient, and the study of the principles, methods, and program of U.N.R.R.A.

During the absence of Professor Burgess, Harry Elmer Barnes will offer courses in social institutions and social reconstruction.

Negley K. Teeters will serve as acting chairman of the department for the second semester.

Edward V. Pope has been appointed instructor in the department.

A course in introductory sociology will be taught by George Haganir, Jr., who is at present handling the Bureau of Admissions at Temple.

State College of Washington.—H. Ashley Weeks, who has been with the Division of Information and Education of the War Department for the last three years, has returned to the department as associate professor of sociology.

Joel V. Berreman of Stanford, and more recently of the Office of War Information, has accepted a position as associate professor of anthropology and sociology.

Wayne University.—Lloyd Allen Cook has resigned from Ohio State University to

accept a professorship of educational sociology in the College of Education. This is a newly created division in the College, the purpose of which is a continuing study of urban culture as it affects child life, youth groupings, area structure, and school functions.

Yale University.—Howard W. Odum, Kenan professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed visiting lecturer for 1946-47.

A special fund for studies connected with merchant seamen has been established in the department. The fund of \$15,000, to be expended in five years, will provide for scholarships and grants-in-aid to graduate students who may be interested in this field. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor Leo W. Simmons, 1235 Yale Station, New Haven.

Stuart A. Queen of Washington University will be a visiting professor during the summer term.

Maurice R. Davie, who has been on leave of absence since 1944, has completed his work as director of a study on the refugee problem, under the auspices of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe. He resumes the chairmanship of the department in March.

George P. Murdock and Clellan S. Ford have returned from service in the Navy and will give courses in anthropology during the spring term.

Ralph Linton has been added to the anthropology faculty and will begin his work in the autumn.

Stephen W. Reed, recently discharged from the Navy, has been promoted to an assistant professorship and will give a course in population problems.

Rose Kohn has received a Sterling fellowship for research in Puerto Rico on the effects of the land redistribution program.

BOOK REVIEWS

Navaho Witchcraft. By CLYDE KLUCKHOHN.
Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American
Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard Uni-
versity, 1944. Pp. vii+142. \$2.25.

Dr. Kluckhohn's monograph on *Navaho Witchcraft* is not only an important contribution to the ethnology of the Navaho but also to the as yet not fully studied subject of witchcraft and related beliefs and practices. It is even more important as an addition to the analysis of "structural dynamics" in a social system, as the author puts it. This phase of the work is presumably of greatest interest to the sociologist; it is in that field that the reviewer has by far the greatest interest and competence.

Kluckhohn should be commended for his method of presentation. This is a subject in which the difficulties of field observation are extreme. Even an observer like the author, who has been familiar with the Navaho over a period of a good many years and who has utilized all his contacts to the full was able to collect only fragmentary data. Since the data are unsuited to statistical or other so-called "objective" methods of treatment, the analysis is apt to be considered vulnerable by any critic unsympathetically disposed to the interpretive position. This difficulty Kluckhohn has helped very greatly to overcome by his meticulous distinction between fact and interpretation, by his careful survey and classification of the facts before his interpretive analysis, and by the publication of a large body of translations of the actual documentary material on which his analysis rests. The results, in the opinion of the reviewer, brilliantly vindicate the attempt to secure data so difficult to obtain and the willingness to embark on an extensive theoretical analysis in spite of the shortcomings of the data.

Some students of witchcraft even in a single society would have virtually confined their attention to the phenomenon itself. Yet the most fruitful of Kluckhohn's results come from the way in which he is able to relate the data of witchcraft to other aspects of Navaho life, notably the system of social relationships in which they live. He could not have done so had he not undertaken this study as part of a much larger program of study of the Navaho. This

monograph, therefore, constitutes one of the landmarks in the process of transcending the old dilemma between "comparative" (or "historical") and "functional" methods. The old comparative method, by isolating "traits" from their context, both in the particular social structure and on the level of the motivation of action, made it impossible to relate to any satisfactory dynamic explanatory scheme the uniformities which comparative study revealed. Among the results have been: a kind of "formalism" of preoccupation with classificatory problems, and the resort to *ad hoc* hypotheses on the psychological level which in the nature of the setting in which the problems were stated, could not be verified and which were doomed to sterility in that they had no systematic framework in which dynamic generalization could develop. Since such *ad hoc* hypotheses led nowhere, resort has often been had to another level of theorizing, the construction of evolutionary schemas. These, also, have been *ad hoc* constructions, and their inherent vulnerability has been largely responsible for the skeptical reaction which has gone under the name of "diffusionism." Kluckhohn's monograph is a conspicuous example of a new and promising type in the study of social phenomena.

On the most general level the study contains a central analytical argument. It is that the prevalent belief in witchcraft among the Navaho and the emotional qualities associated with these beliefs, as well as certain overt actions such as the recorded killing of witches, can be understood as patterned modes of reaction to certain of the strains and tensions imposed upon individuals by the conditions of their life. It is the application of generalized psychological knowledge of the mechanisms of human behavior under certain conditions which supplies the essential connecting link between the social and other situational conditions which impinge on individuals, on the one hand, and the patterned behavioral manifestations of the "witchcraft complex" on the other. In these terms witchcraft is primarily a way of handling and expressing the anxiety and aggression which arise from the frustrating social situation.

The term "handling" suggests a further fundamental thesis of the study, namely, that

witchcraft, in the Navaho setting, has positive functional significance for maintaining the stability of the society. It is true that it has potentially and actually disruptive aspects. The accusation of witchcraft is a rather obvious way for a jealous or malevolent person to injure an innocent party, and thereby not only to disturb and hamper him but, more important, to upset the whole delicate equilibrium of values and sentiments associated with his status.

But that this actually disruptive aspect is only part of the picture, and the less important part, is demonstrated by Kluckhohn's functional analysis. Anxiety and aggression are the human motivations most dangerous to the stability of social relationships. Too high a level of anxiety makes it impossible for an individual to trust others to the degree which is essential for effective social co-operation, while too much aggression leads people to destroy or gravely subvert the bases of social relations. A "perfectly integrated" social system would, from birth, treat its component individuals in such a way that even potentially dangerous levels of anxiety and aggression would never be reached. However, no known society approaches this perfect integration. Probably there are inherent reasons why no society can, but that is not the issue. Kluckhohn produces convincing evidence that the specific conditions of Navaho society do produce in a sufficiently large proportion of individuals a level of anxiety and aggression that, without the existence of specific control mechanisms, would have seriously disruptive consequences.

For such control mechanisms there are two primary requirements. They must first be "psychologically adequate." This means that they must permit sufficient outlet to the affect in question to prevent the accumulation of tension, to the point where it would explode, which would do really serious damage to the delicate texture of social relationships. But, second, they must be "socially functional" in the sense that the outlet they permit will minimize the dysfunctional effects on the social system which are inherently potential in the nature of the affect. The evidence, to which Kluckhohn greatly contributes, seems to be that the tensions are mainly generated in the close, "emotionally ingrown" relationships to significant persons in daily life, particularly the closer kin. Direct expression in the form of distrust and hostility toward these persons would have the most disruptive consequences, since it would undermine the

co-operative groupings on which the existence both of individuals and of the social system itself, under the given conditions, depends. Hence the mechanisms are indirect. The anxiety and aggression are directed on symbolic objects, which can be feared and hated without too serious consequences. On the psychological side modern psychopathology has given us an understanding of how such mechanisms operate, which is in a broad sense adequate to the problem.

Kluckhohn, however, adds another very important dimension to the understanding of the problem. Because of the functional significance of their roles, it is primarily adults whose direct expression of these affects would be dangerous. It would have been possible simply to take the evidence that they exist in adults and analyze only the problem of their "handling." But Kluckhohn makes an important contribution to the understanding of why the anxiety and aggression levels are so high by analyzing the socialization process in the context of Navaho society, especially the treatment of the child in the kinship system. This, properly analyzed, constitutes a path to understanding not only the absolute levels of tension, but also the directions of its release, which may prove "psychologically adequate" to persons who have the Navaho character.

It is most important to realize that this is not a simple-minded version of the "frustration-aggression hypothesis" in the (seriously distorted) sense in which it has often been criticized. That there is a broad connection between frustration, anxiety, and aggression has become a commonplace. Kluckhohn's contribution does not consist in a reiteration or even an "application" of this. It is the specific use of these psychological concepts as specific analytical tools to solve a specific complex of empirical problems which is the important aspect of the study. They serve as the links which establish a connection, which could not otherwise be understood, between three bodies of empirical data: the treatment of children, the structure of adult social relationships, and the patterned phenomena of belief and practice which the author calls "witchcraft."

The effect of this use of "psychology" is to transform ethnography into the dynamic analysis of a social system. Partial as it is (the author is extremely careful not to claim it is "the key" to the understanding of Navaho society), it is a major step to a higher scientific

level than the description and classificatory ordering of the data of observation. It is, in methodological significance, most closely analogous to important advances in physiology, such as the understanding of the dynamic relations between the concentration of sugar in the blood, the production of insulin in the pancreas, the symptoms of diabetes, and insulin shock.

This analysis is one of the best available empirical demonstrations of the essential role of psychology in the social sciences; for, given the frame of reference in which the latter operate, without these psychological links dynamic analysis in the sense of this monograph is not possible: It is only through the understanding of "adequate motivation" that the dynamic connections between situation and behavior in the different areas of human social life can be established.

It is here that another most important aspect of Kluckhohn's procedure comes out. His problem is that of the connection between behavior patterned on the social level, which is part of the "culture" of the Navaho, and aspects of the social situations in which individuals are placed, as children and as adults. Tackling the problem thus is a self-conscious resort to a level of abstraction which is particularly difficult for the psychologically trained scholar to achieve. For most of our knowledge of precisely those psychological areas most significant here has come from the very detailed study of particular individuals, notably in the clinical situation. But it becomes quite obvious that the diversity of personalities in any social group in any society is so great that it is not possible to generalize directly from them to the socially and culturally patterned. Eventually the bridge will probably be built, but it is still incomplete. If it is to be built, it must have work done on it from both ends. Hence it is a great contribution of Kluckhohn's to have self-consciously started from the social end, stating his functional problems in those terms, and then to have used psychological concepts to deal with them. Admittedly, he has not "adequately" explained the motivation of any particular Navaho who may have accused somebody of witchcraft on a particular occasion. But, in company with certain other studies, he has shown the feasibility and fruitfulness of "psychological" analysis on his chosen level of abstraction.

These considerations indicate the direction in which further generalization is to be ex-

pected. This study is a monograph, one of the most important merits of which is its strict limitation of aims. It is concerned with the explanation of a limited range of phenomena of Navaho life and uses theory only to this end. But every really good monograph is also a contribution to theory, and this is no exception. It is in the first place a verification of theory in that it shows that the use of a rather elaborate conceptual scheme, which was for the most part not developed *ad hoc* from the study of Navaho materials, could "work" when applied to them. But, more than that, it is a contribution to the further development of theory. Concepts have been sharpened; their formulations have been altered in the light of experimentation with application to this material; difficulties have appeared which have not been properly evaluated before; new problems emerge which are starting points for further investigation.

Kluckhohn's monograph is thus an example of the type of empirical study from which we must hope for the sound theoretical progress of basic social science. He both applies and refines a conceptual scheme of the analysis of motivation patterns which is of generalized significance and application. In so doing, he both verifies it and contributes to its modification, introducing alterations the generalized validity of which can be tested in application to other empirical materials—either other aspects of Navaho life or the life of other societies. Only by such comparative application and testing can the generality and thus the scientific significance of a conceptual scheme be established.

But, at the same time, generality on the level of "dynamics" of motivation implies a corresponding generality of the categories in terms of which the structure of social relationships is described and analyzed. "Theory" on this level is much less explicit in Kluckhohn's study, but the categories he actually uses in kinship structure (e.g., the significance of the solidarity of the local kinship group of mother, daughters, and their husbands: "one *must* work with one's brother-in-law no matter how irritating he may be" [p. 53]) do, in fact, fit into a generalized system of structural analysis of institutionalized patterns, which has the same validity beyond the Navaho case that the psychological categories have.

Thus, primarily centering in the combination of these two levels of generalized theoretical categorization, there is emerging the outline of a genuine system of the theory of social systems.

It is essentially the emergence of this system which makes the new level of "comparative method" possible and opens the door not only to the understanding of the "structural dynamics" of a particular social system, to which most of this monograph is devoted, but, even beyond that, to the understanding of dynamic change in the system itself—a field which is here barely touched upon.

It is primarily because it uses and incorporates the best that is available and relevant in the field of generalized theoretical categorization that Kluckhohn's study is itself a contribution to the theory of social systems. Since little of the systematic theory in question is yet in general currency in the profession, it is all the more to the credit of an empirical investigator to have used it so effectively. The appearance of such studies is a definite sign that social science is coming of age.

It is always a mark of a fruitful monograph that it raises as many problems as it solves. These may be in the comparative direction. It cannot but strike the reader who is a student of our own society that there is a close analogy between Navaho witchcraft and our own "scapegoating." But there is also a notable difference. Among the Navaho it is always an individual to whom witchcraft is ascribed. In our society, on the other hand, very often it is a social group, the Negro, the Jew, the "Red." What is the basis of the difference? Kluckhohn does not attempt to provide an answer. But it is precisely in the analysis of such comparative problems that the most fruitful advance in scientific generalization is to be expected. Without the carefully laid groundwork of Kluckhohn's study of the Navaho, and a comparable analysis of the functionally equivalent phenomena in our own society, the comparative study could not be made.

TALCOTT PARSONS

Harvard University

Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City. By ST. CLAIR DRAKE and HORACE R. CAYTON. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945. Pp. xxxiv+809. \$5.00.

Both as a community study and as a contribution to the study of the Negro problem this is an excellent book. It is a survey of Negro life in Chicago's Black Belt, starting out with a

history of the Negro population in the city and covering the full range of subjects: job-getting, segregation, intermarriage, "passing," unionization, politics, community organization, the press, the church, the family, voluntary organizations, business, programs to advance the race, and patterns of living. It is a complete and intensive survey of a northern urban Negro community. It is particularly strong in its analysis of churches, voluntary associations, and intermarriage. It goes deeply into the spirit of the community and gives a picture of the daily life of the people that is paralleled by few other community studies.

The data come from a wide variety of sources, but there is special reliance on a series of monographs prepared by twenty research students who worked on a W.P.A. project under the direction of Cayton and W. Lloyd Warner. These monographs, some of them used as Ph.D. theses, were exhaustive studies of their particular problems and made use of both statistical and case-study techniques. *Black Metropolis* is no mere summary of the monographs, however. It is a thoroughly integrated, well-thought-out, and well-written book.

Richard Wright, whose seventeen-page Introduction to the book is the best review that could be written, defines this as a study of Negro urbanization. W. Lloyd Warner, in his methodological note at the end of the book, says that the leading problem of the research behind the book takes the form of the following question: "To what degree is the Negro subordinated and excluded in relation to white people in the society, what are the mechanisms by which the system is maintained, and how do the lives of Negroes reflect this subordination and exclusion?" (p. 776). These are basic interests in the book, but no single thesis unravels itself throughout the chapters. Each chapter, or series of chapters, covers its own subject and need not have been part of the larger book. Also there is no single approach used in every chapter. While the importance of employment, business, and getting into unions is given due recognition, the book could not be said to have an economic point of view. While class distinctions are found to mark a basic differential in the daily behavior of the people, the book does not approach the subject in terms of class. This is a community study, not an analysis of a problem or an exposition of a thesis.

Yet the authors do not hesitate to draw generalizations. The most noteworthy and perhaps

most controversial of these deserves to be quoted: "When major shifts in the Negro's status have occurred, it has usually not been as the result of education and counterpropaganda, or of engineered contacts operating in a vacuum; they have come in response to the demands of economic necessity and political expediency" (p. 284).

It seems futile to the reviewer to report on the facts described in the book; the main ones should be known to every sociologist. The authors do an excellent job of bringing up minor facts to buttress the main ones: for example, they point out how the Negro community felt the great depression two years before 1929, in support of the leading point that the depression fell heavily on the Negroes.

The reviewer finds the following relatively minor faults with the book: (1) Practically no attention is paid to the major organizations in the community (like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and the March-on-Washington Movement), whereas a great deal of attention is paid to minor clubs. (2) Practically nothing is said about the smaller Negro communities in Chicago outside the Black Belt (except for brief mention of the West Side). (3) There is no consistency in mentioning the names of public figures. For example, Congressman Dawson is frequently mentioned by name, but the most roundabout descriptive devices are deemed necessary to refer to Alderman Dickerson. This annoying habit is also employed in the overuse of the phrase "Midwest Metropolis" to refer to Chicago. There is no need for anonymity in either case. (4) Figures are sometimes given without the slightest indication of their source. For example, on page 416 it is estimated that at least 65,000 of the Black Belt's 300,000 persons attend church on an average Sunday morning, and there is no explanation whatsoever of how this figure was estimated.

Since this review is for sociologists, certain considerations will be discussed which have no place in a well-balanced review for the general public. The points are methodological ones which happen to be raised not only by this book but also by many others. Nothing said is either in praise or in criticism of this particular book. Sociologists have for many years regarded quotations of statements made by subjects as especially valuable source material. The story "in their own words" allows the reader to get a clearer understanding of what is going on in the

mind of the subject and to judge for himself as to the sociological implications of what the subject says. The reader's impression that the book is true to life is partly due to direct quotations. On the other hand, the sociologist is frequently inclined to fill up his book with quotations and leave all but the most general analysis to his readers. Sometimes five quotations will be given to illustrate the same thing and the last four add nothing to the reader's comprehension or insight. The gold in the "own-words" quotations quickly pans out, and the book becomes loaded with dross. How many readers read all the quotations? Why should they be expected to? The author should make sure he can give a good answer to that last question and quote only when he feels that the quotation is making a definite contribution. *Black Metropolis* is no more guilty of the overuse of quotations than the great majority of sociological studies.

An extension of the own-words quotation technique has recently developed in the form of what may be called a "fictionalized account." This technique has been employed in a number of sociological studies, but its implications have not, to the reviewer's knowledge, been openly discussed. On pages 564-70 of *Black Metropolis* is a story of how a doctor is awakened in the middle of the night to attend a man who has been knifed by his common-law wife, and of the events leading up to the knifing. It is written exactly as a short story, quoting what the man said to his wife in bed, and what another man thought to himself (including all the slang and Negro dialect). It is very interesting and is an excellent way of getting a realistic picture of a Negro couple over to a white audience. The authors admit it is fictionalized but claim it is based on solid cases and is realistic according to their own broad experience. The reviewer does not condemn the use which Drake and Cayton have made of the fictionalized account, but he wishes to point out how dangerous the device can be. One novel can be the best form of sociological document, but another well-written novel can also be most misleading. The validity of sociological data has always depended, in part, on the personal honesty of the sociologist; that is much more true since the advent of the fictionalized account. The method must be employed with the greatest care.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

Chicago, Illinois

The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa. By BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI. Edited by PHYLLIS M. KABERRY. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+171. \$2.50.

From typescripts of unpublished material, lecture notes, abstracts, charts, and penciled memoranda left by Malinowski, Dr. Kaberry selected what was new and what was essential in his reflections and observations on culture change. By skilfully interweaving, where necessary, passages from articles already published, she has produced in Part I a coherent and systematic statement of Malinowski's theory on this subject. Part II consists of a series of topical discussions on "African Warfare," "Reflections on Witchcraft," "Problems of Native Diet in Their Economic Setting," "African Land Problems," "Indirect Rule and Its Scientific Planning," and "The Promise of Culture Change and Its Fulfillment."

For the intelligent pains taken by the editor no praise would be too high. Her discrimination, restraint, good taste, and unobtrusiveness are equaled only by the extraordinary patience and skill with which she has fitted together the scattered fragments of this jigsaw puzzle. She has also added much of value by her bibliographic and other notes. It is only to be regretted that she limited the Bibliography to the references made in Malinowski's manuscripts. Had she included the books and articles listed in her own notes and filled in a few glaring gaps (such as the omission of Redfield's *Folk Cultures of Yucatan*, Keesing's *Menominee monograph*, and H. G. Barnett's recent papers), the Bibliography would have been the most up to date on key publications in this field.

This volume is undoubtedly a helpful contribution to the literature on culture change, and especially of culture change in Africa (for almost all the substantive materials come from this continent). Malinowski, as always, makes some good points: "... in colonial policies we have perhaps the nearest approach to an experiment, at times almost a controlled experiment, to be found in social science" (p. 7). His well-known insistence that the features of an acculturated culture must be regarded as new products rather than as mixtures (pp. 20-26) is sound. His criticisms of the theories of his own pupils and of others who have dealt with these problems in Africa are exceedingly interesting (esp. chaps. ii and iii). Some fresh concepts such as that of "the common factor or measure"

(pp. 66-67) are useful. His style is less flamboyant than in some of his earlier writings, but there are some memorable phrases like "the discriminative give and the invidious take" (p. 64).

And yet the book must distinctly be regarded as "a contribution" only, and in no sense as even the sketch of a fully adequate treatise on the subject. Too much is lacking conceptually; there are too many conceptual flaws.

In spite of occasional lip-service to the importance of the individual, there is not even the adumbration of a satisfying theory of the idiosyncratic roles which individuals play in culture change. The following questions which, among others, are surely of cardinal importance to our understanding of the "dynamics" of this problem, are not faced: Do some individuals have a more pronounced disposition (either as inventors or as acceptors) for culture change than others? What is the part played by cultural maladjustment of the individual or by other forms of personal conflict? What systematic techniques (life-histories, other personal documents, projective tests) need to be introduced to deal with the individual variable? What problems for the equilibrium or satisfaction of individuals are posed through the creation of new needs through the process of "transculturation?" What is the significance of the varying memories of individuals?

The reviewer also feels the lack of concepts on the order of Linton's "form, meaning, use, and function." But the greatest lack is the failure to realize that there is more to a culture than its explicit portion. "Explicit culture" designates all those features of group designs for living which might be described to an outsider by participants in the culture. Actually, the field worker gets his basic data as much or more from observation, from qualified participation, or from listening to informal conversations as he does from asking questions about the ways of life. However, the basic differentiae of explicit culture are (1) maximal conscious awareness (implying some capacity to verbalize on the part of the participants) and (2) limitation of the anthropologist's role in constructing his conceptual model of the culture to first-order abstractions. To avoid confusion, it should be noted that the basic data from which anthropologists abstract explicit culture encompass manifestations of "feeling" and "thought" and are in no sense restricted to objects and

acts in the narrow behavioristic sense. In other words, "explicit" is not synonymous with "objective" as being in contrast to "subjective."

It is to this "explicit culture" that Malinowski for all practical purposes restricts himself. Unfortunately, the selectivity of giving and taking in culture change remains uncomprehended unless one deals with "implicit culture." This term designates that sector of the culture of which the members of the group are unaware or minimally aware. Unquestionably, the anthropologist, when describing implicit culture, cannot hope to approach as nearly the function of a relatively precise, relatively passive instrument as he does when describing explicit culture. Whereas the trustworthiness of an anthropologist's portrayal of explicit culture depends upon his receptivity, his completeness, and his detachment as a recorder and upon the skill or care with which he makes his inductive generalizations, the trustworthiness of his conceptual model of the implicit culture stands or falls upon the balance achieved between sensitivity of creative imagination and freedom from preconception. In this sense, implicit culture is more "subjective" than explicit. It must also be added that "explicit culture" and "implicit culture" are polar concepts. That is, it is not possible to say in every case, without hesitation or qualification, that a given cultural phenomenon belongs to explicit or implicit culture. Some data fall unequivocally into one or the other of these two categories, but others tend only toward one pole or the other. Nevertheless, a discrimination of this type is indispensable if we are to explain observed differences in the cultures of people who live (and have long lived) in the same geographical environment, who have for many centuries been exposed to the same historical influences of contact and diffusion, and who yet have cultures markedly different in structure and even to some extent in content. If the external environment is the same, it cannot have determined the differential selection and arrangement of traits. If historical experience has been shared, the existent cultural inventory and structure cannot have been determined solely by the impact of the same European culture.

As for flaws in the reasoning, a number may be pointed out by way of illustration. Malinowski (p. 5 and elsewhere) claims that "there is a strong but erroneous opinion in some circles that practical anthropology is fundamentally

different from theoretical or academic anthropology. The truth is that science begins with applications." The interdependence of pure and applied science is sure, but the question of primacy is as fruitless as all questions of "the chicken or the egg" form. Kroeber's views are much wiser:

It is historically clear that a healthily successful development of technical and useful arts has been the soil from which alone any major growth of pure science has yet sprung. . . . But it would be a historic illusion to believe that engineering as such would ever have produced our physics, or medicine alone, our physiology. . . . The applied sciences use the pure sciences . . . for practical ends, and hence are in one aspect thoroughly distinct from the pure sciences, whose objective of mere understanding is *per se* free from practical considerations. That many scientists are quick to see the practical applications of their discoveries, and many physicians and engineers are eagerly combing the results of science for findings they can use, proves only the intimate and fruitful interrelations of two activities whose goals—and therefore basic methods—are distinct.

Malinowski's harangues on history (chap. iii. and *passim*), though saner and less patently foolish than some he has produced in the past, still rest on at least two logical confusions. First, he does not see that history consists in patterns as well as in events, and that ethnologists are usually able with some accuracy to reconstruct the patterns of a tribe's past even when they can only guess at event-history. Second, he fails to distinguish between a historical approach and the field or material of "history" in the usual academic sense.

Some questions he raises are either designedly rhetorical or indicate that he has not used his analytical tools as sharply upon European cultures as upon native African cultures. For example, he asks: "Considering that overstocking is one of the main evils, why introduce forcible dipping against the Natives' wishes, and thus double the quantity of heads of cattle?" (p. 35). This query is doubly naïve. White owners obviously wish to be protected against the spread of insect pests. But the significant point theoretically is that Europeans are as much at the mercy of the compulsives of their culture as are natives.

The definition of an "institution" as "a group of people" (p. 50) not only outrages ordinary sociological usage but mixes levels of abstraction. "A group of people" suggests concrete individuals, though it is evident later

(pp. 53-54, 70) that by "institution" Malinowski means, as do most social scientists, a logical construct. At least when he says: "A comprehensive institution endures because it is organically connected and satisfies an essential need of society" (p. 53); and: "Just because fundamental institutions in each culture correspond to fundamental needs; just because the most important institutions are universal, it is obvious that culture change is possible" (p. 54) it seems clear that Malinowski is thinking of patterned ways of behaving carried out by a group of people—not of concrete persons as such. But the second quotation above appears to be couched in social terms and to leave out the cultural dimension entirely. That is, granted that certain needs are universal and that every society must have some way of meeting these, the empirical evidence of cultural variability in the *forms* of solutions demonstrates that the structure (i.e., the cultural dimension) of "institutions" is by no means identical over the face of the earth.

As to the threefold synoptic charts which appear to rouse enthusiasm in Kaberry, the reviewer cannot express even mild excitement. Perhaps as tools in a preliminary analysis of one's data they have a certain value as a check upon whether one has asked of each datum if it applies to one of the two cultures in contact or to a product culture. But as printed in this book many entries struck the reviewer as schematically forced or as needlessly labored statements of the commonplace. Certainly he obtained no sudden illuminations. At points it seemed that Malinowski did not follow his own "functionalism" far enough. For example, he makes no effort to relate the increase of witchcraft to the enforced disappearance of warfare (cf. chaps. viii and ix).

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN

Harvard University

Sampling Statistics and Applications: Fundamentals of the Theory of Statistics. By JAMES G. SMITH and ACHESON J. DUNCAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945. Pp. v+498. \$4.00.

This book is designed as a textbook in the theory and application of statistics and as a handbook for research workers. It contains a good presentation of the distribution of various

statistics in samples and of the methods of drawing inferences from samples, but does not, as its title might imply to some, contain an adequate presentation of the theory and practice of sampling from finite economic and social populations.

Presented first is a very brief review of the definitions of elementary statistical functions. This is followed by a discussion of the general theory of frequency curves, which covers the binomial distribution, the normal distribution, and the Pearsonian and the Gram-Charlier systems of frequency curves. At this point, the authors go into the distribution of sample statistics, including the discussion of sampling from continuous and discrete populations of one and several variables, the sampling distribution of many important statistics, the joint distributions of statistics, problems involving two samples, and problems of the analysis of variance. The discussions of theory are accompanied throughout by many numerical illustrations. The most important of the sampling distributions are derived; the physical and geometrical interpretations that accompany these mathematical derivations should be most helpful for students not too facile in the use of the mathematics involved.

Some of the discussions of sampling distributions of statistics are presented with especial clarity, as, for example, the presentation of the limiting distribution of the binomial in chapters iii and iv and of the joint sampling fluctuations of the mean and standard deviation in chapter xiv. On the other hand, there are several specific points where further clarity of presentation is needed, as, for example, in some of the discussion in chapter viii on the testing of hypotheses.

In spite of the general excellence of the book, the authors' treatment of the fundamental notions of sampling as applied to finite populations is confusing, if not faulty. Actually, only a very small part of the book is devoted to this subject, with apparently no attempt on the part of the authors to deal adequately with it. However, from the title and some of the material presented, readers might be entitled to assume that this aspect of modern sampling theory and practice is covered. In particular, this is true of parts of chapter viii, entitled "A Preview of Sampling Theory," when considered in conjunction with the material presented in the other chapters. There is no reference, however, to the principles that must be considered in such aspects of sample survey design as the definition of sampling

units, subsampling, optimum allocation of sampling to strata, double sampling, estimation problems and criteria of good estimates where the distribution is unknown, cost functions, the use of varying probabilities in sample selection, and various other devices that have proved highly effective in maximizing reliability of returns and minimizing costs in sampling from finite economic and social populations.

There is a discussion in chapter viii of some of the methods that are used to obtain random samples, both from finite and infinite populations. While this has a number of excellent features, it is confusing at some points. For example, the statement is made that "random sampling is the only method so far devised that permits logical inferences about a given population," where the authors define random sampling to be a method such that all possible samples are drawn with equal frequency. This restriction is, as a matter of fact, much too strong; inferences about a given population can be made from a sample if it is known what the probabilities of the inclusion of any sampling unit are, even if these probabilities are not equal. Again, in a discussion of what the authors have referred to as "ordinal selection" it is stated that if a reporter of a college newspaper visits every tenth room in a dormitory, and if each dormitory is so arranged that each entry has ten rooms, it might happen that he would visit only a first floor room in each entry. The authors conclude that the preferred location of the rooms visited might give a definite bias to the sample obtained. Thus they fail to distinguish between the concepts of bias and variance; for (as is frequently the case in practice) if a random starting-point is used and every tenth room is visited thereafter, the sample will be unbiased, although it is true that there are other means of sampling in such a situation that are more efficient, i.e., that will yield a smaller sampling variance.

The discussion of natural selection and its assumed equivalence to random selection seems to dismiss lightly many of the more serious problems of drawing inferences from samples. An error which is likely to mislead many readers is contained in the following quotation: "An organization investigating public opinion, for example, may send an agent to a given locality where the first dozen people he meets, of the sort whose opinion is desired, may be taken as a random sample of the given class of people." To call such a selection "random" is certainly to

pervert the meaning of the word. The discussion of purposive selection in the chapter, on the other hand, and its relation to random selection, is well done, though brief.

The volume is relatively free of typographic errors, and those that occur should not trouble the careful reader. For the most part the book can be read by persons not familiar with mathematics beyond college algebra, although facility in algebra and in mathematical reasoning is necessary. On the whole, it can be commended as a straightforward and useful presentation of what is conventionally regarded as modern statistical theory, with numerous illustrations that add to the clarity of presentation.

MORRIS H. HANSEN

*Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C.*

The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign. By PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, B. BERELSON, and H. GAUDET. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. Pp. v+178.

By repeated interviewing of the same people during the presidential campaign of 1940 the authors attempt to throw light on such matters as the effect of social status, party nominations, press and radio, family and friends, and changes made during a campaign upon the vote. They also analyze the characteristics of the changers and the role of expectations. This is probably the most thorough study by the extensive interview method that has ever been made of a sample of voters during an American political campaign. The panel of six hundred persons was selected from a poll of every fourth house in Erie County, Ohio. Three other groups of the same size were selected as "control groups." The results have been elaborately analyzed and presented in the form of forty-one well-planned charts and ten tables.

This is a brilliantly conceived and carefully executed study which makes a notable contribution to our knowledge of political campaigns. The authors establish clearly such propositions as: (1) the less interest people have and the more cross-pressures to which they are subject, the more variable are their vote intentions; and (2) people who have not yet decided about their

vote expose themselves more to propaganda of that party for which they are predisposed by background.

The authors approached their subject from the standpoint of polling techniques rather than from the point of view of those interested in electoral problems. From their presentation it is not clear whether they interviewed only eligible voters. The authors admit that at another time they would place more stress on the local campaign and the role of face-to-face contacts, and that they would use intensive case studies.

The reference to Al Smith as the only Catholic nominated for president "in recent years" shows a lack of knowledge of our early political history. No major party had ever nominated a Catholic for president prior to 1928.

Passing references are made to content analysis as a technique. One of the authors showed the reviewer a monograph on this subject which used the materials of the survey. It is unfortunate that the volume did not contain some of these very valuable data.

The usefulness of the volume would have been enhanced by a summary of conclusions and an index.

HAROLD L. GOSNELL

Bethesda, Maryland

Systematic Politics. By CHARLES E. MERRIAM.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.
Pp. xiv+349. \$3.75.

In this book one of the leading American political scientists deals comprehensively with the fundamental principles of government, its rules, ends, tools, organs, and types. Long years of study and teaching and many practical experiences in the political field on all levels—from the Chicago ward to representation abroad—have enabled Merriam to show, against the historical background, how principles of government work out in the domestic and international field. It is a book written with great serenity and in a deeply hopeful spirit. The history of politics may be viewed as a "dismal and repulsive trail of blood and slime and dirt"—Merriam sees all that—but at the same time he notices the growth of liberty, "the gleam of the wings of human personality emerging from its chrysalis," a rising scale of human values in a regime of social justice, and finally a new worldwide commonwealth, "a temple of our common justice."

Turning from the historical background and political behavior to the future of government, Merriam unfolds a program with which no man of good will will disagree. He sees "a jural order of the world" emerging, an organization of the society of states with a common method of enforcing the world's ideas of basic justice. In the political as well as in the economic field authority must be recognized as essentially trusteeship rather than ownership. Reason and science, not traditions, must shape social relations.

There can be little doubt that, when education and medicine do their perfect work and produce stabilized personalities of a balanced type, the task of governance will be far lighter than it has been traditionally in the history of mankind. Much of the political sorrow of the world is caused by frustrated personalities, by maladjusted rebels and reactionaries, by those whose intelligence and emotions were not trained to get along with each other.... May there not come a time when the conclusions of specialists regarding social behavior will be so authentic and indisputable, and so widely sought for and followed, that formalized consent would fade into the background and eventually disappear from the scene entirely? If the wise ones know what to do, why not let them rule?

It may seem a far road to the realization of this new Platonic vision. There seems little in the world at present to encourage us in such hopes. To find Merriam standing by what seems Utopia and feeling more certain of it than of any other point in his discussion is both comforting and gratifying. In the democratic framework of the present time a hopeful type of leadership is emerging—men after the model of Lincoln, Lloyd George, Beneš, Masaryk, Roosevelt, and Churchill. Merriam sees thousands of men like them serving in thousands of governments, private and public alike. In the development of intelligent government faith in the future, incorporation of older value systems in the new system, co-operation rather than coercion, and emphasis on the creative role of political association will be guiding principles. Government is not, as Marx believed, inherently repression; it may be as concerned with the release of the individual as with his restriction; authority may protect privacy as well as the public. Authority has its creative and constructive aspects; it may be not only henchman and taskmaster but teacher and physician. Thus the art and science of politics is imbedded in a philosophy of history according to which the whole life-process is one of creative evolution in

which the human species rises from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from drift to mastery.

HANS KOHN

Smith College

The Psychological Frontiers of Society. By ABRAM KARDINER with the collaboration of RALPH LINTON, CORA DU BOIS, and JAMES WEST. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xxiv+475.

Combining the methods of psychology of depth with findings of modern anthropology, this book approaches the problems of the interdependence between personality, society, and culture. It is centered around the concept of the "basic personality type" as conditioned in different cultures. The author accepts the fundamental postulate of psychoanalysis according to which the early experiences of life in the framework of family relations exert the deepest and most lasting influence upon the structure and dynamics of personality. He departs, however, from the original silent assumption of the psychoanalytical theory that the basic family constellations are more or less identical in all cultures. Kardiner incorporates in his theoretical scheme the findings of modern anthropology, which show that the care and rearing of children, since it differs from one society to another, results in the formation of different "basic personality types."

More specifically the problem is this: How do different patterns of child care condition the development of different types of personality; and how, in turn, do these different personality types react upon the pattern of social institutions in various societies?

The most important social situations which influence the formation of personality are called "key integrational systems." Every basic personality type develops its specific irrational "projective systems" (ideologies, folklore, religion) and its specific, more or less rational, "reality systems" which, in contrast to the projective systems, are empirically derived and altered by scientific methods.

The author applies and tests his methods in interpreting the Comanche culture; the Alorese culture; the culture of Plainville, a small town in the central part of the United States; and in discussing the manifestations of the basic personality type in the history of the Western world.

An attempt to elucidate problems which are of such vital importance for psychology, sociology, and anthropology is always welcome. Unfortunately, there are certain elements in Kardiner's book which are disappointing. The presentation is vague and monotonous and somehow fails to supply a really illuminating penetration of the material discussed. The complicated interdependence between personality type and the pattern of social institutions is not adequately clarified. One might also wonder whether the analysis would not have benefited if Kardiner had not restricted his methods to psychoanalytical interpretations and anthropological findings. Why ignore the very important and penetrating contributions of modern sociologists dealing with the origin, structure, and function of ideologies in social life? Why neglect the equally important contributions of psychologists (and historians) concerning the relations between personality types, on the one hand, and culture and Weltanschauung, on the other? This reviewer cannot help feeling that the work of Kardiner, in spite of its value and importance, does not constitute so great a scientific advancement as the sociological and psychological contributions.

GUSTAV ICHHEISER

Talladega College

A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present, Vol. I: *Colonial Period*; Vol. II: *From Independence through the Civil War*; Vol. III: *Since the Civil War*. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1945. Pp. ii+348; ii+390; ii+411. \$7.50.

The reprinting of Calhoun's *A Social History of the American Family* comes at an opportune moment. As we attempt to solve problems created or aggravated by the war, it is essential that a large number of persons know something of the trends, the events, and the conditions which produced our type of family; and the reviewer knows of no work but Calhoun's which discusses them systematically and in detail.

The original publication in three volumes (1916) is reprinted in full but is conveniently bound in one volume. In the Preface Calhoun himself gives an excellent brief review of the contents of each of the volumes:

The first volume of the series covers the colonial period and sets forth the germination of the Ameri-

can family as a product of European folkways, of the economic transition to modern capitalism, and of the distinctive environment of a virgin continent. . . .

In the second volume, the period from Independence through the Civil War is covered under five main heads: the influence of pioneering and the frontier, the rise of urban industrialism, the growth of luxury and extravagance, the culmination of the regime of slavery, and the consequences of the Civil War. . . .

The third volume analyzes the factors that have consummated the revolution of the family during the past fifty years. Stress is laid on the advance of industrialism, urban concentration, the growth of the larger capitalism, the immigrant invasion, the passing of the frontier, the intensification of the struggle for the standard of living, the movements or rebellion and revolution represented by such manifestations as feminism and socialism, the development of volitional control of family evolution, and the outlook for a democratic future.

Topics of especial interest to Calhoun in all three volumes are: regional differences in family development; the changing status of women; the emancipation of children from authoritarian control; Negro family life; family morality. As the author himself remarks, allowance for the economic interpretation is made with "studied avoidance of fantastic exaggeration."

The method is essentially historical and as such is not open to the objections one might raise were there greater theoretical pretensions. Great use is made of quotations from writings of foreign travelers such as De Toqueville, from writings and statements of Americans of both sexes and in all walks of life, and from newspapers and magazines. Many of the quotations are intensely interesting in themselves, and the titles provide rich bibliographical material for students interested in the many phases of American family history.

In his own use of the material Calhoun shows great objectivity. Frequently quotations flatly contradict each other, yet no attempt is made to reconcile statements or read into them a consistency which, in fact, did not exist. On the contrary, Calhoun shows himself to be clearly aware of the confusion and inconsistency in the development of American family patterns. Neither in his method nor in his analyses does he seek logically satisfying "evolutionary developments" or simple cause-and-effect relationships. Although his method is not strictly "scientific," his work is, in the opinion of the reviewer, far more "scientific" than many a

later volume on the American family written in the name of "science."

It is impossible, in a short review, to analyze all the subjects treated by Calhoun. Two only are selected for special comment: the American family type and the role of women in the American family.

Much paper and ink have been used in recent years to show that the American family of today is a degenerate and disorganized relict of a once firm and solid patriarchal family. Calhoun himself uses the term "patriarchal" at times, but all that he has written demonstrates that the American family was never truly patriarchal. Individualistic and economically ambitious Americans once had need of a strongly unified family because there were no other units to satisfy essential needs. It was, in fact, the expected thing for the widows and widowers of Colonial America to remarry within a few months. Individuals could not easily survive outside the family. But if this fact establishes the importance of family solidarity, it also shows that the American family, except for certain periods and in certain localities, never emphasized the "generational axis."

Pride in family has often been strong (in part because the family system was itself weak); family ties have often constituted an important factor in politics and business. The family unit also accepted responsibility for "poor and incapacitated members" so long as it remained the "microcosm of the States," but all efforts to establish familism as it has been known in Europe or other parts of the world failed.

The conditions responsible for this failure—if one wishes to condemn it as such—were many. Among them were "a sparse population in a limitless land," heterodoxy of religion, heterogeneity of population, and a growing industrialism and constant mobility. Of still greater significance were the ideological tenets which taught individuals to be self-reliant "isolates" and presented them with material success as life's most urgent goal. America's early individualism was "family individualism," but trends once begun are not easily stayed; and, when external conditions fostered the process of individuation within the family, family solidarity was no longer either a fact or a necessity. We might almost ask if family solidarity in the United States was ever anything more than a temporary expedient—a transitional phenomenon which served a newly rising culture in its period of exploration and rapid development.

From the facts presented by Calhoun it seems necessary to conclude that the isolated and somewhat loosely organized family unit composed of husband, wife, and children—children who are expected to establish new isolated units upon their maturity—was inevitable from the beginning of American history.

Calhoun himself did not view with alarm the decrease in emphasis upon family ties. On the contrary, he stressed the necessity of the change. In Volume III, in which he deals with circumstances leading to the change, he gives answer to those of his time who were deploring it:

Those persons that experience alarm at the thought of intrinsic changes in family institutions should remember that in the light of social evolution, nothing is right or valuable in itself; nothing possesses intrinsic validity. The only standard of legitimate approbation is the standard formed by considerations of what is socially fit at the time in question.

By "socially fit at the time in question" Calhoun most certainly means institutions which are expressions of the values people live by and which are congruent with other coexisting institutions. The American family of today—whether we approve it or not—does express American values, and those who complain of its deficiencies must first seek for the disease germs in the value system. They should also inquire of themselves whether they would be willing witnesses to the disappearance of the countless other expressions of those values which could not continue to exist were we to re-create the family solidarity of the past.

There is, indeed, ground for the argument that a sentimental reluctance to abandon our former familistic attitudes is one cause for the confusion in the feminine role in American culture. Others are found in the conflicts between the many different conditions and trends which have gone into its making. Calhoun is at his best in his handling of the tangled threads in which women of today are trying to find some semblance of orderly pattern. Many of those who have treated the subject of the changing status of women have dealt with it as a progressive evolution with a happy ending. Calhoun's analysis does nothing else if it does not destroy this illusion. Although he wrote too early to include the "glamour girl" aspect of the feminine role, he ignores little else which must be given consideration if we are to understand woman's place in American culture. His treatment of

Colonial laws and practices as they affected the status of women is excellent. The effects upon it of frontier life, of rapid industrial development, of the increasing emphasis upon conspicuous consumption, and of a growing interest in democratic education are as brilliantly handled. He also gives considerable space to discussion of the women's-rights movement and the development of women's clubs. The influence of nineteenth-century romanticism upon the feminine role has its share of attention. Those conditions in the South—both before and after the Civil War—which have contributed to the present patterns are described and analyzed in great detail. Even the matriarchal tendencies of the modern suburb receives mention, a fact that is surprising, since suburban life was not yet well developed when Calhoun wrote.

In discussing all these conditions and trends, Calhoun does not try to trace a history of gradually improving status. Instead he demonstrates that each trend, each development, has both retarded and facilitated the growth of equality between the sexes. Although far from pessimistic, he leaves us with clear impressions of the modern woman's dilemma, which is that women—now the possessors of full political and other rights and even educated according to masculine patterns—are still denied full scope for those creative activities which carry prestige value in the United States.

The only serious criticism which can properly be made of Calhoun's historical treatment of the feminine role is that he gives too little attention to class differences. Regional differences he makes very clear, but the distinctions between what is or has been expected of lower-class, middle-class, and upper-class women are sometimes blurred. His wishful thinking and his hope for a classless society apparently blinded him to the crystallization of differentiated class patterns of feminine roles.

FLORENCE ROCKWOOD KLUCKHOHN

Wellesley College

The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups.

By W. LLOYD WARNER and LEO SROLE.
("Yankee City Series," Vol. III.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. v+318. \$4.00.

In the first two volumes of the "Yankee City Series," Professor Warner and his aids

contributed a new slant on the social structure of American communities. They have documented clearly, for the first time, the orientation of class in the natural structure of the community. Their most illuminating concepts have dealt with informal associations in American society. This phase of social relationships has been indicated for many years in the stereotyped question: "What is the Constitution among friends?"

The documentation of this third volume includes a number of personal case histories which reveal the prerogatives of the various classes. One might wish that such data had constituted a much larger proportion of Volume III. These case histories and complementary methods of documentation constitute a high point in the study of informal social relationships which is of prime interest to sociologists and anthropologists.

Warner and his associates have made a remarkable contribution to our understanding of community structure, race relations, and class behavior. The reading of the "Yankee City Series" and other volumes which this group has published might well be a "must" for all social scientists. The volumes are nonideological in tone and refreshingly scientific in method.

C. A. DAWSON

McGill University

Adult Adjustment of Foster Children of Alcoholic and Psychotic Parentage and the Influence of the Foster Home. By ANN ROE and BARBARA BURKS. New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945. Pp. viii+164. \$2.00.

This is a study of adult adjustments of individuals who have lived, first, in the homes of their biological parents and then in foster-homes. The biological parents were alcoholic, psychotic, alcoholic-psychotic, or normal. The research was done through case readings, interviews, and interview schedules.

This study should attract a great deal of attention, not alone for the research standards but also because the findings are so different from the beliefs of students of social control. Those with alcoholic-psychotic parents were placed in less favorable foster-homes; but their adult adjustments were not distinctly inferior to those in better foster-homes who had more or less normal biological parents. This helps to put

the matter of heredity in a new perspective. None of the children of alcoholics were found to be alcoholics. There is, however, no explanation for these favorable adjustments.

The weakness of the study lies in the fact that the modern conception of heredity, from the standpoint of human nature and social adjustments, has not been presented. One no longer talks of the "nonhereditary character" in aberrant or normal behavior. Environment cannot be used without the use of heredity. Both are abstractions, apart from each other. So far as human nature is concerned, heredity is pluripotential and can play only an interacting role; this is true also of environment, but both are always effective. The newborn is always a potential normal or abnormal person. This shifts attention to the unique experience of the person in the use of both heredity and environment.

The Appendix includes an outline for the study of parents, interview schedules, and a rating scale for interviews. There is a short bibliography. The chapter on "The Sibling Study," in collaboration with Bela Mittelman, M.D., includes brief case histories of families.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Alcohol, Science and Society. By E. M. JELLINEK and OTHERS. New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945. Pp. ii+473. \$5.00.

This book—the work of twenty-four specialists—recognizes two important facts. First, the problem of alcoholism is viewed as lying between the sciences demanding the co-operative research of social and biological scientists for its understanding and explanation. Second, the alcoholic is regarded as a social-organic-mental unity who must be studied as a functioning totality and treated from that standpoint. The integrated research in this book includes twenty-nine lectures given at the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies. The value of the book would have been increased if there had been a chapter on the character of man as a social-organic-mental unity so that the importance of co-operative research could be seen.

This study includes most of the contemporary ideas concerning the alcoholic and alcoholism. The alcoholic problem is discussed first of all. Then the physiological aspects are considered in five lectures. Three lectures, one on

the "Drinking Mores of Social Classes" and two on heredity, precede the lectures on the social and personality factors. Theories of alcoholic personality and alcohol in primitive and complex societies set the stage for a consideration of the economic, sociological, political, and legal phases of the problem. There is a lecture on the penal handling of inebriates. Methods of treatment are considered, with a final lecture by the cofounder of Alcoholics Anonymous. The philosophy of the temperance movement and an analysis of wet and dry propaganda round out the book.

The sociologist will find all these lectures valuable. Those most important for course materials are the following chapters: "Drinking Mores of Social Classes," "Theories of the Alcoholic Personality," "Alcohol and Aggression," "The Function of Alcohol and Complex Society," "Excessive Drinking and the Family," "Alcohol and Pauperism," "The Churches and Alcohol," "Penal Handling of Inebriates," and "Social Case Work with Inebriates." These chapters have their real meaning, however, when viewed in terms of all the lectures. The lecture by Selden D. Bacon on "Excessive Drinking and the Institution of the Family" is especially good, since it shows how the person who is likely to be an alcoholic is produced.

A book of this type should have an index.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

The Russia I Believe In: The Memoirs of Samuel N. Harper, 1902-1941. Edited by PAUL V. HARPER with the assistance of RONALD THOMPSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xiv+279. \$3.50.

It was a happy thought to gather the letters and notes of the late Professor Harper of the University of Chicago into this compact volume. The sociologist will be less interested in information about Russia than in insight into the formation and working conditions of an American scholar who opened up a new field. Harper, reared in the dynamic and scholarly home of the first president of the University of Chicago, was subsidized by Charles Crane, a Chicago businessman of lively political sensitivity who saw the growing weight of Russia in world affairs.

Harper's technical preparation for his career

was in many ways defective, since he had an altogether inadequate command of philosophical and scientific theory and method. He was, in this respect, far below the level of such a Continental scholar as his esteemed friend, President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. But there were certain at least partial compensations for his limitations. Harper had no ax to grind, and, no matter how impressionable he might be, there was always deep regard for the ultimate verdict of history. He and Professor Bernard Pares developed an exceedingly effective method of working together.

Thus we shared interviews which we had held separately, and often arranged to interview a Russian leader together. When we used this second method, one of us asked questions, always according to a previously prepared outline, and the other listened or, when advisable, took notes. Important interviews were immediately written up in duplicate by the person who listened. Later, Pares and I traveled together to provincial towns, to estates of friends, and to peasant villages [p. 37].

Those of us who knew "Sam," as everyone called him, were continually amazed at his indefatigable energy in getting out among the people of his chosen country and in his success in getting on a warm human basis with persons of every status in society. His very "fussiness" (which came from his overconscientious character) was endearing and his generosity was legendary. Gradually he clarified his conception of the proper working relation between an "expert" and a "politician" (a policy determiner) (p. 131). Often called upon for advice, Harper was genuinely concerned to keep his scholarly role.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Washington, D.C.

Man, Morals and Society. By J. C. FLUGEL. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. Pp. v+328. \$4.50.

Observing that we are very far from solving the greatest problems of civilization and that a dissatisfaction with contemporary moral notions prevails, Flugel states that it is time to review recent developments in psychoanalysis with a view to noting their implications for a revision of ethical thought.

As might be expected, the author promptly settles down to a discussion of the super-ego and the ego-ideal. In consonance with his position that the super-ego is endowed with aggression

the author then devotes chapters to "Nemesism" (aggression directed against the self), "Aggression and Sado-masochism," and "The Infantile Origins of Aggression and the Super-ego." These chapters and some of the others contain frequent references to such nonpsychoanalytic writers as James, Baldwin, and McDougall. Aggression, according to Flugel, is a ubiquitous element in the super-ego because of the inevitability of the child's frustration by his parents. On this point he is critical of Karen Horney, who, he holds, seems "to underestimate the strength of the evidence which points to an intimate fusion of at least a certain amount of aggression with the super-ego" (p. 48). The chapter on "Aggression and Sado-masochism" emphasizes Freud's discovery of the aggressive element in morals.

Taboo is the social equivalent of the individual super-ego in three ways: it is the basic factor in moral control; it is primitive and archaic; it is intuitive, divorced from reason, and orectic (i.e., characterized by the feeling, striving, and wishing aspects of the mind). Moreover, individual neurosis in general and obsessional neurosis in particular are among the equivalents of taboo in our society, "for repression of desire is an essential factor in neurosis, and with us individual repression has largely taken over the role played by taboo in primitive cultures" (p. 133).

In seeming contradiction to the conception of the infantilism of the super-ego is the contention that the "super-ego is required to undergo changes which result in a weakening in the power of at any rate its deeper layers" (p. 176). Apparently, the super-ego is constantly disposed to new projections in a search for "fresh super-ego representatives in the outside world" (p. 175).

From his consideration of the character of the super-ego Flugel concludes that "much of [man's] morality is crude and primitive, ill adapted to reality, and often at variance both with his intellect and with his higher conscious aspirations" (p. 241). Psychoanalysis may influence moral goals, presumably for the better, since "the aim of psychoanalysis is indeed to enlarge the sphere of conscious influence by making us aware of mental operations that were previously beyond our knowledge and control" (p. 241). Immediately following this, Flugel seems to invoke a conception of inevitable progress by noting "eight general tendencies in the psychology of moral progress." Holding

that this line of thought is consistent with the writing of Herbert Spencer and C. H. Waddington, he classifies his progressive moral tendencies as follows: (1) from egocentricity to sociality; (2) from unconscious to conscious; (3) from autism to realism; (4) from moral inhibition to spontaneous "goodness"; (5) from aggression to tolerance and love; (6) from fear to security; (7) from heteronomy to autonomy; and (8) from orectic (moral) judgment to cognitive (psychological) judgment (the quotations and parenthetical explanations are Flugel's).

Flugel's conclusion regarding the super-ego is that it "is clearly unsuited to serve . . . as the supreme court of moral appeal . . . we must seek the ultimate solution of conflict at the higher level of reason" (p. 260).

In the last three chapters Flugel endeavors to put his formulations to the test by interpreting and illuminating religion, conservatism and radicalism, and war and peace. To the reviewer this was a downhill ride. The correspondence between the father-figures of the various deities and the super-ego has been frequently noted. The conservative attitude toward property is interpreted in terms of early feeding habits, the equation money=feces, and the correspondence of the fear of loss of money to the castration complex.

The final chapter points out that war offers the attractions of adventure, social unity, freedom from individual worries and restriction, and outlet for aggression. To foster peace we should be concerned with the welfare of the individual rather than with that of the state; we should develop loyalty to a world organization and reduce national loyalty; we should learn to co-operate; we should re-educate ourselves; we should have full employment and job interest; and we should view progress as the all-embracing human goal. In view of the unnovel character of these journalistic panaceas it is difficult to see what new knowledge has been brought to bear on our quest for peace by means of the extended excursion through the super-ego.

The value of this work lies in its well-rounded and up-to-date discussion of the super-ego. It is interesting as an evidence of intellectual milling oriented to the solving of mankind's great problems. The answers are unfortunately banal, and statements of implementation are absent.

ROBERT F. WINCH

University of Chicago

A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman. By IDA PRUITT. From the story told her by NING-LAO T'AI T'AI. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. viii+249. Price \$2.75.

This is surely the warmest, most human document that has ever come out of China. The life-story of Ning Lao T'ai T'ai, now eighty years old, may, in its directness and simplicity, be compared with Josef Roth's *Job*.

The author, like Ning Lao T'ai T'ai, was born in P'englai, on the Yellow Sea. Ida Pruitt went to school in the United States, was in charge of social work at Peiping Union Medical College, left China in 1938, and is now executive secretary of the American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. Ning Lao T'ai T'ai breakfasted with her in P'englai three times a week for two years and told her story. Miss Pruitt simply wrote it down. She must have been conscious of matters of form and phrasing, but it is as if the book were utterly artless and the reviewing of it a comment on the life it relates.

This is not the story of a peasant or of a noble lady but of a woman of the town. When she was born, her father had already dissipated his patrimony and sunk from the lot of a scholar to that of an opium-ruined bread-peddler. At the age of thirteen, by Western reckoning, this fifth child of reduced gentlefolk was married to a man of twenty-nine, an opium sot. Everything they had, even her bridal hairpins, he stole and sold to get money for opium. Ning Lao T'ai T'ai's story reminds one of our old-fashioned tales of the sorrows of the drunkard's wife—with a Chinese touch: when all else was gone he sold a child.

Near starvation, Ning Lao T'ai T'ai even-

tually left her husband and supported herself and her small daughter by beggary. A beggar is not hampered by "face": she roved the city, saw and heard everything, knew the people and the life of the place as no secluded, comfortable wife ever could. She quoted an old Chinese proverb: "Two years of begging and one will not change places with the district magistrate." Her tale rambles on, stuffed with digressions and incidental comments on the fate and fortunes of the great and the lowly; of concubines tormented to suicide by jealous wives; of supernatural interventions and the cost of violating custom; of murder, infidelity, pestilence, fire, and sword. She became a servant in the household of Chinese Mohammedans, who sat down two hundred strong to a meal. She accompanied a bride to Manchuria and saw something of the Boxer uprising. Like working women everywhere, she wrestled endlessly and never quite successfully with the problem of what to do with her child while working.

Her story reminds one of the tales of matriarchal Negro mothers who are so often the sole support of the family, but again with a Chinese difference: Ning Lao T'ai T'ai always regarded herself as a part of her husband's clan, answerable to his ancestors. In middle life she took back her husband and bore a son at last. Soon after, her husband died. "But I did not miss him. I had my son. . . . My house was established." The story ends in 1938, when Ning Lao T'ai T'ai was philosophically awaiting the Japanese yoke: "No one can escape his fate." Perhaps she is still alive. The report of her life and labors has the lasting symbolic quality of literature.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago, Illinois

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- AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. *The American Jewish Year Book, 1945-46*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945. Pp. xxx+760. Six special articles, including one on "Jewish Community Life in Latin America"; review of events and trends of the year in Jewish matters; directory of Jewish organizations; statistics.
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- COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM. *From Pearl Harbor into Tokyo*. New York: Columbia Broadcasting System, 1945. Pp. 312. \$0.25. The story as told by war correspondents on the air. The documented broadcasts of the war in the Pacific, as they were transmitted by C.B.S. throughout America and the world, are taken verbatim from the records of the Columbia Broadcasting System.
- COMMITTEE ON THE HYGIENE OF HOUSING. *An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing: A Yardstick for Health Officers, Housing Officials and Planners*. New York: American Public Health Association, 1945. Pp. vi+71. \$1.00.
- CRONIN, JOHN F. *Economic Analysis and Problems*. New York: American Book Co., 1945. Pp. xv+623. \$3.75. A textbook, covering not only the usual subjects of value, price, etc., but also of social philosophies and systems (Protestant, Jewish, Catholic) of social reform and social thought. Blurs Imprimatur.
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- HALSEY, GEORGE D. *Supervising People*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1946. Pp. x+233. \$3.00. Written for supervisors, especially in industry.
- HOLLIS, ERNEST V. *Toward Improving Ph.D. Programs*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945. Pp. xii+204. \$2.50. A history of the Ph.D., a statistical survey of Ph.D.'s granted 1930-40 in the United States, with certain facts concerning origins and careers of the persons who got the degree; opinions of degree-holders and their employers concerning Ph.D. training; suggestions for improvement.
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- YER, R. M. (ed.). *Civilization and Group Relationships*. New York: Institute for Religious Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Harper & Bros., 1945. Pp. xiii+177. Essays deal mainly with minority and discrimination in industry, education, etc. Authors are mostly sociologists.
- Community Organization for Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. \$4.75. A combination text and reference work for undergraduate students and professional people. Deals with basic concepts and with the institutional arrangements for coordinating special services, on a local, statewide, and national basis.
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- MARTIN, CHARLES E., and KLEINSMID, RUFUS B. (eds.). *Problems of the Peace*. ("Interim Proceedings of the Institute of World Affairs," Vol. XXI.) Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1944-45. Pp. xii+123. \$3.00. Papers on political, legal, military, and social problems of peace. Of special interest are: "Basic Traits of Japanese Character," by Jesse F. Steiner; "Historical Foundations for a Democratic China," by Hu Shih; and "The Problems of Race and the Peace," by Munroe E. Deutsch.
- MASSERMAN, JULES H. *Principles of Dynamic Psychiatry*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1946. Pp. xix+322. A general exposition, based on the definition of psychiatry as "the science of human behavior." A good deal of space given to presentation and critique of psychoanalysis as method of research and healing. Many experiments, including author's, presented. Glossary, Bibliography, Index, charts, etc.
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- MORGENTHAU, HANS. *Peace, Security, and the United Nations*. ("Harris Foundation Lectures.") Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. 134. \$1.50. "Power and Justice," by Percy Corbett; "Treatment of Enemy Powers," by Robert Burns, etc.
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- MURRAY, PHILIP, and THOMAS, R. J. *Living Costs in World War II*. Washington, D.C.: Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1944. Pp. 76. \$0.50.
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- NOTESTEIN, FRANK W. (ed.). *Population Index: January, 1946*. Princeton, N.J.: School of Public Affairs, Princeton University and the Population Association of America, Inc., 1946. Pp. 69. \$0.75.
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- PERELMAN, CHARLES. *De la justice*. Bruxelles, Belgium: Office de Publicité, S.C., 1945. Pp. 83. An essay on foral problems of justice, considered as equitable application of social rules.
- PORTEUS, STANLEY D. *Calabashes and Kings: An Introduction to Hawaii*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1945. Pp. xvi+245. \$3.50. Semipopular history, with analysis of present economic and social life.
- POYNTER, NELSON and HENRIETTA (eds.). *Post-war Jobs: A Guide to Current Problems and Future Opportunities*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. 211. \$2.50 (cloth); \$2.00 (paper).
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